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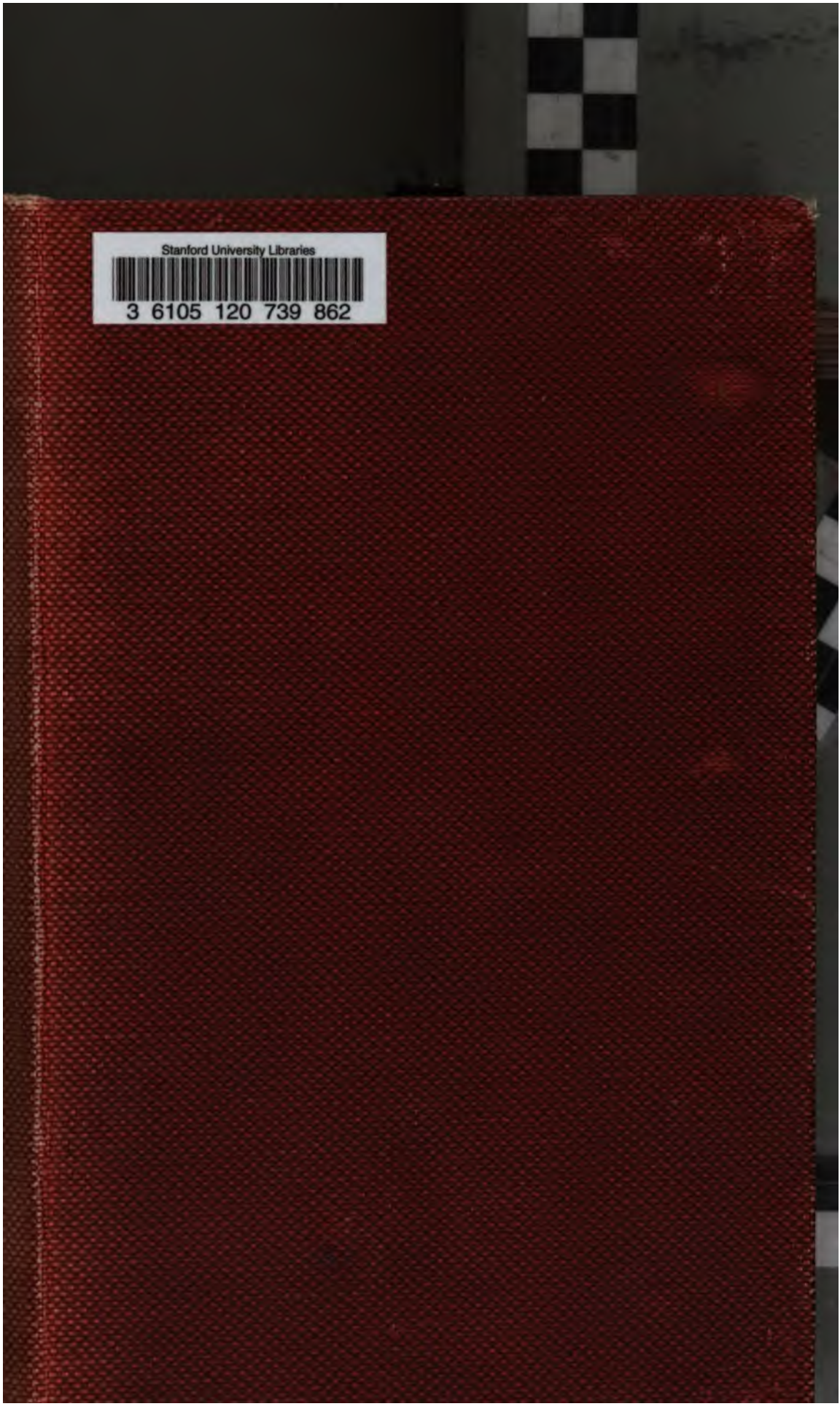
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DE BOW'S REVIEW

AND

Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc.

DEVOTED TO

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, EDUCATION, POLITICAL ECONOMY, GENERAL LITERATURE, ETC.

"Commerce is King."

EDITED BY

J. D. B. DE BOW,

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC., IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

JULY, 1856.

CENTRAL AMERICA.*

COUNTRY AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS—HEALTH—INHABITANTS, PURSUITS, PRODUCTS—SOIL AND CAPACITIES—POLITICAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED—GENERAL WALKER.

Central America is included between 8° and 20° north lat.: a zone which, besides the Senegambian coast, and the strip of African interior known as Soudan, includes Abyssinnia and Sennaar, on that continent, a small tract of southwestern Arabia, and the provinces of Bombay and Madras in Hindoostan, and Siam and Cochin China, of the farther India. The remainder being two-thirds or more of the belt, is for the most part water. This is within the zone of spices and sugar. It is also within the limits of a belt considered particularly obnoxious to pestilential disease; though the Sandwich Islands and the Ithmus, except on some points on the eastern coast of the latter are pre-eminently salubrious; owing to interoceanic position, high lands, Pacific breezes, and, perhaps in some measure, to volcanic influences, of which both largely partake. The geographical association of latitude which, at such distant meridians, connects this country with Arabia, leads to the notice, in considersidering the possible as well as actual products of the Isthmus, that the coffee of Costa Rica is said to have no rival except that of Mocha. There are two remarkable geographic characteristics in the relations of the Isthmus with the rest of the world. Separating by a narrow strip of rock, the two great oceans of the globe, it is open at contiguous points, to the commerce of both; and central as to latitude and productions to

*1. The Gospel in Central America, London, 1850; 1 v. 12mo., 588 pp.
2. Nicaragua, Its People, Scenery, Monuments, &c., E. G. Squier, 1852, New York.
3. Notes on Central America. &c., by E. G. Squier, 1855, pp. 393, N. Y.

"The great chain of the Cordilleras here, as in South America, runs nearest to the Pacific coast, but in places it is interrupted, and assumes the form of detached ranges, and isolated elevations, groups or knots of hills, between which the streams from the interior high valleys or elevated plains wind their way to the two oceans. As a consequence, the principal alluvions border on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Here rains fall in greater or less abundance for the entire year (eastern coast;) vegetation is rank, and the climate is damp, and proportionably insalubrious. The trade winds blow from the northeast; and the moisture with which they are saturated, condensed on the elevated parts of the continent, flows down toward the Atlantic. The Pacific slope is therefore comparatively dry and healthful, as are also the elevated regions of the interior."—(*Ib. p.* 18.)

The climate of Central America on the Pacific coast and on the elevated plains and mountains of the interior is unsurpassed in mildness and equability. While the atmosphere is not at any time, except in the higher regions, cold enough to require fire, the heat is never in that raging excess which we experience in the *northern* latitudes of the United States for some days in the summer. The range of the thermometer in these middle regions is usually from 60° to 88° Fahrenheit, but sometimes falling to 50°. This highest mark is not so high as is sometimes marked in summer in New York or Boston.

On this point of temperature, as thermometers do not vary greatly in their reports, it may not be necessary to adduce multiplied observations. Yet having at hand the statements of several persons, they are given as so many concurring relations confirming each other, and excluding the supposition of error.

By observations which are given by Mr. Squier, at Comagagua, in Honduras, nearly central between the two seas, and 1800 feet above their level, in the months of April, May, and June in 1853, it was found that the mean temperature from 6 o'clock in the morning to 6 o'clock in the evening was 79° 1′. The highest point reached by the mercury during these months was 88°, the lowest, 68°, an extreme range of 20° in three months.

This greatest range of thermometer was only in a few instances. Some partial observations during this period show a narrower range. In 14 days in May, observations made between 8th and 27th, (some days omitted) the highest point of the thermometer at this place was at 12 o'clock M. 81°, with exception of one day when it went to 85°. The lowest mark was 79° 5′. In June, the whole month except the 2d and 19th days, highest point 81° 5′, except one day, 86°: lowest point, 75°. At Santa Rosa in July, 9 days from 10 to 18 inclusive, highest

point at 6, A. M. 68°, except one day 70°: lowest, 67°. San Salvador in August, 16 days from 11th to 28th inclusive, omitting 2, highest point at 6, A. M. 76°, lowest, 70°.

Santa Rosa is in the Department of Gracias 3,400 feet above the sea. For three weeks in July, 1853, the highest point attained was 75°, lowest, 68°.

From some peculiarities in the situation of Comagagua, the temperature rules higher than that of any other portion of the valley or plain in which it is situated. The temperature of Las Piedras and of San Antonio, distant 14 miles, is from three to five degrees lower. At a place called El Sitio, not twenty minutes ride from Comagagua and not perceptibly higher, the mean temperature is at least five degrees less.

In the interior the months of April, May, and June are the hottest in the year, and for the remaining nine months the temperature is considerably lower. "November, December, and January are positively cool, and fires *sometimes* become necessary for comfort."—(*p.* 35.)

The plain in which the city of Guatemala is situated is between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above the sea, and within 80 miles of the Pacific. The official Gazette published the following memoranda of the thermometer for three weeks in September, 1854. From 1st to 7th, extreme range was from 64° to 75° Fahr. From 15th to 21st, extreme range from 64° to 72°. From 21st to 28th, extreme range from 63° to 76°.

Thompson, quoted by Mr. Squier, asserts of the general temperature of Guatemala, that the mean heat during the day, from the first of January to the first of July, is 75° Fahr.; at night, 63°. In the summer months the average may be taken at 10° higher.

Mr. Henderson, says: "The climate of this part of the American continent is greatly superior to that of most other parts of the same vast portion of the globe, either in higher or lower degrees of latitude. It is equally superior to the climate of the West India Islands, generally; for persons whose health and constitution have become impaired from the effects of the latter, very frequently acquire a sudden restoration of both after arrival in Honduras.

With the exception of a few months of the year, this country is constantly refreshed by regular sea-breezes, accompanied by an average of heat that may be taken at a temperature of 80°.

Of the department of Gracius Mr. Squier says: "the climate of the department is unexcelled for salubrity." The general temperature, as might be inferred from the elevated character of the country, is cool, although no two places can, in this respect, be said to be alike. Their climate varies with their elevation. Intibucat, an Indian town, situated in the midst of a consider-

able plain, or terrace of the Opalaca mountains, is 5,200 feet above the sea. Occasional slight falls of snow take place here during the mouths of December and January. I passed through the town in the early part of the month of July, when the thermometer at sunrise stood at 56° of Fahr. Peaches, apples and plums flourish in this plain, and the blackberry is indigenous among the hills. The towns of Caiquin and Colocte have a temperature still lower than that of Intibucat. During three weeks which I spent at Santa Rosa from July 9 to Aug. 1, the average temperature at sunrise was 68°, at noon 72°, and at 3 P. M. 73° of Fahr. From September to February the Thermometer has a still lower range.—(*p.* 134–5.)

These statements present a climate of exceedingly equable and agreeable temperature. With a range of less than forty degrees, with the extremest heat not above 90°,—the variation for the year being less than that for our summer in the northern States of the Union, and the highest point below our greatest summer heat; it must be no less salubrious than agreeable.

Capt. Belcher, in his Voyage round the world, says of Managua, on the Lake of the same name, in Nicaragua, about 20 miles from the Pacific, "generally this place is considered as peculiarly healthy, the average deaths seldom exceeding one per cent."

The salubrity of this place may be better appreciated by recurrence to the fact that the average of deaths in New England in ten years, as given by the census of 1850, is one in 64; or nearly double that of Managua.

Of the climate of this country, Mr. Crowe, an English Clergyman, in the volume named above, says:

"The climate of the coasts and lowlands is hot and humid. That in the interior varies with the altitude, and is generally mild, equable, and salubrious. The two seasons, aptly designated the 'wet' and the 'dry,' are well defined. They may be said equally to divide the year, though they vary considerably in different districts. The dry season is nowhere uninterrupted by refreshing showers, and the wet is everywhere relieved by an interval of dry weather, which perceptibly seperates the 'former' from 'the latter rain.'

"In the highlands of the interior the seasons are singularly regular. The dry weather commences about the close of October and terminates on the 12th or 13th of May, rarely varying even a few hours. It is most frequently on the 12th, that the 'windows of heaven are opened.' The sky is then suddenly obscured with thick clouds, which burst simultaneously, often accompanied with thunder and sometimes with hail. This is confined to the afternoon, and returns on the following days, or perhaps, for successive weeks, at the same hour, or a

little later. During the whole of the wet season, which is by far the most agreeable, the forenoon is almost invariably cloudless, and the atmosphere clear, elastic, and balmy. The rains are often confined to the evening and night, or to the night hours only. During the dry season the morning and evening are often so cool and bracing as to predispose to active exercise, though fires are never resorted to. Through the day the sky is seldom obscured, and light clouds only are to be seen sweeping rapidly along the plains during the short twilight that ushers in the equinoctial day; thence they rise and hang in clusters round the tops of the mountains, till the sun has gathered strength to dispel them. In the evening they return to attend its setting, and add inimitable beauty to the gorgeous scene. * * * * On the more elevated plains the heat is never so great as during the summer months in England,* and though snow is said sometimes to fall in December and January, it immediately dissolves, and the thermometer never descends so low as the freezing point.

"At various degrees of elevation, along the sides and on the summits of the mountains, are numerous plateaus or table lands, like so many natural terraces, some of them of great extent, and all delightfully temperate and luxuriantly fertile. * * * * These regions especially seem to invite the residence of man, and to await the culture of his hand. They constitute a distinguishing feature of this and some neighboring countries. But no one of those countries, and probably no part of the earth, presents a greater diversity of level on a surface of equal extent, than does Central America; consequently no country possesses such variety of climate, or offers such facility of adaptation to all kinds of productions, and to all constitutions of men, from the sun burnt inhabitant of a tropical plain to the hardy mountaineer inured to perpetual snows."—(GOSPEL IN CENT. AM., *pp.* 1, 2, 3.)

"The open pine ridge presents clusters of fir trees interspersed with calabath and aloes, or diversified by occasional thickets and long vistas, suspassing in beauty the most exquisite park scenery. Here the antelopes roam, and numerous herds of half-wild cattle browse. The more lofty plains are frequently savannahs, affording rich pasturage, at times gently wooded with trees of softer foliage, resembling the woods of Europe." (*Ib. p.* 6, 7.)

"The natural productions of Central America are varied, rich, and almost inexhaustible. The forests, whether on plain or mountain side, abound with valuable timber, among which the mahogany and log-wod trees, the only kinds at present market-

* Dunlops Central America p. 258.

able, are the almost exclusive object of the trader's attention. Other woods of all grains, fitted for use or ornament, valuable fruits, spices, and medicinal plants, are suffered to flourish and decay unnoticed around them. The cedars grow to a prodigious size, and with other trees, spread their spurs or protruding roots far around, often reaching twenty or thirty feet from the trunk, which is from 150 to 200 feet high. * * * * The cacao is indigenous. The sarsaparilla and vanilla vines both grow wild in the bush, and shed their delicious fragrance around. * * * * What has been erroneously called balsam of Peru is found exclusively in Central America. * * *.

"Nor is the necessary aliment of man either scarce or of difficult production. Maize, rice, and frejole, a nutritious kind of pulse, which is very much used, yield with scarcely any cultivation, three and often four crops a year, and that with five hundred fold, or even greater increase, each harvest. These are, for the natives, the most necessary fruits of the earth; but not the only staple food. The plantain, substantial or luscious, as it is eaten green or ripe, the gelatinous cassada or yucca, the farinaceous yam, and other alimentary roots are in general use, with very many vegetables peculiar to the tropics; and the bread fruit and bread-nut trees, though but lately introduced, are found to thrive. But besides these, the temperate regions yield all or nearly all those productions which are raised in Europe. Wheat and barley are cultivated sometimes by the side of the sugar cane, on the elevated plains, and the markets of the larger towns are supplied at once with the productions of the torrid and of temperate climes.

* * * * Of edible fruits those most common are the banana, pine apple, orange, sweet lemon, lime, shaddoch, forbidden fruit, watermelon, muskmelon, sapote, mango, guava, fig, tamarind, promegranate, granadilla, sea grape, papia, mammae, star, and custard apples, and cocoa, cashew, and ground nuts. There are said to be in all more than forty genera.

"Abundant materials for exchange with other nations are afforded in cotton, coffee, sugar, arrow root, ginger, tobacco, but especially in indigo and cochineal.—(*pp.* 7, 8, 9.)

Next to a healthful and pleasant climate, perhaps nothing is more important to social comfort than food. For abundance, cheapness, and variety of food, no country does or can excel this.

Beef is sold by the *yard.*

Oysters are sold, as many as a man can carry, for six cents. Those in the Bay of Fonseca, where they are very abundant, are represented by Mr. Squier as of uncommonly fine flavor.

The price of a pair of chickens, is from three to six cents. Corn, twenty-five cents a bushel; Rice two dollars per cwt.; Crude, ungrained sugar, 1½ ct. per pound.

The principal articles of food are corncakes, beans, eggs, rice, plantains and cheese. Six cents worth of plantains will sustain a small family for a week.

Natives are hired as laborers for twenty-five cents a day, and for six cents additional the laborer will provide for his own support.

These prices are named by Mr. Squier. Another writer, Mr. Bailey, gives the following. The two statements will be found to differ but very slightly, if any.

Meat four reals the aroba. Probably all our readers understand that a real is a piece of eight to the dollar, or the Spanish coin, value 12½ cts., and that an aroba is a weight of 25 lbs. The above is 50 cts. for 25 lbs.

Maize from six to twelve reals, rarely so high as the last price, per fanega—300 lbs.; that is between five and six bushels for 75cts., to $1 50. Frigoles, or beans and rice in similar proportions. Plantains, a mule load, that is two or three quintals, for two-and-a-half reals.

Wild game of all kinds, and fish are in very great abundance, and all tropical fruits of almost endless varieties, are in such excess that the most pleasant and delicious are wasted on the ground.

The house occupied by the American Minister, Mr. E. G. Squier, in the city of Leon, was hired by him for nine dollars a month. It had before rented for six dollars. The best house in the city rented for fourteen dollars a month. Leon is a city of 20,000 people.

The sugar cane of Central America is said to be of a different species from, and superior to that cultivated in the islands. Coffee said to be superior to any except that of Mocha is raised in Costa Rica, and it is said may be also raised in Nicaragua, in any quantity.

The price of land is merely nominal.

These conditions of climate and productions and prices contain the elements of social comfort and domestic ease and enjoyment, perhaps in no part of the world combined in equal degree.

The Bishop of Nicaragua said to Mr. Squier, "we want only an infusion of your people to make this broad land an Eden of Beauty and the garden of the world."

The state of society seems to be also, according to the opinion of Mr. Squier, in harmony with the physical and monetary condition, in conducing to happiness.

"I sat on my horse for a quarter of an hour, listening to the music and the merriment, and speculated whether, after all, spite of unstable governments, and destitute of all those accessories, which according to our utilitarian ideas, are necessary to the popular welfare, whether the people of Leon were not, on

the whole, happier and more contented than those of any city of equal size in our own country? Here where no crowded workshops where youth and age toil on, on, during the long day, and by the pale gas light, amidst foul vapors, or in a corrupted atmosphere, that trade may thrive, and arrogant commerce strut in the exchange? No thundering machines to disturb the calm evening, to drown the murmurs of the night winds, and the gentle melody of the falling dews with their hoarse unearthly clangor."—(*p.* 343)

The position of Central America gives it a pre-eminence over every country in the world in adaptation for commercial intercourse. Central between the two great oceans lying to the east and west, and to the continents bordering those oceans, Europe on the east and Asia on the west;—central on the great track now opening for the commerce of the world to India, which, if the signs may be trusted, is to supersede the old routes by the Capes of Africa and South America; central to the coasts of North and South America on both the eastern and western shores; there are no ports which its heels may not reach with advantage over all competitors, no products or merchandize, the subject of commerce, which it may not obtain by less expense of import. Japan and China and the two Indies, Africa, Australia, and Oceanica, the North and South Pacific, the whole western coast of both Americas, lie open by an easy intercourse to the best ports and harbors of the world, where her ships ride secure at home, and unlade not only her own commerce, but that destined by transit for the eastern shores of America and for Europe, and in like manner the traffic of these eastern coasts and marts finds secure harbors in her Atlantic ports for the consumption of the country, or for transit onward along the new route to India and to the western coasts of this continent. The commerce for home consumption would consist at the present, in the exports chiefly of hides, tallow, coffee, tobacco, coca, all kinds of productions and gold and other minerals; and in the import of most kinds of manufactured articles, in particular calicoes, cottons, hardware, glassware, paper, powder, soap, sperm candles. Of natural productions the country may be said to want nothing; of manufactures to have next to nothing.

Gold has been found in considerable abundance in some or most part of the mountain districts. It is in the ore; but this, for want of machinery has been only partially worked, the expense of transporting machinery being ruinous, on account of want of roads. The washings also have been but little tried. They have not been worked with a general or continued labor, but merely by a few hands, chiefly women and children, at intervals. The gold is principally found in the States of Honduras and Nicaragua.

These mines and washings of gold, and the ores of other minerals, being more accessible to our people than those of California, by a difference of one-half in distance, and in a fine climate, and beautiful and healthful country, have inducements which make them peculiarly worth notice. Some account of the principal of them is, therefore, here given. It is said, by Mr. Squier, that there are hundreds of these mines scattered over the country, abandoned and filled with water, most, if not all of which could be profitably worked by the application of proper machinery. But as there are now no roads over which machinery can be transported, many of them must await the general development of the country to become of value.

The rough and narrow mule paths in the neighborhood of the ports on both oceans, are lined with the fragments of heavy and expensive machinery, which men more enterprising than prudent have vainly essayed to introduce into the country.

Silver mines are the most abundant and valuable of any in the State of Honduras. They are chiefly found upon the Pacific ranges or upon the groups connected with them. The gold washings in this State, if not the gold mines proper, have been found in greatest number on the Atlantic slope. The silver is found in various combinations, with iron, lead, copper, and, in a few instances, with antimony. Chlorides of silver are not uncommon, and rank among the richest ores in the country.

The group of silver mines in the neighborhood of Ocotal, in the province or district of Segovia, in the State of Nicaragua, are very famous, and are of great value. They yield the silver in form of sulphurets, bromides, and chlorides. Some of them give an argentiferous sulphuret of antimony.

The mineral district of Yuruscuran, in the department of Tegucigalpa, has a high and deserved reputation for the number of its mines, and the value of the ores. They are chiefly an argentiferous galena, and when worked, yield from 63 to 1,410 ounces per ton. The mines throughout this department, and that of Choluteca, yield a similar ore, generally occurring in a matrix of quartz, with varying proportions of brown blende, and sulphurets of zinc and iron, and oxides of iron.

The mines last named are also in Nicaragua. Of the gold in this State, a letter from Dr. Charles Doratt who visited that region in 1853, and who is quoted in the recent work of Mr. Squier, speaks thus:

"Among the rivers of Olancho which we visited and prospected, the Guyape and Jalan are decidedly the richest in auriferous sands. These two rivers unite a little below Juticalpa, the capital of Olancho, and form the Rio Patuca or

Patook. The gold deposits on the Guyape, commence properly at a point called Aleman, continuing thence up the river, the banks upon both sides containing much fine gold. We found gold in the alluvions half a mile distant from the present bed of the river. Leaving Juticalpa in a northeast (northwest?) direction, and crossing the department near Yocon, over an area of twenty leagues long and ten broad, there is not a streamlet however insignificant which does not contain gold, both in its sands, and in the banks which border it. For the most part these streams follow the courses of the mountains, and fall into the Guyape and Jalan.* The remaining ones, including the Sisaca and Mangualil (the latter carrying gold of larger size than the others) run into the Mirajoco, which taking the name of Taguale, after fertilizing the beautiful valley of Olancho, reaches the sea near Truxillo. In these larger rivers the gold is found in deposits near the bends and rapids. The finest gold is from the Guyape, Jalan, and Mangualil, in the department of Olancho, and the Sulaco, Caymito, and Pacaya in that of Yoro. * * * At Aleman, the women only wash the sand on Sunday mornings, and, with the aid of their miserable batteas, in a few hours, procure a sufficient quantity of the metal to supply their wants for the ensuing week. It is sold on the spot, at from $11 50 to $12 00 per oz. At Guijana the gold is found in a soft slate, and at San Felipe in a red ferruginous earth. About five leagues from Dauli, the Jalan produces well, and at the time of my visit, there were more than a hundred men and women engaged in washing. They also used the batteas, and never went more than two or three feet below the surface."

Mr. Squier says these washings are exceedingly productive. The river Guyape has always been celebrated for the amount of gold contained in its sands; but since the early periods of Spanish occupancy, washing has not been carried on except on a very small scale by the Indians, and even with them the process is generally left to the women and children who only work for a few hours on Sunday mornings. Yet the amount thus obtained and carried into Juticalpa in the year 1853, was valued at $129,600.

The southern districts of Honduras, bordering on Nicaragua, bear also rich placers of gold, whence the Indians annually take considerable quantities. The same is true of the northern districts of the department of Santa Barbara. The streams flowing into the Chamelicon from the mountains behind Omoa, all have gold in their sands. Mr. Squier says that miners pro-

*It is not easy to understand how streams either from northwest or northeast can run into the Guyape. If Mr. Squier's map is correct, it would appear this could not be without *crossing* the Patuca or Jalan.

vided with suitable implements for washing, could not fail here to secure a rich reward for their labor and enterprise.

Honduras has also silver and copper. These are found combined in the department of Gracias. The old mine of Coloal has sulphuret of copper, galena with sulphuret of silver, and in parts copper pitch ore, and black copper, the whole yielding 58 per cent. of copper, beside from 78 to 84 oz. of silver to the ton. The new mine of Coloal, a combination of chloride and sulphuret of silver with oxide of iron and antimony, is also exceedingly productive.

In this State there are mines of copper of unsurpassed richness, beside those of Coloal. The ores, in all cases, contain considerable proportions of silver. In the neighborhood of the Gulf of Fonseca are some which have been found profitable. In San Salvador, in the department of San Miguel, are mines of silver, which are very productive, those of El Tabanco yielding as high as 2,537 oz. to the ton, and from their proximity to the Gulf of Fonseca, are of great value.

In natural advantages this country surpasses all other parts of this continent, perhaps all other countries of the world. Inferior in mineral riches to California, and few other regions, it is yet prominent in this respect, while in commercial situation, the difference is as great in favor of Central America. In salubrity of climate, fertility of soil, and beauty of scenery, if the reports of travellers may be relied on, it has no equal, all these, and the extent of them being taken into consideration.

The monuments existing in this country of its former ages, perhaps of extinct races or nations, while they have too many historic and ethnological relations for discussion in these pages, or by the pen that traces them, yet are of too great importance and extreme interest to be passed without notice here, or without inquiry and study by those who seek a knowledge of that country. Mr. Stevens and Mr. Squire have given many particulars, of these monuments, with which our readers are, no doubt, generally familiar. In those works they will find matters uniting the excitement of romance with the reality of history. It would be useless here to attempt more than the most general allusion to them.

About thirty five years ago, or the period of one generation before the present time, the people of the States of Central America, threw off the dominion of Spain, and attempted to establish a separate and independent government. In this movement, however, the people were divided into two parties nearly equal in numbers and power, having very different designs, and holding to very different doctrines in relation to government. One party wished only an overthrow of the Spanish authority, in order that they might succeed to the rule.

They had no design to change the principles on which the government should be administered. The other party wished to have a government formed on a different theory and established on a new plan. They desired a republic, modelled as nearly as might be after that of the United States. These again were distinguished by differences of opinion, some being of more liberal, some of more conservative ideas. The clergy and the wealthy class were almost universally opposed to the liberal party. With the two influences of wealth and church arrayed against them, the liberal party have maintained an unequal struggle from the beginning. When these came into power they abolished some of the privileges of the clergy, and some of the institutions of the church, separating it also from the protection of the government. These acts, just in themselves, for that very reason embittered those who claimed privilege as their due;—and the animosity which conservatism and bigotry naturally and universally feel and cherish toward those who hold liberal sentiments, soon grew into the most exasperated and vindictive malignity against the party which sought to abolish privilege, and to make all equal before the law. When the liberal party were in power, their opponents did not, as with us, await patiently the action of the ballot box, and the event of the next election; but resorted to insurrection, and attempted to depose by arms and military force, the government lawfully installed. The other party were compelled to the same course, and the whole period since the independence of the country has been marked by a series of insurrections and of military contests, almost equalling in number the years of the era. The revolution, by which the separation from Spain was effected was bloodless and brief; but it carried as a train, a protracted and bloody intestine war, which has not yet terminated, in which not only the slaughter of the flower of the country in battle, but the sacrifice of the fair and gentle and helpless in ferocious massacre, has, year by year, drenched the floor as well as the field, with the red life blood. The servile party, as the conservative, or anti-liberal party is called, at times, when overpowered by their opponents, have incited the Indians to participate in the contest, and a war of races has mingled with the strife, the Indian and the liberal being the combatants, the serviles either holding off or acting a subordinate part under the command of an aboriginal chief.

This struggle, however, in which the liberal party has been compelled to encounter both the forces of the opposite party and of the Indians, is not the only interruption they have suffered to their peace and to the successful progress of their political designs.

Since the middle of the last century the declining power of Spain had sunk to that degree, that this once formidable nation was in condition rather to succumb to wrongs and encroachments from the side of such a powerful neighbor as England, than to resent and resist them. This condition offered opportunity and temptation to the latter to invade the territories of Spain in Central America, and to seize large portions of the country, and establish the laws and dominion of England therein. The history of these invasions, seizures, and usurpations, we shall briefly condense from the pages of Reverend Frederick Crowe, an English Missionary of the Baptist Church residing in Honduras. In adopting the relation of an English clergyman, we shall run no risk of doing injustice to the English nation by any prejudiced statements.

"Subsequent to the era of independence, the country was in no better condition to protect itself against the aggressions of such a power as England. The encroachments from this side have been continued by successively repeated seizures of territory,—while intrigues have been carried on for distracting the country by exasperating the dissensions of the parties, by appliances and dissuasions to prevent union, and by encouragement and succor to the conservative party.

"In the seventeenth century the seas were infested with English pirates, who found the ports of the Gulf, and especially those on the coast of Central America, convenient places for rendezvous and depot. They established their quarters at Belize, and at the neighboring island of Ruatan, and at one or two other points on the coast. This annoyance was the subject of frequent complaint on the part of Spain to the English Government, and the offenders were removed, and their establishments broken up and fortifications demolished. The places were soon however again occupied by English rovers. The occupation was renewed in this way at several successive times, and caused hostilities between the two nations. Some of the freebooters at the Belize, however, found the logwood trade no less remunerative than piracy, and they formed establishments there for the purpose of cutting it. In the treaty made with England, in 1763, the Spanish Government granted permission to these people to remain at the Belize *for that purpose*; his Britannic Majesty agreeing on his part that all the fortifications which his subjects had erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places in the territory of Spain in that part of the world, should be demolished. The permission to cut logwood was limited to the Belize river. The king of Spain agreed to *protect* the cutters within these limits, and allowed them *for the purpose of cutting* to build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption the houses and

magazines necessary for their families and effects."—(*Crowe, pp.* 180–189.)

The date of this treaty may be considered the commencement on the part of England of a system of aggression and encroachment on the rights of sovereignty and the soil of Spain, which though at several times intermitted, has been again and again renewed, and at each time by the seizure of larger limits, the advancement of larger pretensions, and the extension of augmented powers, which has been continued under the recent rule of the successors to the Spanish monarchy, as is yet persisted in, with a claim to territory about as large as that of the united six States of New England. Though this treaty had expressly recognized the right of sovereignty of Spain, in stipulating for its permit and its protection to the woodcutters, yet in the brief space of two years an attempt was made to set up British authority and laws in the place of those of Spain. At this date, a set of regulations or code of laws for the government of the inhabitants of the Bay of Honduras, was drawn up by Sir William Burnaby, Knight, *commander of the British squadron at Jamaica.* By this code, courts and officers were established and appointed. It provided for election of Justices *with powers of legislation.* It was, in fact, an organic law, on which jurisdiction and legislation under English authority, were made to supersede the laws of Spain then in force.

It is singular that this audacious and glaring encroachment by the English authorities on the sovereignty of Spain, was entirely overlooked by Mr. Crowe. He states the fact indeed very definitely, but does not seem to have regarded it as a breach of the treaty so recently made, or as in any way aggressive. He speaks of the attack made by Spain in 1779 upon the settlements in the Bay of Honduras as an act of treachery, and adds "it does not, however, appear in the accounts of the *British historians* that any offence had been given to Spain during the sixteen years that had elapsed since the treaty was made, which was calculated to provoke such an act." To test the question whether such an act is sufficiently offensive to provoke an act of hostility, let the Naval Commander at Havana set up Spanish laws and jurisdiction, with power to enforce them, and actual enforcement of them on portions of the territory of Jamaica or the Bahamas, and it will soon be seen whether such proceeding will be considered cause for an attack by an English fleet, and whether such an attack would be regarded as *treacherous* by English writers.

The English Government had just received at the hands of Spain a substantial favor, in the shape of a permission and license to English subjects to cut logwood in the Spanish territory, and protection to them in that occupation; and this favor

was immediately used most perfidiously as a foundation for robbing Spain of her rights of territory and sovereignty by England.

The attack however does not rest for its justification on this fact, which shows the treachery to have been on the other side, on the part of England, not of Spain: but there was other good cause for the attack, in the actual existence of war between the two countries, produced perhaps partly by that aggression upon the Spanish sovereignty in Honduras; and it was only six months later that an English fleet arrived at the mouth of the San Juan, and a corvette of the squadron proceeded up the river as far as practicable, under command of Horatio Nelson, and attacked and besieged several points, but was finally driven off by the Spanish inhabitants. This war was terminated by the treaty of peace of 1783, which again, by repetition of the stipulation of the former, provides—

ART. 6. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent, as much as possible, all causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dyeing, or logwood, and several English settlements having been formed, *under that pretence*, upon the Spanish continent, it is expressly agreed that his Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood in the district lying between the rivers Wallis, or Belize, and Rio Hondo, *taking the course of the said two rivers for* unalterable boundaries, &c.

This included a territory 60 miles on the coast in a triangle, the other side running interior 50 miles, being $3{,}000 \div 2 = 1{,}500$ square miles. By the same article his Catholic Majesty assures his protection to the woodcutters, "*provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating, in any wise, from his rights of sovereignty.*"—(*pp.* 191–192.)

This stipulation showed conclusively, by the admission of England, *that the English made no claim to the sovereignty of an acre, but received permission from Spain, with an acknowledgement of its sovereignty, for the English woodcutters to occupy a small tract for the purpose of cutting logwood only.*

By a treaty of 1786, additional to the preceding, on the same subject, a small tract included by a stream near to the Belize, called Sibun, was added, and the privilege of cutting mahogany and other woods was given as well as dyewoods; expressly stipulating, however, *against establishing plantations of sugar, coffee, cocoa, or other like articles, or any manufactures by machinery.* And they were prohibited from going beyond those bounds, even for carrying their wood to the sea.

An article of this treaty stipulates for the *entire preservation*

of the right of Spanish sovereignty; and that only the *privilege of making use of the wood is granted to the English; and that they shall not meditate any more extensive settlements.* (*p.* 192–193.)

It is plain, says this writer, very truly that the nature of British occupation in Central America was at this time purely commercial, and the result of a restricted toleration on the part of the Spanish monarch, who was graciously pleased to grant certain favors to England, which he was particularly anxious should be recognized as such.

The additional strip of land included by the Sibun was about nine miles, and would make the whole tract for cutting equal to 1,750 square miles.

Again, however, the English immediately proceeded, in violation of their treaty, as they had in relation to that of 1763. On the conclusion of the treaty of 1783, Major Richard Hoare was acting as superintendent of the settlement at Belize. He authoritatively assembled the inhabitants on the 12th June, 1784, at which meeting Burnaby's code was adopted, with the regulations enacted in virtue thereof. These assumptions of sovereignty and jurisdiction in the form of laws were furthered by display and action of the no less decided authority of cannon. Armed ships were occasionally sent to give countenance and strength to the civil usurpations, and several places were fortified.

Though, by the treaty of 1763, it had been agreed that all fortifications which the English had erected in the Bay of Honduras and other places on the coast should be abolished, yet they took and fortified Ruatan, from which the Spaniards dislodged them in 1780. The stipulation was renewed in the treaty of 1783, and the Island was again taken and fortified by the British in 1796. The Spaniards again dislodged them by force in the next year.

The English had also established themselves on the shores of Honduras and Nicaragua, at some points on that tract which they are pleased to call the Musquito coast. This they had done under pretence of cession from the Waikna, or Moscos Indians, inhabiting the coast, and of engagements for protection of those Indians. This country was abandoned by the treaty of 1763, and by that of 1783, and the English forts therein abolished.

In tracing the British expansion from this nucleus of a licence to cut wood on a tract of fifteen hundred square miles up to a colonial government and jurisdiction over a territory as large as the six New England States, we shall use chiefly the words of Mr. Crowe. He says:

"The limits which were first assigned to the woodcutters in

1783, were distinctly pointed out as reaching coastwise from the Rio Hondo to the Belize, or Old river; an extent of less than 60 miles. The treaty of 1786 added about nine miles more to the line of coast, viz: as far south as the mouth of the Sibun; and the inland boundary was as clearly defined. Notwithstanding this, *as the timber and other objects of pursuit became scarce within the assigned limits, or were less accessible by water, one river after another to the southward was practically taken possession of by the settlers, and when thus occupied, whether by mahogany and logwood works, or by plantations, the protection of the British flag was not only extended to the settlers, but its dominion was asserted over all such streams, and the intervening territories were incorporated into the British claim. Though the claim to these occupied lands was not at once officially made in a frank and honorable manner, the result was a growing colonial empire, the recognized limits of which, in November*, 1836, *we gather from an official declaration of the Colonial Secretary of State, in which they are stated to extend as follows: from the Rio Hondo on the north, to the River Sarstoon on the south, and as far west as Garlott's Falls on the River Belize, and a line on the same parallel to strike on the River Hondo, on the north, and on the River Sarstoon, on the south:—the British crown claims, also, the waters, islands, and keys, lying between the coast above defined and the meridian of the easternmost point of lighthouse reef.*" (*pp.* 201, 202.)

The English nation has as good a claim, in every respect, to an equal quantity of square miles on the coast of France, as that which, sitting in his office in London, the Hon. Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a map of the country on his desk before him, thus marked off and proclaimed as English Territory in Central America. The audacity of the act would be overshadowed by its juvenility, were it not for the backing of English cannon, and the distracted and defenceless condition of the Central American States.

Mr. Crowe remarks upon this act of the Secretary: "Since the time when this was promulgated, the expansive propensities of this settlement have by no means diminished, and it is perhaps difficult to predict at what time it may be expected to have reached its full growth, or whereunto its dimensions will ultimately extend."—(*p.* 202.)

To this extent, comprising two hundred and fifty miles of coast, the English usurpation had reached within a dozen or fifteen years after the separation of the States from Spain. The days of the senility and decay of the old monarchy, and of the juvenility, weakness, and internal distraction, known to be fostered by England, of the new States, were chosen as

well suited to her "expansive propensities;"—to the extension of her settlements, and the establishment of her authority and jurisdiction. In 1840, Col. McDonald, styling himself Her Majesty's Superintendent and Commander-in-Chief in and over her *possessions* in Honduras, &c., issued a proclamation, referring to the inconvenience and imperfections of the laws and customs of the Bay, which deprived the settlers of the benefit of the wise and wholesome laws which British subjects are entitled to claim as their birthright *within British territory*, and which it was declared and ordained that from the date thereof "the law of England is and shall be the law of this settlement or colony of British Honduras," and it is provided that *all local customs and laws "which are repugnant to the spirit of the law of England*, and opposed to the principles of equity and justice, *are and shall be null and void.*"

A few years later a Chief Justice, Queen's Advocate, and other officers were sent out from England in 1845, which may be considered the date of the complete establishment of English authority.

Mr. Crowe says: "The British possessions in Central America have, at *different periods been considerably enlarged merely by laying claim to more remote boundaries.* But lately they extended to the Rio Hondo on the north, to the Sarstoon river, a distance of nearly two hundred and fifty miles southward, reaching almost to the extremity of the Bay of Honduras. At present they are declared to reach yet a little further south, viz: to the Cocolee, a small river near the mouth of the Rio Dulce. *The western limit, and indeed all the others, except the ocean, seem to depend very much upon the discretion of the occupants, who, up to the present time, have penetrated as far back as they have found it convenient for themselves.*"

Though the British Government had dismantled its forts on the Mosquito shore, and abandoned its claim to territory there, in compliance with the treaty of 1786, yet, says Mr. Crowe, an intercourse was kept up with the Indians, through the Island of Jamaica, and the determination to keep up British influence was manifested by the pretext of protection. The chiefs were flattered and bribed, ideas of hereditary monarchy were instilled or fostered, and the person selected for monarch was crowned at Kingston or Belize, *and provided with a private secretary, who was an Englishman, and keeper of the King's person.* He was placed in the residence of the English consul, who was constituted his guardian, and *pensioned* for life from the English treasury.

While the English Secretary was establishing English rule over a portion of Honduras, as before stated, he was providing also the like benefit for the Wikna or Mosquito Indians,

and others inhabiting that part of the coast. A Board of Directors for the Mosquito Shore was formed by direction of the home government. A British Agent or Resident was soon after established at Bluefields, "*a dispute for extended limits at each end of their territories, was originated by our government in their name*," says Mr. Crowe; and these acts appear to be the commencement of a systematic plan for obtaining, and gradually enlarging English dominion in Central America in parts beyond the old logwood settlements of Honduras, which they had already, by the process described by Mr. Crowe, of "*laying claim to more remote boundaries*," at "*the discretion of the occupants*," expanded as far as they "*found it convenient for themselves.*" The mouth of the San Juan river was at the same time blockaded, under the pretext that the State of Nicaragua had not paid its share of the debt contracted by the Federal Government with some English subjects. And the private secretary and agent of the English Consul General wrote a rude letter to the Executive of the State, in which he says: "*Mr. Chatfield, her Majesty's Consul General in Central America has received instructions to point out to the States of Central America the limits which the British Government is determined to maintain as the right of the King of the Mosquitos, and that those limits comprehend the San Juan river.*"

At the same time the commander of the English sloop-of-war Alarm took possession of the coast of Honduras, from its eastern limit to Cape Roman.

Col. McDonald having, in 1840, performed the operation of extending the English laws over "*British Honduras*," the extent of which will be presently stated, finding his ambition to "grow with what it fed on," in the next year undertook the conquest of Ruatan. This island had been several times taken possession of by companies of English, and as often given up by the English Government, with a disavowal of the act of taking possession. In the same year he proceeded to the port of San Juan del Nicaragua, with what force we are not informed, and took prisoner the Nicaraguan commandante, whom he brought away.

The extent of the usurpations of England in Central America is thus summed up by Mr. Crowe, writing a year or two before the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and may be taken as the probable limits of the *expansion* at the date of the treaty:

"With no other claim than what is afforded by the treaties with Spain, we have possessed ourselves of the actual sovereignty of territories on the northern shore of the Bay of Honduras, extending over about 20,000 square miles, exclusive of islands and keys.

"We have taken and retaken the important Island of Ruatan no less than five times, and are now exercising the right of sovereignty over its fertile lands, which extend, at the least, to 150 square miles.

"By virtue of a late treaty with Yucatan, *and on the score of assistance afforded for the pacification of the peninsula during the war of races*, WHICH IS STILL RAGING THERE, we have obtained an extension of limits on the northern boundary of our Central American empire, extending from the Rio Hondo to the port and town of Salamanca de Bacalar, thus including about 3,600 square miles of additional territory.

"Altogether making, on a moderate calculation, full 23,750 square miles.

"To the *occupation* of these extensive tracts of country, must be added the PROTECTION of the Mosquito Shore, over which our government exercises as much control as over its own possessions, though in a somewhat less direct manner, or rather by a more indirect course. In addition to the 400 miles of seacoast from the Roman river to the San Juan del Norte, we have *lately* put forth a claim, in the name of the Waikna monarch, to about 100 miles more of seacoast to the southward of the San Juan, extending through the State of Costa Rica, and part of the province of Veragua, as far as Chiriqui Lagoon; thus including, altogether, at least 37,000 square miles of Protectorate, including the occupation of Greytown. Thus, as the actual result, up to the present time, exclusive of such smaller items as Ruatan and Tigre Islands, *we have a sum tal of* 60,600 *square miles over which we exercise full control*, BEING NEARLY A THIRD OF ALL CENTRAL AMERICA, AND MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS THE AREA OF GREAT BRITAIN"—(*pp.* 219, 220.)

[The united territory of the whole six New England States is 66,126 square miles.]

Between the date of Mr. Crowe's writing and of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, we are not advised of any further expansions. The islands in the Bay of Fonseca, and other places on the Pacific, which they had seized, have been since given up. Simultaneously with the execution of the treaty by which our country acquired California, a military expedition, under the authority of the British Government, landed at San Juan del Norte, and took forcible possession of that place, an act evidently having relation to its convenience in facilitating the transit from the eastern ports of our country to California. If we mistake not the abandonment of this place was the only act done in or toward performance of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. At that date the possession of Ruatan, though it had continued uncontested for nine or ten years, had not been formally pro-

claimed as English territory. This was done about two years after the ratification of the treaty.

Ruatan may be considered, says Alcedo, as the key of the Bay of Honduras, and the focus of the trade of the neighboring countries. "This beautiful island has an excellent harbor, easily defended, and is well adapted to the culture of coffee, cotton, and other tropical products," says MacGregor. Capt. Mitchell, of the British Navy, in 1850, says, "the local position of the island seems one of importance in a commercial, and perhaps in a political point of view," and "its proximity to Central America and Spanish Honduras seems to point it out as a good depot for English goods and manufactures, where they would find a ready market, EVEN IN OPPOSITION TO ANY DUTIES PLACED ON THEM." Capt. John Wright says Ruatan and Bonaca, in consequence of their fine harbors, good soil, pure air, and great quantities of animals, fish, and fruits, and commanding ground, are proverbially known in that part of the world, as "the garden of the West Indies," "the key to Spanish America," and "a New Gibraltar." From their natural strength, they might be made impregnable, being tenable with a very small force. Capt. Mitchell says: "In 1843 the population was only 80, now (1850?) 1,600 or 1,700. The mass of the population are liberated slaves from Grand Cayman, and a small portion of colored people, also natives of that island, with a small number of Europeans."

Perhaps many of our readers may be most particularly anxious to know the genealogy, numbers, and condition of that interesting people, called usually Moscos, and Mosquitos, whose protection has been assumed by the august Queen of England; in virtue of which she claims a tract of country but little less in extent than the State of New York, with 500 miles of sea coast.

Mr. Young, an English writer, as quoted by Mr. Squier, gives this account of them. The Sambos or Mosquitos are a mixed race of negroes and Indians. Early in the seventeenth century, a slaver was driven ashore not far from Cape Gracias. The negroes intermixed with the Indians. The negro element was augmented from time to time, by runaway slaves from the Spanish Settlements. The entire shore was ceded by some of their chiefs to the British crown in 1740. *The country was afterwards abandoned by the English in a treaty with Spain in* 1780. *After the revolution which resulted in the Independence of Central America, the English Government took possession of the country under pretence of the old claim which had been abandoned by treaty with Spain.* "It has been calculated that the whole population now, (1839,) does not exceed 8,000, as they have been decreasing for many years."

Mr. Squier himself, however, gives the population at a greatly reduced figure. "The entire number of these people," he says, "does not probably exceed 2,000, certainly not 3,000. In the estimates heretofore made, the pure Indians have been included, with the view of giving the Mosquitos an importance which they do not possess. But these Indians do not recognize what is called 'Mosquito authority,' and have always been in a state of hostility with the Sambos."—(*p.* 364.)

"It has already been intimated that but a very small portion of the Mosquito Shore is inhabited or occupied by what are called the Mosquito Indians. These are few in number, and are composed chiefly of Sambos (i. e. negroes crossed with Indians) and of the children of Jamaica traders, captains and crews of coasting vessels, by Indian, negro, or Sambo women." (*p.* 363.)

"From the frequent mention, of late years, of a personage styled the 'King of the Mosquitos,' some portion of the public may have fallen into the error of supposing that what are called the Mosquito Indians do really recognize and obey some such potentate. Nothing could be further from the truth. No form of government ever existed among these people, except such as was vested in their local head men or chiefs, who have often been at variance and in open hostility among themselves, some of these have assumed the title of governor, others of general, admiral, &c., without having the slightest comprehension of the meaning of the terms. Thus, at the time of Roberts' visit, a chief called governor Clemente, was recognized as head man over the coast from Pearl Kay Lagoon to Sandy Bay, and another styled General Robinson, held authority in the vicinity of Cape Gracias. When the English Superintendent at Belize found it convenient to manufacture a king on the Mosquito Shore, a number of these head men were got together, and by liberal appliances of rum, induced to affix their marks to a paper, which was afterwards produced as "an act of allegiance" to a Sambo selected for the purpose by the English agent. *But the chiefs neither understood what they did, nor regarded it afterward.* The fiction, however, answered its purpose."*—(*p.* 365.)

The Musquitos have no settlement, except immediately upon the coast. The interior is occupied by a number of tribes, generally, if not universally, recognizing the Spanish authorities, and to a greater or less extent, using the Spanish language. The Melchoras have a great dread of the English, and will hold no communion with the whites unless previously assured that

*Those who are curious to know the history of the people and the proceedings alluded to will be satisfied by reading chap. xi, of Mr. Crowe's work, from page 200 to 222.

there are no English among them. None of these hold intercourse with the Mosquitos, or recognize their authority; nor can they be included in any estimate of the population of what is facetiously called the Mosquito kingdom.—(*pp.* 366–7.)

From an English paper published at Belize the subjoined account is taken: "Bluefields is the capitol of Mosquitia; bordering the river is the residence of the king *and his English tutor, or guardian*, over which floats the British flag. * * * * * * In October 1847, Bluefields and its dependencies contained 599 inhabitants of all ages, of which 111 were whites, and 488 blacks. These occupied two villages, the largest of which is Bluefields proper, containing 78 houses; the lesser, Carlsruhe, the Prussian colony, consisting of 92 souls occupying 16 houses. One of the houses is the residence of Mr. Walker, diplomatic agent and Consul General of England, with whom his Mosquito Majesty resides."

In virtue of her relation of protector to these motley 3,000 negroes, demi-negroes, and quarter-negroes, black-speckled, brown-speckled, red-speckled and olive-speckled, Queen Victoria has taken possession of or spread a claim over 37,000 square miles of territory; and the expanded cutting-grounds of the Belize, whose area, as before stated from Mr. Crowe, is 23,000 square miles, have a population of 10,800, making in the whole number of occupants of her 60,000 square miles a little less than 14,000.

This recent, extravagant, and elastic pretension, originating, as respects the whole of the present expanded territory claimed as the Belize settlement, except about one-tenth part of it, which, without the imputation of fraud, might be occupied only for cutting under the license of the Spanish treaty without any rights of sovereignty or jurisdiction, but which license terminated with the Spanish dominion, and has not been renewed, as we believe, in fraud; and as respects all the remaining territory of Mosquito and the Islands, in naked, unveiled, open violence, and forcible invasion and seizure, was, by the stipulations of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, agreed to be abandoned, with a reservation only as to the wood-cutting ground as occupied under the Spanish license, and to be continued without interruption.

The first article of the treaty runs thus: "the Governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare, that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, *or occupy*, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or *exercise* any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America; nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or

may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have, to or with any State or people for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Musquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same; nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any State or government through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal, which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other."

The words of the treaty seem to be explicit and its intent plain. And the American Government has given a construction to it agreeable to the obvious import of the language. The stipulation is that neither party shall *occupy* Nicaragua *or any part of Central America.* This is intelligible. If a man occupy a house, or one room of a house, upon a doubtful claim, and contract with any other party, that, for a consideration, he will not occupy *any part* of it, there is no room for misunderstanding or evasion. It is not merely a contract against extending the occupancy in future to other parts of the house, but a plain contract that the party will abandon what is now occupied. The stipulation is further, that neither party will exercise dominion over any part of Central America: which goes as much to the dominion at present exercised as to setting up domain in a new territory. These convenants are plain; and there are no others in any way conflicting with or qualifying them, under any usual or natural interpretation of language. But Mr. Bulwer, in his letter to Mr. Webster says, that the convention was not designed to affect the position of Great Britain as *occupying* a large part of Nicaragua and Honduras, and *exercising dominion* over the same territory under pretext of being guardian and protector of the Indians, and argues that a reference to "protection" as existing, or as hereafter likely to exist, recognizes the fact and the right of a protectorate. This construction is founded on an error in fact, and involves several absurdities. It does not refer to protection as existing or as likely to exist; but suggests and provides against the *possibility* that protection may be pleaded or asserted as a pretext for occupying, or exercising dominion. The construction of Mr. Bulwer involves the absurdity, first, that if the mere reference to, or suggestion of protection recognizes the fact and the right, then it equally recognizes the fact and the right in both parties, in one as well as in the other, in the United States as well as in Great Britain; the

words are "nor will either (party) make use of any protection which either (party) affords or may afford." There is nothing in this expression which implies the fact or right of protection in one, more than in the other. If it implies the fact and the right of protection in one it must in the other equally. Second, the following clause of the sentence is continued in the same form of expression precisely, nor will either party make use of "any alliance which either (party) has or may have to or with any State or People." If the first part of the sentence implies and recognizes protection, the last, in precisely the same form, providing against any alliance as the first against protection, must, of necessity, in like manner imply and recognize "the fact and the right of" alliance, the fact of alliance not on the part of Great Britain alone, but of both parties "WITH ANY STATE OR PEOPLE." Can any thing be more absurd. It recognizes and implies an alliance, not with some particular State or People, but indefinitely with ANY State or People. The same form is again repeated: "Nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any State or government through whose territory the said canal may pass," meaning to imply and recognize, according to Mr. Bulwer's construction, that Great Britain (not to extend it to the other) does possess an intimacy, connection, or influence with any government, indefinitely, through whose territitory the said canal may pass, whatever government it may be.

Such absurdities would not heighten the opinion of Mr. Bulwer's wisdom; and if the reserved and dubious mode of recognizing the right of protection which he asserts, was used for the purpose of continuing it, this would nullify the other portion of the first article of the treaty, and, therefore, would not be a very good witness in behalf of Mr. Bulwer's honesty. Nor would there be more sagacity than honesty in making a treaty one part of which should annul another part. We find a retreat from this injurious imputation upon the minister, in considering that his construction was altogether an afterthought, and that it was delivered without sufficient reflection. The language of the clause so tortured by him has this intent, no more—that each party will not do indirectly, and by cover or pretence of protection or alliance, what it has before stipulated shall not be done directly. But Mr. Bulwer himself has an alternative to his construction, that it refers to protection as *existing* or as *likely to exist*. If it is only this last then, how does it thereby recognize either the fact or the right. There seems to our mind great confusion in alleging that something which is *likely to be* is a fact. It is uncertain whether it was intended to refer to the protection as existing, or as

merely likely to exist, the uncertainty defeats the construction, and forbids that it be interpreted as recognizing the fact.

We are informed, however, by the last annual message of the President, that Great Britain, instead of abandoning her unlawful possessions in Central America, in compliance with the obligations of her treaty with our Government, has actually much enlarged them. The extent of the enlargement we are not precisely apprised of. Two years, however, after signing the treaty, the inchoate occupation of the islands, resting on the forcible seizure of the superintendent of Belize, was made complete and official by a proclamation of possession in name of her Majesty. The "expansive" propensity of the woodcutter settlement, we believe, has been continuing, and has advanced somewhat along the northern shore of Honduras, perhaps with an eye to covering the northern terminus of a contemplated railroad as surveyed by an American company.

We have space to say but few words upon the present condition and political aspect of the country. As before said, the possession of the government in the several States has always been determined more by the bullet than the ballot. In these contests the liberal party has generally been overpowered, though at times successful for a while. In San Salvador, however, the liberal party has oftener held the power than in the other States. If we are not mistaken, this was the only State in possession of the liberals a year ago, or in the early part of 1855. In Nicaragua a contest of arms was waging for the supremacy, and the liberal party, doubtful of the issue, invited Col. Walker to aid them. He went with a small band, and joining the liberal forces, soon turned the scale, and the result was the election of Rivas as President.

The prospect now is that the liberal party will not be very soon overthrown; but that the Government will have more stability in the State of Nicaragua than it has ever before had in any State except Costa Rica, where, in consequence of the strength of the conservative party, the liberals have generally acquiesced in their authority. The moral effect of this stability under liberal rule will be to encourage and strengthen San Salvador, which has always been more disposed than the others to industry and the arts, and which now having the good fortune to have Gen. Cabanas, a man of high character, at the head of affairs, will readily feel the favorable influence of the state of things in Nicaragua, and will, in turn, become more stable. There is no reason, perhaps, to look for change in either of the other States, unless the liberal party in Honduras or Guatemala, feeling reassured by the success of their cause in the neighboring State, should find themselves strong enough to take the government into their hands.

Such is the inveterate hate of one party to the other, that it may be considered doubtful if a confederated or united government can be again formed in Central America, while the several States are under the authority of the different parties. This tendency to separation, naturally induced by the animosity of the parties, has been fostered by the agents of England, the evidence of which appears in some correspondence published by Mr. Squier, being a letter from the Secretary of the British Consul General, Chatfield, in which, after exulting that matters were taking a favorable turn against the policy of federation or union, he says, the British Admiral goes to La Union, (a port of San Salvador,) *well instructed by Mr. Chatfield*, and "*I think his arrival there will bring the revolution to a favorable close.*" At the same juncture, the *well instructed* British Admiral made attempts to coerce the State into a compliance with arrogant demands, and the surrender of territorial rights; all which was manifestly done to produce a *favorable turn* for the serviles, then in insurrection.*

It seems now that what has been sought for some years, a northern pass across the Isthmus, saving greatly in the distance by the Panama route to our Pacific coast, and avoiding the delays and the danger to health attending that passage, is about to be speedily accomplished. This is the route described by Mr. Squier in his "Notes" published last year, from Omoa to the the Bay of Fonseca. Probably most persons will agree with Mr. Squier, that this route has advantages over all others. A company has been formed for constructing a railroad here, and the survey has been recently going forward. The engineers were expected to report about the first of June, and the work will proceed at once if that report should be favorable. The heights were ascertained by competent engineers in 1853, and the rate of ascent was found less than on several of the principal roads in the United States. The character of the report therefore cannot be such as to deter or discourage the

* The British Consul General having induced a Commissioner of the State of Honduras to agree to a session of territory, which he had no power to make, this was communicated by the British Admiral to the President, *with a demand for its immediate ratification, under* threats of blockades and territorial seizures in case of refusal.

The Admiral also threatened indefinite vengeance for the audacity of a printer in alluding to the English threats and wrongs. His letter runs—"A series of articles have appeared from time to time in the papers of Nicaragua, which reflect generally and particularly upon the British Government and its respectable representative, Mr. Chatfield, as also holding up the English nation, collectively and individually, to public indignation. Such language is improper and unjust, *and I bring it thus officially before your Government, beliving that it will make use of its influence over the public press to restrain, in future,* ALL OFFENCES *of this nature.* * * * * It is my intention to return to this port in a few days, *when I expect to find a satisfactory answer to this communication.*—(Rear-Admiral Hornsby to the Secretary of the State of Nicaragua, March 19, 1850.)

enterprise: and this avenue, terminating in the finest bay of the Pacific, whose shores are formed by the soil of the three central States, will soon probably be the accustomed path from sea to sea.

GOLD AND SILVER MINES.*

Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo,
Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
Poena metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo
Aere legebantur, nec supplex turba timebat
Judicis ora sui, sed erant sine judice tuti.
Nondum caesa suis, peregrinum ut viseret orbem,
Montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas,
Nullaque mortales, praeter sua litora norant.
Nondum praecipites cingebant oppida fossae;
Non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi,
Non galeae, non ensis erat: sine militis usu
Mollia securae peragebant otia gentes.†

So, and so forth, sings Ovid, hymning the imaginary praises of the conjectural simplicity of the good olden time, before "Tilla bare Tubal-cain," an instructor of every artificer in "brass and iron," and before the gnomes and gnomides, and the other guardians of the hidden treasures of the earth had been disturbed in their obscure vocation by the invention of the iniquitous arts of metallurgy. Ovid merely repeated the song which had been first chanted by Hesiod, and filled with new variations by the comic and other poets of Greece. For the legends of Hellenic mythology and the fables of Greek poetry represented the Golden Age as the happy period of the Arcadian tranquility and primeval innocence of man. Then gold and the other metals, noble or ignoble, were unknown. The age was termed golden from the entire absence of gold. *Aurea appellabatur atas ab absentia auri.* The earth, with spontaneous exuberance, poured forth her ample bounties for the sustenance of her idle children. Men were like the lilies of the field; "they toiled not, neither

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* 1. Notes on the Distribution of Gold throughout the World, including Australia, California, Russia, and Great Britain. With Five Maps. By James Wyld, Geographer to the Queen and H. R. H. Prince Albert. London; James Wyld, &c. &c.; 1 vol. 8vo.

2. An Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals. By William Jacob, Esq., F. R. S. In two volumes. London; John Murray, Albemarle street, 1831. 2 vols. 8vo.

† Ovid Metamorph: lib. i, v. 89, 100. See the whole passage down to v. 112. The most amusing description of the blessings of the early world is contained in a fragment of the Amphictyones of Teleclides, preserved by Athenæus. Meinicke. Fragm. Com. Græc., vol. i, ps. i, pp. 361–2.

did they spin." The iniquities of cookery were unknown; baked loaves of fine flour hung on the boughs of strange bread-fruit trees; rivers of turtle soup, floating dishes of roast meat, and delicate viands, flowed around the verdant sward which served for the dinner table; the fishes boiled themselves as they wended in the evening on their homeward way, and presented themselves to the hungry, without requiring either the allurement of bait or the deception of the hook; canvass-back ducks and other game, flew, ready dressed and seasoned, into the plates of the banqueters. Cooking was needless, it was an unforseen crime, and Messieurs Ude, Soyer & Cie, were imagined evils. Barter and strife; free-trade and competition; banks and sub-treasuries; the varieties of industry and commercial enterprise, and the complicated relations of capital and labor, were as yet undiscovered phenomena. As money did not exist, the love of money had not yet been declared to be the root of all evil: though its fruits taste so pleasantly to those who possess the garden of the Hesperides, and appear so tempting to those who have no such possessions and are unable to cultivate the plant. All went merry as a marriage-bell, and the peaceful life of communities was such as is to be found only in the fortunate island of the enchantress Armida, and in the other pictures of the imagination. We have reached the further end of the scale, briefly but accurately described by Hesiod:

Chremata gai psuche peletai deildisi-brotoisi,

and money has become the life-blood of the present generation of wretched mortals. For, if M. Proudhon's wild speculations have established no other point, they have certainly proved that our modern social existence is sustained entirely by the circulation of values, and the agencies of that circulation. From the life of demigods we have descended to the tormenting struggles of human activity. We may boast of our achievements in science, in agriculture, in machinery, in commerce, and in manufactures, but assuredly we cannot boast of repose. We have been shut out of the pleasant vales of Arcady as effectually as Adam and Eve were excluded from the delights of Paradise. The flaming sword in the hand of the angel forbids return. In the development of society it is as hopeless as it is vain to look backwards after having put the hand to the plough. The Golden Age has come to us in its realities, and no longer in dreams; and it seeks at our hands an appreciation more profound and less pleasing than the delineations of Cralinus, Teleclides, and Ovid, and very different from the holiday fancies of such declaimers upon gold as the Italian, Majoraquis, and the Dutchman, Morhofius.

The modern version of the Argonautic Expedition, and the new tale of the Golden Fleece, are not less fascinating and romantic than the ancient legend, while they have all the advantage of contemporaneous reality and tangible truth. Fremont has been our Jason, and his Mariposa estate may fitly represent the treasures of the Sun. California has been our Coldris, the crop from the dragon's teeth has not been wanting; and, for want of a better parallel, we may perhaps regard Captain Suter as the dragon that watched and guarded the hidden wealth. We need no fleece to complete the analogy; for the abundance of the glittering dust defied collection and transmission by any such quaint expedient; and has been shipped to us in a more civilized course of trade by Aspinwall's and George Law's steamers, and by Adams & Co's Express.

The amount of gold in California and the adjoining regions is still incalculable. The earth seems to have been almost saturated with gold. Rivers roll down their golden tide over sands of unsunned gold, and sweep through the Golden Gate into the Western Ocean. Long ranges of mountains hide in their dark bosoms vast strata of auriferous quartz; and every year extend the recognized limits of the gold-bearing region. These facts are sufficiently familiar to the world by the experience and intelligence of recent years; but few have been able to appreciate with any approach to accuracy the accessions of gold derived from California, or the amount to be anticipated in future. It is a well known law in regard to the production of gold, exemplified by the widely-extended experience of many centuries, that the earliest harvests in any gold field are the richest, and that the product diminishes with time, and with the necessity of penetrating below the surface of the soil. But, notwithstanding the myriad adventurers who have been rifling the sands of California since 1848, there are as yet no symptoms of exhaustion; new diggings are constantly discovered; reports of new and richer mines continually reach our ears; and no perminent diminution of the golden stream is yet perceptible. All calculations of the receipts from California, past, present, and perspective, appear to fall short of a just estimate, as if the vastness of the result shocked credulity and staggered science, so that computation could scarcely venture to trust its own figures.

The wealth of California is still unknown, because the whole range of its deposites has not yet been sufficiently explored, nor has the experiment of improved machinery and scientific procedure been fully tested. Enough, however, has been discovered to disappoint the more sanguine anticipations in regard to the proceeds of the auriferous quartz. But it has always been the fate of gold and silver producing regions, that the operations

necessary for the extraction of the precious metals should be conducted in a disorderly, wasteful, expensive and unscientific manner. Consequently the actual production is seldom a just indication of the possible capabilities of a country.

But, if we are still ignorant of the treasures of California, our information is even less satisfactory in regard to Australia, whose mining industry is more recent, whose mineral lands are richer, and whose auriferous region is of much vaster extent. The interior of Australia is still an entirely unexamined tract; it is a *terra incognita*, supposed to be gold bearing from the geological conformation of the surrounding country; and perhaps, like the heart of Africa, covered with barren deserts impregnated with golden sand. Mr. Clarke, who from his own investigations had been led as early as 1841, to believe in the existence of gold deposites in Australia, and to direct public attention to the subject, and who is one of the Special Commissioners of Enquiry appointed by the British Government, estimated the auriferous region in the Macquarie district alone at seven or eight hundred square miles. After the slight early explorations had been made, it was credibly stated that a broad belt of auriferous lands extends across the continent from the Victoria gold fields to the banks of the Hunter, and the back of Moreton Bay. This tract is several hundred miles in length and of unknown breadth, and only runs along the lower angle of the richer basin which occupies the interior. This anticipation has been confirmed; and in Wyld's maps we trace the indications of gold along the Brogo, the Duah, the Hunter, the Manning, and the Brisbane rivers. But the richest mines discovered and the most extensive gold fields lie westward of the Australian Alps, and the Blue Mountains, in the neighborhood of Adelaide in the Victoria gold fields, and on the waters of the northern tributaries of the great river Murray. When this vast region, and the other auriferous districts which may be hereafter discovered in Australia, have been not merely invaded, but occupied by the pickaxe and the cradle of thousands of eager laborers; when the endless temptation of the mineral wealth of the soil have lured to the southern Pacific a population adequate to the enterprize to be performed; when the quartz-crushing machinery already successfully employed has been more effectually and extensively introduced; what limit can we venture to assign in advance to the teeming products of the Australian mines? Are we not at length introduced to the prospect of a veritable age of gold?

The catalogue of gold producing regions is just begun. California and Australia are the most brilliant examples in recent years, but they are not the only sources to which we look for our supplies. The past history of the world manifests clearly

the singular fact, that gold mines, like troubles, never come single. They have not been discovered by gradual advances, but the gains of half a millennium have already been the reward of a few generations. Such was the phenomena exhibited in the history of Greece when the gold mines of Thrace and Thasos fell into the hands of the Athenians; it was repeated in Spain in the case of the Carthagenian and Roman silver mines; it recurred in the sixteenth century in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil; and it is now for the fourth time illustrated by Siberia, California, and Australia, and by the progress of current events.

Providence has explicitly reserved the times and the seasons to Himself; and when the appointed hour arrives, He discloses to our eyes in rapid succession, and miraculous abundance, the treasure chambers of the earth, the richest still the last, revealing at once a world of wealth which laughs at human expectations, and disturbs alike the calculations and projects of men. The wayfarer of life, hunting for a small increase of his personal gains or enjoyments by ingenious devices and arduous endeavours, has his eyes suddenly and magically opened, like the Calender in the Arabian Nights, to the mysteries of the earth, and to the perception of the hidden treasures which had escaped unnoted before. The soil, perhaps often trodden previously without a suspicion of its contents, teems with newly discovered wealth. An Indian uprooting a bush on a rugged mountain side, or a ditcher digging a mill-race, or a man stumbling over a rock, may be the occasion of the portentous revelation. The same miracle may be repeated for other stragglers in other sections of the globe, until the whole machinery of industry and commerce, of policy and society, is jarred and unsettled by the sudden influx of gold or silver, and the equally sudden efflux of population. Sometimes it happens that the lands ultimately so productive, have been long vaguely regarded as auriferous, as was the case with California, but have previously generated only repeated disappointments.* Never but once has it occurred, as it did in Australia, that an actual explorer indicated in advance the probability of finding gold in a particular locality, and that there has been "the man, who, using the light of science, foretold to the English world the existence of gold" in a particular region, and who, "living, has seen the realization of his prediction."†

As yet, only the first two acts of the old drama have been

*For the numerous and vain attempts early undertaken to settle California, see L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.

†This is the language of Wyld's very handsome dedication of his pamphlet on the Distribution of Gold to Sir Roderick Impsey Murchison, the most brilliant of living geologists.

revived for our benefit; but to show how much more may be speedily expected, and at the same time to furnish the fundamental data for the consideration of the gold question, we will run over the principal regions whence gold has heretofore been drawn, and those which are now known to be, or are suspected of being auriferous. The materials which we have collected for this inquiry are sufficiently ample, though we cannot pretend that they will enable us to exhaust the subject. But we have consulted nearly every modern work of importance which illustrates this interesting inquiry, and we have carefully noted and collected every authentic indication bearing on this point which has appeared in the public journals since the commencement of Californian and Australian discovery. It may occasion surprise to find the localities of gold so numerous, but there is scarcely any metal more extensively diffused. The best authorities have even declared that it exists in almost every country, though rarely in sufficient quantities to justify the labor and expense of its separation and collection. To the enumeration of the gold-producing regions of the earth, we shall also add a survey of the argentiferous countries; for these two noble metals are so closely associated with each other by reciprocal relations, as well as by geographical and geological position, that it is impossible to consider any leading topic connected with the one, without being obliged at the same time to embrace the other also in our investigations.

Gold and silver are found both native and in combination with each other, and with other metals. They occur principally in the older rocks. "Gold is more abundantly found in quartz and slaty rocks of high antiquity, particularly in those called silurian by Murchison, which lie in contact with granite, porphyry, and other eruptive rocks. It is not, however, in such solid rocks, when in their original position, that the richest gold mines have prevailed, but only in their débris or gravel, as spread out on the flanks of the mountains."* Though silver is frequently found in combination with gold, copper, lead, &c., in the strata appropriate to those metals, yet "native silver occurs principally in arborescences and filiform shapes, in veins of calcareous spar or quartz, traversing gneiss, slate, and other ancient rocks."† The chief localities of the precious metals are thus in the primary and metamorphic rocks, and in the neighborhood of volcanic eruptions and dislocations. If, therefore, a complete geological map of the world were constructed, which contained accurate indications of the prevail-

*Wyld, § 2, p. 13, compare Dana's Mineralogy, p. 550; and Brongniart's useful Theoretical Table of the most general succession and disposition of Strata and Rocks in Europe.

†Dana's Mineralogy, p. 535.

ing series of rocks over the various regions of the globe, it would enable us to tell by simple inspection where gold and silver might be expected to be found *in situ*, where gold might be sought for amid the detritus of an allvuial formation, but it could not show us the points where it might be discovered sporadically. We should possess, however, information sufficient to prevent fruitless researches, and to confine our examinations within such a range as would include nearly all mines capable of being worked to advantage. By such geological premonitions Sir Roderick Murchison was enabled to foretell the existence of gold in Australia, the character of the country adjoining the coast-range of mountains being closely analogous to that of the system of the Ural, which he had explored with great diligence, and under the most favorable auspices.

We have no complete geological map of the world; those which have been already published, whatever value they may possess as acute anticipations or bold generalizations, are mainly conjectural. We have no complete geological may of Europe; though, for this quarter of the globe, a partial approximation to a satisfactory exhibition of its geology will probably be afforded when Murchison and his collaborators shall give to the world the larger chart which they have recently promised. Imperfect and defective, however, as are the published geological maps of the globe, we are at once struck with the beautiful exemplification of the law of the production of gold, when we collate the rough daub in which Mr. Wyld has embodied the indication of auriferous localities with the still ruder daub in which Professor Hitchcock has delineated the geological complexion of the superficial stricture of the globe,* or with the exquisite chart of the same subject recently issued as one of the maps of the second edition of Johnson's magnificent Physical Atlas.† Wherever Mr. Wyld's gamboge indicates the presence of gold, we discover in Hitchcock and in the Physical Atlas the colors which designate the presence also of the primary and metamorphic rocks in conjunction with adjacent igneous interruptions.

"Gold is found in almost every country, but in such minute quantities that it is often not worth the expense of working."‡ In almost every region of the earth there are traces of volcanic disturbance, and where ever these have occurred, there may be and propably will be a manifestation of gold, as well as in the alluvial plains into which the waters from these elevations of disturbance have descended. But, widely as gold is diffused, it was the latest produced of the metals. To this conclusion Murchi-

* Hitchcock. Outline of the Geology of the Globe.

† Plate, I. Text, pp. 1–8.

‡ Mrs. Somerville, Phys. Geography, chap. xv. p. 174. Am. Ed.

son, De Verneiul, and Keyserling were led by the minute examination of the geological structure of the great Uralian gold district.* It may be, however, that this posteriority of date is rather due to the depth of its primitive site in the crust of the globe, and to the lateness of its extrusion by igneous action, than to any actual posteriority of creation. This view might justify the anticipation of the production of new gold fields in the progress of human history as the consequence of those volcanic disturbances and subterranean forces of elevation which are still active in widely separated regions of the globe.

Late, however, as may have been, on the scale of geological chronology, the formation of gold, it was unquestionably one of the earliest metals discovered and converted to human use. The Golden Age, when gold was still unknown, was of very brief, as well as dubious duration. Abraham "was rich in cattle, and in silver, and in gold." Job knew "that the earth hath dust of gold;" and he says, "Surely there is a vein for the silver and a place for the gold where they fine it." The use of gold long preceded the use of iron. Even in the age of Homer the latter metal appears to have been the more valuable of the two;† and in an earlier age or a ruder period of civilization, gold was used while iron was unemployed, or the gold was used in combination with iron, to save the expenditure of the latter more valuable metal. The savages of Brazil had fish-hooks of gold, but had no iron, though their country abounded with iron ore. The people of Hispaniola and Mexico, when first discovered, used no iron, but had ornaments and implements of gold; and amongst the relics exhumed from ancient Scandinavian tombs are "swords, daggers, and knives, the blades of which are of gold, whilst an edge of iron is formed for the purpose of cutting."‡ The ordinary occurrence of the precious metals in their native form, and the extreme simplicity of the rude metallurgy sufficient to separate them from the commoner and coarser impurities with which they are mechanically intermingled, furnish an obvious explanation of their early discovery and use.

From the most remote ages to which history ascends, the use of gold appears to have been familiar to the nations of the eastern world; but the knowledge of the modes by which it was obtained must long have continued a secret to the inhabitants of the west, since Herodotus, in the fifth century before Christ, could record such extravagant stories in regard to its acquisition as the campaign of the Indians against the ants "not so large as a dog, but larger than a fox;" and the battles of the

* London Qu. Review, Oct. 1850. Art: IV. p. 217. Am. Ed.

† Ilias. lib. XXIII. pp. 262-70, 826-35.

‡ Jacobs' Hist. Inquiry, vol. i, p. 2–3. Introd.

one-eyed Auniaspians against the griffins.* In both these cases, however, Herodotus apparently indicates regions known to be auriferous, the slopes of the Altai and of the Ural.

The Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, Persians, and Phœnicians, appear to have been abundantly supplied with gold in very early times, either by the produce of their own soil, or by the interchange of commodities. But it has been considered that the Phœnicians were the first people who regularly and methodically engaged in mining operations, and in the transportation of the precious metals which they obtained, chiefly by the Nile from the Nubia, and by the Red Sea, from India and adjacent countries. It is to them that must be ascribed the opening and working of the mines in Thrace and in the Greek Archipelago, and the rich mines of Spain. Their metallurgical operations must very soon have become extensive, since they visited Cornwall for tin, and imported the same rare metal from the islands of further Asia before the times of Homer.

Our space will not permit us to enumerate in chronological order the discoveries and acquisitions of the precious metals, suggestive as this procedure would be by revealing the amount of gold and silver in use at different periods, and by exhibiting the marked and important effects produced on the industry of the world by the several successive revelations of new and richer mines. For this information we must refer the reader to the only work in which it is contained; and for the deductions that may be drawn from it we may refer to an interesting, but often extravagant essay of Sir Archibald Alison in Blackwood's Magazine. The former treatise is Jacobs' Historical Inquiry into the production and consumption of the Precious Metals. It is strange and much to be regretted that this valuable essay has never arrived at the honors of a second edition, for it is the only book, so far as we are apprised, which gives a methodical and full exposition of the difficult subject to which it is devoted. Moreover it requires careful and elaborate revision; for whatever its merits may be, and they must be esteemed great when we consider the intricacy and obscurity of the subject, and the obstacles to be encountered in a first attempt, it is deformed by much loose and inconclusive reasoning, by frequent omissions, by many rash statements, and by gross miscalculations. There is a single blunder in addition, occurring early in the second volume, which runs through and vitiates all the subsequent estimates. These defects might be corrected in an improved and augmented republication, and a supplementary chapter might be appended to include the important developments since 1831, the date of the publication of the work, and to

* Herod. lib. iii, c. c. 102–116.

embrace the history, statistics, and consequences of the gold discoveries in California and Australia.

We have not the time nor the design to run over the ground traversed by Mr. Jacobs, and must content ourselves with a brief geographical outline of the localities where gold and silver have been found, or are known to exist, and where gold and silver mines have been worked. Before commencing this enumeration, it must be observed that there is little prospect of future accessions from the mines wrought in earlier times, the usual law on this subject being the certainty of speedy exhaustion, and the absence of mineral sufficient to justify further operations after they have once been abandoned. The silver mines of Mexico and South America are the principal exceptions to this doctrine.

Considering the mines of gold and silver separately, and beginning our perambulation of the globe with the western parts of Europe, we find that gold still exists in Great Britain in small quantities. When Cæsar invaded the island he found gold money, of native or Phœnician origin, in the hands of the inhabitants; and Tacitus explicitly declares that it contained gold and silver, and other metals.* It is known or reported to exist at three localities in Devonshire; at twelve in Cornwall; at Mendip, in Somerset; at Little Taunton, in Gloucester; in Shropshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland; at Keswick, in Westmoreland; at Brickhill Hill, in Lancashire; and in Northumberland. In 1853 considerable excitement prevailed in England in regard to domestic gold mines. At that time the mines worked were principally the Poltimore, where gold had been known for a century, the Britannia, and the Cromhusian, in Wales. About the same time new and exceedingly rich deposites were said to have been discovered in Cornwall and Derbyshire, though there has been an entire deficiency of further information. In the reigns of Edward I. and III. three hundred and thirty-seven miners were at once withdrawn from the mines of Derbyshire and employed in those of Combmartin, Devonshire, whence so much gold was extracted as materially to assist the latter monarch in his French wars.†

Gold is found in nearly all the mountains of Wales; it has been recognized in Merionethshire, Pembrokshire, and Flintshire. It has been found at Dolgelly; at North Dolfrwyniog eighteen pits were sunk, from all of which gold was extracted;

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* Tacit. Agric. c. 12. "Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ."

† These and the following enumerations, unless specially stated otherwise, are drawn from Wyld, Jacobs, Dana's Mineralogy, and Mrs. Somerville's Physical Geography.

and 71 pounds were recently obtained from the Cromhusian mines, in Merionethshire.

In Scotland gold is found in the Pentland and most of the northern mountains, following the range from Lanark to Aberdeen. Fifty-five localities are enumerated. From the Leadhills, the richest of these localities, large quantities of gold were extracted in the reigns of James IV. and V., amounting to three hundred thusand pounds sterling during the reign of the latter. At Crawford-Moor, near Glasgow, gold was procured under the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; and, in the the former reign, one Bulmar, an Englishman, employed three hundred miners at a place still called Gold-Scour, near Elvansfoot, and obtained dust worth one hundred thousand pounds sterling in the course of a few summers. These mines were re-opened a few years ago, but it was soon discovered that they would not defray expenses.

In Ireland indications of gold have been detected in the Liffey, the Miola rivulet in Ulster, and in the Shannon at Inchmore. The only important gold formation in the Green Island is in the Wicklow Hills. Much excitement was occasioned by the discovery of a rich deposit in the streams of the Ballinvalley, near Croghan Kinshela, in 1796. The ore was singularly pure, but the space from which the collections were made extended only 350 yards along the banks of a stream not more than six or seven feet wide. The returns from these mines fell very far below the expectations which had been indulged. Ten thousand pounds worth of bullion was obtained, but much more was expended, and the expenditure was almost a dead loss when it was attempted to extract the metal by machinery from the gold-bearing rocks. About seven miles from Knishela a small quantity of gold was found in Croghan Moiva mine, and also at Cronebane, but the accessions of gold from Ireland have never been great, though the Wicklow Hills have yielded the largest nugget yet found in Europe.

In nearly all ages gold has been found in Spain, but in very fluctuating amounts. The Romans drew their principal supplies for a long period from the Iberian peninsula, and, according to Pliny,* the Asturias were, and had long been, the California of the ancient world. During the invasions of the Teutonic hordes, the operations were interrupted, and the mines which had experienced much exhaustion, were abandoned, and became inundated, or closed up with rubbish; some of them were re-opened by the Moors, and the gold works, or *aurifodinæ* have never been entirely discontinued. In the seven years preceding 1821, only £2,500 per annum were ob-

* Pliny, book xxxiii, c. iv; quoted by Jacobs, vol. i, p. 98.

tained from the Spanish mines; but a new gold fever (*chrysomania*) seized the Spaniards during the earlier years of Californian discovery, and new and very productive placers were said to have been discovered. In ancient times the Tagus was believed to run over golden sands, and both the northern and the southern provinces of the peninsula were supposed to abound in the precious ore. The sands of gold are still recognized in the Tagus, the Douro, and the Darro; but they are no longer wrought. There are still gold mines in Asturias, Gallicia, Arragon, Castile, Leon, Andalusia, and Granada. The mine of Domingo Flores, in Leon, was worked for upwards of a century, from 1639 to 1749; and the mine of Adissa yielded 125 pounds weight of gold in the seven years from 1815 to 1821. Gold quartz occurs at Culera, in Gerona, and in the Guadarama, near San Ildefonso.

In many of the streams of France gold is, or has been, found. It occurs in the Rhine between Strasburg and Phillipsburg; in the Rhone, in the Pays de Gex; in the Garonne, near Toulouse; in the Arriese, Gardon, Cezeor, Teze, Ardeche, Herault, and in the Isere at Gardetto. The latter streams flow down from the gold bearing mountains of the Cevennes. Auriferous rocks also appear in the French Alps and in the Pyrenees, and probably in the neighborhood of Mont d'Or and the Puy de Dome in Auvergne, though we have no direct testimony to this effect.* It is supposed that ancient Gaul produced no gold previous to the reign of Augustus, but the Tarbeli are said, by Stabo, to have worked mines of remarkably pure gold and silver, at the foot of the Pyrenees. Since that time, many efforts, often failures, sometimes successful, have been made to extract gold from the soil of France.

Tacitus is in doubt whether gold and silver were found in Germany. He will not deny the possibility of their existence, as no explorations had been made, but he implies that no mines were then known.† The accuracy of his suspicions will depend in great measure upon the limits assigned to Germany in his contemplation, as its ancient boundaries might be delineated in such a manner as almost entirely to exclude the regions in which gold has been discovered in any abundance. Ure observes that, "in Germany no mine of gold is worked, except in the territory of Salzburg, amid the chain of mountains which separates the Tyrol from Carinthia."‡ But the sands

* Ure, however, says that gold has never been found in the trachytes and granite of Auvergne.

† "Argentum et aurum propitüne an irati di negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam. Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis anni scrutatus est?" Tac. Germ. cap. v.

‡ Dict. Arts and Manufactures, art. Gold.

of the Rhine have been sifted for gold since the seventh century; and $9,000 worth of the metal is annually obtained along the course of the river from Basle to Manheim, but less on its upper than on its lower waters. Gold also occurs in the sands of the Reuss and the Aar. It was formerly obtained in large quantities from Bohemia; and is still obtained at the rate of seven pounds yearly from the Hartz mountains, and also from the Mulda, Bavaria, and Baden.

Italy still contributes something to the gold supplies, principally from the Piedmontese valleys. The mines of antiquity have been long exhausted; but Mr. Jacobs is mistaken in asserting that "no gold has been yielded by them since their total subjugation to the Roman power under Augustus."* In Savoy, river deposites have been recently discovered; and "at Marcugnana, at the foot of Monte Rosa, mines have long been wrought, yielding 350 pounds yearly, and employing a thousand workmen." Gold has also been found in the Po, Avansona, and Orco rivers, and at Aguileja. The Italian mines are almost limited to the district of the Alps; but gold has been found elsewhere in the peninsula. There were ancient works in the island of Ischia, and the metal has been discovered in the neighborhood of Cuma. Operations were regularly and assiduously carried on in the reign of Theodoric, the Goth, at Massa Rusticiana, in southern Calabria.† Gold pyrites has been occasionally detected in Sicily, and near Taormina are the remains of a mine, said to have been formerly worked. Some gold may also have been obtained from Sardinia; but no traces of the precious metals have been discovered in Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, or Malta.

Passing to the north, and descending the parallels of latitude, many localities of gold exist in Norway and Sweden, which were more productive in early ages than they are now. At Kongsberg and Edswold in the former country, and at Adelfors, Helfors, Fahlun, Asheda, and Norberk, gold has been found, usually in combination with silver or copper, and worked for a long period.

The only gold mines still of any importance in Europe are embraced within the Austrian dominions. In 1850, they produced 5,663 pounds yearly; and in the twenty-six years previous, had furnished 85,000 pounds. The principal mines are in Hungary and Transylvania. The chief works are at Konigsberg, Felsobanya, Telkebanya, Schemnitz, Tarnourtz, and Kremnitz, in Hungary; at Kapnik; Vorospatak, Offenbanya,

* Hist. Inquiry, chap. ii, p. 87.

† "Italia dives inferat nobis et aureos fructus etc. Cassiod, var. lib. ix, Ep. iii.

Talatria, and Nagy-Ag, in Transylvania; and in the Bannat of Temeswar. Gold is also found in the arseniates of Silesia; in the Tyrol, near Tell; and in the Danube, between Vienna and Gesth. Illysia, Istria, and Dalmatia once abounded in gold, and still produce it.

Descending the Carpathian mountains into the lower plains of the Danube, and the country stretching eastward, westward, and southward to the sea, and now comprised for the most part among the European provinces of Turkey, we arrive at a region through which gold is widely disseminated. The lower Danube rolls over an auriferous soil. The mines of Dacia were worked with success under Trajan and his successors; the deposites of the stream are still washed for gold by the gypsies of Wallachia, who are thus enabled to pay their tribute. Mines were opened by the Russians on the southern face of the Carpathian mountains, which abound in ores of gold, silver, mercury, copper, and other metals.* From these mountains the stream of Bistra bears down numerous particles of gold, along with small rubies, which are collected by the gypsies.†

The ancient wealth of Thrace may have been partially derived from these districts towards the north. The wealth of Athens, and the sudden development of its commerce, power, and prosperity, were largely due to its acquisition of the rich gold mines of Thrace, and of the neighboring island of Thasos, and to the improved management of the mines of Attica. The mines of Mount Pangæus, in Macedonia, were in an early age wrought by the barbarous tribes in the vicinity;‡ those at Siderocapso, near Thesalonica, now Saloniki, were still worthy of regard in the sixteenth century; but the most valuable were at Scapte-Hyle, in Thrace, and in the opposite island of Thasos. These mines had engaged the attention of the Phœnicians; in the former, the historian Thucydides had a considerable interest; the latter, after having been used for ages by the Phœnicians, were still profitable in the time of Herodotus; and before the Persian war, sometimes yielded a clear revenue of $300,000.§ In the sixth and seventh centuries before Christ, the islanders of Siphnos and Seriphos acquired great wealth from their gold works,‖ which are still visible; and it

* McCulloch's Geogr. Dictionary, art. Wallachia.

† Murray's Handbook for Turkey, p. 146. 1854.

‡ Herod. lib. vii, cap. 112. So Euripides. Rhesus. vo. 920–1, says:

Ot elthomen nes Chrusobolon es lepas Paggaion.

§ Herod. vi, cap. 46, 47.

‖ Grote. Hist. Greece, pt. ii, ch. xii, vol. iii, p. 166.

is the opinion of Thiersch, that neither they nor the mines of Attica are exhausted.*

Asia abounds in gold, but its richest deposites have only recently been made known. It was found in Cyprus and in many parts of Asia Minor; but the fabled stream of Pactolus, which abraded the auriferous rocks of Mount Temolus, and whose sands were turned to gold by the touch of Midas, is no longer productive. "The gold of Lydia, the cinnabar of Mount Olgasys, the rock crystal of Pontus, and the alabaster and marble of the central provinces are unknown to the modern inhabitants."† There was gold also in the Troad, and in the mountains of Armenia; the latter tempted the cupidity of Alexander the Great, and sustained the power of the Armenian monarch in their struggle with the Romans. In Hindoostan gold is found. Three hundred persons find employment in washing the sands of the Indus; the valleys of the Ganges and of the other streams which descend from the slopes of the Himalayas also contain gold; it occurs in the heart of the Deccan, and in many of the rivers flowing to the eastern and western shores. In the mountain basin of Thibet, gold and silver are singularly abundant. The latter is alone employed as currency; but the humblest shepherds are acquainted with the art of purifying the precious metals.‡ The mineral resources of this vast region are still undeveloped, and await the enterprize or the necessities of future generations. Gold does not exist, as far as is yet known, in the main chain of the Himalayas; but northward, southward and eastward, through the greater portion of the Asiatic continent, and the numerous islands clustering round it, the yellow ore is profusely scattered. It is found in Assam, in Ava, in Tongum, in the Burmese provinces, and in Malacca. It extends from the frontiers of Thibet into China, and is extracted from the sands of the rivers in the provinces of Yunnan, Sechuen, Kweichoo, and Kiansi. It occurs in Java, and has been exuberant in Japan. It is frequent in Borneo, and has been already ascertained to exist in six different localities at a moderate depth below the surface. Diamonds are abundant there also.

It is only within a very recent period that any attempt has been made to introduce European civilization into Borneo. The romantic enterprise and successful adventures of Sir James Brooke, the celebrated Rajah of Sarawak and Governor of Labuan, has renewed the tale of Scandinavian prowess, and

* Murray's Handbook of Greece, p. 109.

† Murray's handbook for Turkey, p. 157. Walsh. Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, p. 68.

‡ Huc. Travels in Thibet, &c., vol. ii, ch. vi, p. 154, Ed. Appleton.

opened the wonderful resources of that distant land to the commerce of Europe. For himself he has won a career which is one of the wildest marvels of our miraculous times. With the increase of population, and the humanization of its savage but pliant natives, Borneo may be expected to become one of the chief regions for the production of gold. At the last accounts the gold regions had been recognized as exceedingly productive. Six thousand Chinese were employed in the works, and the annual yield was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

In Sumatra gold dust is very abundant; it is found also in Celebes and in the Phillipines. In Timor it exists in grains and nuggets, but the natives refuse to search for it, and once murdered a party of Dutch sent to obtain it.*

The scanty knowledge which is possessed of the physical character and geological conformation of the large island of New Guinea, lying to the eastward of Borneo and northward of Australia, suggests, but cannot substantiate the belief, that it too is a main link in the grand auriferous chain and will ultimately prove as richly endowed with the precious metals as the other members of the group. The line commences in the Ural, descends through the ancient Colchis and Armenia, spreads along the slopes of the Himalaya, follows the southeastern extension of that immense range through further Asia, and the Malay peninsula, sweeps through the Archipelago of the spice producing islands, traverses New Guinea, permeates Australia, throwing off an offshoot to New Caledonia, and probably to other points, and reappears in New Zealand and Van Dieman's Land.

Nor is this all. The northeastern extension of this auriferous belt is more extensive, and may yet prove more prolific, than any other portion of its vast extent. Embracing the whole of Asia in one view, the richest localities, so far as has yet been ascertained, lie towards the extremities, and have all been discovered within the present century, although there is reason to believe that the continental deposites may have been explored and used in very remote ages. In the northwest are the mines of the Ural, in the northeast the indeterminate gold fields of Siberia and China; and in the southeast the wealth of Australia.

In 1819, the mines of the Ural were discovered; and in 1829, those of Siberia. The returns from them have been steadily increasing, and sometimes with great rapidity. In 1847, the amount of Russian gold annually produced was five or six times as large as that obtained in 1829, and had added

* McCulloch, Dictionary of Geography, Art: Timor.

250 tons of metal to the general treasure of the world. The increase was due almost entirely to the mines of Siberia, for those of the Ural have been nearly stationary for twenty years. The Russian mines are almost exclusively in Asia, but a gold mine was found and worked at Olnetz, on the European side, in 1739.

The richest and largest of all the auriferous regions yet discovered is the country along the spurs of the Altaian chain. These mountains are said to surpass even the Andes in the abundance and fecundity of their valuable deposites. On the Russian side, a tract as large as France was discovered in 1834, coated with the richest gold alluvium, lying over rocks teeming with the precious ore. The same geological formation is continued through the whole extent of the Altaian and Aldan ranges and their lateral spurs, into the inhospitable wilds of Kamtschatka. From the travels of M. Huc,* and other sources of information, we are authorized to conclude that the indications of the soil are not deceptive, but that the whole domain on the Chinese side is equally rich with the northern declivity, and that the auriferous beds extend indefinitely towards the east. It is remarkable, that in China, as in Thibet, and throughout eastern Asia, silver has always been the favored currency, and gold has been refused for this purpose. Can it have been in consequence of the abundance of the latter rendering it too common for such an application? Southern Siberia and Chinese Tartary together, constitute an auriferous region, probably exceeding in area the whole of Europe. In one point, towards the north, is a huge knot or promontory of mountains, lying to the west of Lake Baikal, and peculiarly rich in gold. The southern boundaries of this immense Siberian tract are still undefined.

From these placers the Russians obtained 65,000 pounds of gold in 1850, whose value was nearly equal to fifteen millions of dollars. The amount may seem small when compared with the enormous returns of California and Australia, but the remoteness, inhospitality, and inaccessibility of the region, must have potentially retarded all operations and diminished their profits; and a still more insurmountable obstacle has existed in the awkward and impolitic restrictions of the Russian government.† A tolerably confident hope may be, however, entertained, that if Australia and California should fail to satisfy the continued demands of the world for the glittering dust, the unimagined capacities of Central Asia, developed under a

* Huc's Travels in Thibet, &c.; vol. 1, ch. 1, p. 30.

† Leon Faucher. Remarks on the Precious Metals, § iv, pp. 41–5. Translated by Thomson Hankey, Jr.

more active stimulus and under more judicious management, will alone be sufficient to satisfy all wants for many generations.

The richest, or at least the most availably and immediately productive of all the gold regions of Asia, and, indeed, so far, of the whole earth, has been Australia. The main basin in which they are contained was estimated in 1853 at 700,000 square miles, or five times the extent of California. In the same year also five hundred placers were enumerated in Wyld's Gazetteer of the Gold Regions of Australia.

Little is accurately known of the gold products of Africa. That continent has been for ages a land of gold, and yet we are still as little acquainted with its interior as the contemporaries of Herodotus. The ancient Egyptians drew their supplies from Nubia, Abyssinia, and the still unknown countries that conceal the still undiscovered sources of the mysterious Nile. The principal mines belonging to the Pacha of Egypt are in Kordofan. In Nubia gold is found in combination with copper, and in Abyssinia it is obtained from the beds of the streams. Gold is procured in Tripoli, and in other parts of the Barbary coast. It is found on the borders of Fezzan; and is mined at several points in Morocco. In modern times, considerable quantities of gold dust have been brought from the eastern shores and interior of Africa; the yearly supply is estimated at two millions and a half of dollars. There are gold mines or gold washings in the mountains of Mandara, at Bourra on the Wassolo, at Bambouk on the Wankaral; at Foota Jalloor in the country of Malee; and in Bambarra. The gold district of Bambouk, the richest of these localities, is supposed to cover ten thousand square miles. From Senegambia, from the Ashantee country, and from that part of Guinea designated as the Gold Coast, gold has been regularly obtained. It has been satisfactorily ascertained, though little benefit has been derived from the assurance, that in the heart of Africa lies an auriferious region, which is probably among the richest in the world. It is that portion of the main chain of the Kong mountains lying westward of the first meridian. To the east of that line the kingdom of Bosnon and the mountains of Mandarra, already mentioned, and the country on the eastern waters of the Niger are known to contain gold. It is not improbable that a vast gold region extends in a line of indefinite breadth across the continent, for at the southern end of the Lupata chain, gold is found in masses and in grains. It abounds to the northward of this central table land, and how far it may reach towards the south is an unsettled problem; but it was discovered on the Mooi river, in Natal, in 1852. Large supplies were obtained by the Portuguese from the neighborhood of Delagra Bay; and it has been suspected to exist in the

plateau of the Great Karroo, at the back of the Cape of Good Hope.

We are sufficiently familiar with the existence of gold mines in the southern States of the Atlantic coast of the Union. They have been extensively worked in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. These works have already furnished considerable supplies of the metal, and appear in recent years to have entered upon a course of increased productiveness in consequence of the employment of more scientific processes and improved machinery. The auriferous belt is extended along the eastern foot of the Appalachian chain, reaching southward into Alabama and northward to the St. Lawrence; it is highly probable that it may permeate the whole long tract of country lying below the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, and its prolongations, from the heights of the Lawrentian basin to the diluvial lands bordering the Gulf of Mexico, although disconnected localities may alone admit of profitable operations. It has long been known to exist in the neighborhood of the River Chandiere in Lower Canada, it has been found at Albion, in Maine, at Canaan, in New Hampshire, and at Dedham, in Massachusetts, and it has been detected near Ellicott's Mill's, in Maryland. It is also confidently asserted to have been found near Bridgewater, in Vermont.*

The early adventurers who explored the northeastern coast of America, brought back a glittering ore from Greenland, which was declared by the London goldsmiths to be gold. Great expeditions were rasied, which were succeeded by great and enduring disappointments. But in very recent years fresh rumors have been circulated of the presence of gold in the soil of Greenland.

Accounts have reached us, some true, some false, but all more or less exaggerated, of gold situated on the upper waters of the Arkansas and Red rivers, and in Texas, Utah, and New Mexico. It is known to exist extensively in Oregon, and late intelligence represents it as remarkably abundant in certain lately examined localities, particularly on Peu d'Oreille river, near Fort Colville.† The reports from these regions are still vague and unsatisfactory, though all or most of them may be ultimately determined to be auriferous, as they are characterized by the geological conditions which accompany the presence of gold.

Since the conquest of Mexico, it has been one of the sources whence gold has been derived, but to nothing like the extent commonly imagined, silver having always been its principal

* The Woodstock Age, quoted in the Richmond. (Va.) Whig, 7th Sept. 185[illegible]

† Correspondence of the New York Weekly Express, 15th September, 185[illegible]

product subsequent to its occupation by the Spaniards. The war of Mexican Independence, the civil wars which have succeeded, and the social disorders consequent upon political changes and disturbances, have seriously diminished for many years the product of the Mexican mines.

While California remained in the hands of the Spaniards it was suspected to be an auriferous region;* but the immense wealth in its sands and mountain streams, and rocks, was not revealed till after the explorations of Fremont, and the cession of the country at the close of the Mexican war. Since that period, it has continued to pour its treasures into the lap of American and European commerce, altering the currents of human progress, and deranging the values of all commodities. The total production of gold from California, during the first five years of the gold diggings, can not have been less than $300,000,000, whereas, the total annual production of gold in 1847, previous to the California discoveries, scarcely reached $30,000,000; and the yearly production of California gold was estimated to amount, in 1851, to six times the sum of the total production in the opening years of the century.†

To the south of California, an extensive region, supposed to be auriferous, stretches through Lower California and Sonora; and to the south of Mexico, a still more extensive region, known to be so, spreads through Central America. Our information in regard to these countries is too loose and indefinite to justify any positive deductions. We can only find reasons to justify the expectation that when the placers of Australia and California are exhausted, there are still lands sufficiently prolific to prolong the satisfaction of the pecuniary necessities of the world.

When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the natives were in possession of a few trinkets of gold, obtained by washing from the streams of their island. The cupidity of the Spaniards was excited by the sight; but their mining operations proved a failure, and were rewarded with very scanty returns. It does not appear that the other islands of the West Indies were at any time more productive in gold, except Cuba.

On the main land of South America gold is abundant. New discoveries of rich deposites are constantly made, and the greater part of the continent, and especially of its auriferous localities, is still unexplored. For a long period the principal

* Sebastian Viscaino, the founder of Monterey, learnt this from the Indians in 1602. Léon Faucher, § iv, p. 45.

† These figures are drawn from a careful comparison of the results deduced by different authorities and the data collected by ourselves. They approximate very closely to the conclusions of Léon Faucher, Michael Chevalier, Tégoborski, and Wyld.

supplies of American gold were drawn from Brazil. Nearly all the rivers of the Brazilian mountains bring down gold; and so prolific have been the washings, that only in rare instances has recourse been had to more tedious and expensive processes. The gold products of Brazil reached their maximum about the middle of the last century, and have since been rapidly declining, yet their annual produce in 1800 was estimated by Humboldt at $4,360,000.

Gold has been often sought, and usually sought in vain, in the coast range of mountains back of Puerto Caballo, Carraccas, and Cumana;* but it is scattered in profusion over the main chain of the Cordilleras, from the mountains of Santa Martha in the north, to the island of Chiloe in the south. In New Grenada, in Ecuador, in certain portions of Peru, in Bolivia, and in several parts of Chili, gold is abundant, though frequently found under conditions which render its exploitation arduous or unprofitable. It is plentiful on the high plateaux of the Andes, in the alluvial lands at their eastern base, and in almost all the rivers that descend from their eastern slopes. Through the long descent of fourty-five degrees of latitude, from the Sierra di Merida to the deserts of Patagonia, gold will probably be discovered at the eastern foot of the Andes, as well as in their elevated valleys. From some parts of this immense tract much gold has been already drawn, as has long been the case with Buenos Ayres. But probably the richest regions of South America have seldom been penetrated, and never explored. It is scarcely a rash anticipation to conjecture that on the upper waters of the Amazon and the Paraguay, in the recesses of Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, and Buenos Ayres, more gold will yet be found than California or Australia is likely to bestow. Some indications of the accuracy of such an hypothesis have already been afforded; but information travels so slowly from those remote regions, and is moreover liable to so many modifications on its route, that we may be long confined to the domain of hypothetical inference. So much attention has, however, been recently attracted to the interior of South America—so many adventurous explorers have been tempted to penetrate its wilds—so many interesting works have been published in regard to its strange mysteries and novel productions—such assiduous efforts have been initiated for the introduction of steam navigation on its mighty streams, and for the settlement of enterprizing colonies on their banks, that we may hope to receive full and credible intelligence in regard to it, before many more years have elapsed. We have this definite

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative. See the passages referred to in the Index, under the head of Gold.

indication as the basis of further conjecture. An eminent American citizen resident in Lima, wrote thus to Lieut. Maury, in July, 1852: "My opinion decidedly is, that the whole country traversed by the rivers issuing from the slope of the eastern Cordillera, from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in Bolivia, to the mouth of the Ucayali, in Peru, is one immense gold and silver region; gold being found in the flats near the rivers, and silver in the mountains." * * *. "Gold is known to exist in considerable quantities at Carabaya, and in the Pampa del Sacramento."* It is also known to exist in the streams to the north and to the south of the extreme points here indicated.

The yellow metal, which has been esteemed so precious from its supposed rarity, is thus recognized to be widely and profusely distributed over the earth, though many localities, suspected to be the most promising, have been hitherto unavailable from their distance, inaccessibility, or the difficulties of their exploitation. But the march of new events, the great victories of steam, and the feverish thirst for gold, which throbs through the veins and arteries of Christendom, will not long leave them unused or unappropriated. Mammon hides his treasures in the dark chambers of the earth, and broods in obscurity over his golden store;† but the children of the world—the pioneers of industrial enterprise—detect his retreats, and bring to light the wealth saved from the foundations of the globe till the fulness of time has come. There is now reason to apprehend a plethora of gold, than any sudden diminution of our present extraordinary receipts. The earth promises to surrender her treasures without stint; or, at least, to resign the keys, and reveal the hiding places of her long concealed wealth; and, amazing as has been the product of the last seven years, it may be very far transcended by the redundance of the years which are to come. The Parthians are reported to have put to death the captive Crassus by pouring molten gold down his avaricious throat; and, perchance, the gold craving civilization of the late generations may be destined to expire by a similar surfeit.

The genuine age of gold has veritably commenced, and it has brought along with it incidents and events utterly unlike those ascribed to its fabulous prototype. As yet, it is only in its infant stage. Its most dazzling scenes and most gorgeous displays are still in the silent womb of the future. So far, we have been unable to appreciate the limits or the exuberance of the heritage before us; but the imperfect fragments of which

* Quoted in Herndon's Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, pt. i, chap. ix, p. 192.

† See the beautiful allegory of Mammon and his Cave, in Spencer's Faërie Queene.

our knowledge has been composed, show how small a portion has been sufficient to bewilder our imaginations, to stagger our belief, to reinvigorate our industry, and to stimulate the wildest hopes, and the most inordinate extravagance. Mighty changes, but little appreciated, are already in progress, disturbing, convulsing, remodelling the societies and social institutions of the world, which owe their impetus and efficiency mainly to the discovery of Australian and Californian gold. M. Tégoborski estimated that at the recent rates of production, the whole accumulation of the precious metals throughout the entire world, would be doubled in thirteen years, without making any allowance for losses and detrition; or making such allowance, the duplication would take place in twenty-four years.* But what a wonderfully accelerated impulse would be given to this movement if China and Borneo, and the other islands of the Pacific and Central and Southern Asia, Africa, Lower California, Sonora, Central America, and Amazonia, were regularly to contribute annual streams from their undeveloped fountains to the revenue of mankind?

The prospective consequences of the augmentation of gold must be reserved for consideration on a future occasion, but the immediate effect of the vast increment has been and must be a relative increase in the value of silver. It is impossible to trace in advance, with any feeling of security, the progress of this reciprocal alteration. It has been already discussed with much ability, but with little satisfactory result, by parliamentary committees in several European kingdoms, and by many able writers or financial subjects. It may be safely asserted, however, that it will be confined within very circumscribed limits;† for it only requires a slight modification of the relative values of the precious metals, and a more tranquil organization of the Spanish Republics of North and South America, to increase indefinitely the supplies of silver. Most of the richest mines of the Andes have been abandoned, not from exhaustion, but from the deficiency of the capital requisite to work them and to subdue the water by which they are inundated.‡ Many have not

*Tégoborski. Sur les Conséquences de la découverte des Gîtes Auriferès. pp. 87–8.

† "If any ulterior and permanent change takes place in the relative proportions at present existing between gold and silver, an eventual larger increase of the baser metal is by much the more probable contingency." Lond. Qu. Rev., Oct. 1850, art. iv, p. 215.

‡ "In the Cerro de Potosi and neighborhood there are twenty-six silver mines worked, and eighteen hundred standing idle. Besides which the Government accounts show us that in the province of Porco, Chayanta, Chichas, and Lepiz, there exists three thousand and eighty-nine silver mines which have been abandoned, and only sixty-five mines worked now." Exploration of the valley of the Amazon, pt. ii, by Lieut. Gibbon, chap. v, p, 126: For similar examples in other localities, see p, 18, 33, 96–7, 118.

yet been worked, and those in operation are almost universally worked very negligently and imperfectly, from the want of adequate machinery, the difficulty of their approach, and the expense of providing food and fuel, as well as the indisposition of the laborers to engage in mining operations. These obstacles would be removed under the influence of any considerable increase in the demand for silver; and we may entertain, moreover, an infallible conviction, that many mines yet unknown will be discovered in the Cordilleras, equally productive with the far famed works of Pasco and Potosi, as soon as any new and active stimulus is felt.

The connection between gold and silver is so intimate, both in the bowels of the earth and in the movements of finance, and the fluctuations of the one so immediately affect the value of the other, that it would be expedient to consider the localities where the latter is found in the same manner and with the same fullness as has been done in treating of the auriferous sites. But for this there is not time; and the importance of such a survey is very much reduced by the consideration that, almost universally, silver is found wherever gold exists. In the detritus of the rivers little silver is discovered, except in combination with the particles of gold, but in the auriferous rocks, and in the higher elevations where the auriferous streams descend, silver is nearly always present. California and Australia are the only apparent exceptions to this rule; but in neither country have the operations in gold been so far extended beyond the rude process of washing the alluvial deposites, as to permit us to remain satisfied with the premature conclusions which might now be drawn. Moreover, there is recent evidence to contradict any such inference. Late intelligence from the Pacific territories bring to us the news of the discovery of the Silver Mountains of Arizona, in the Mesilla Valley. By a late letter, we are informed that along the thirty-second parallel of latitude, "for miles together, the richest ores—richer and more abundant by far than those of Potosi—lie heaped up, and piled hills upon hills, as if nature had there poured out her treasure in one overwhelming mass. I have seen," says the same writer, "the best mines in Mexico, but nothing that can compare with the Silver Mountains."* It is also to be observed that argentiferous ores are more prolific of metal than those of gold; and that they are rarely subject to that speedy exhaustion which awaits the richest alluvial gold placers. The expenses of working a silver mine may increase so as to arrest further operations, but the increase of the expense is usually due to other causes than the deficit of silver.

* A letter from San Antonio in the New York Sun, April, 1856.

Wherever gold exists, there silver is also found. The proportion in California gold is from fifteen to twenty per cent.; and before the permanent fecundity of the gold mines of that country was established, it was anticipated, by a an eminent practical mineralogist, that the principal revenue would be derived from the silver ores.* Silver is found in many places where gold is entirely or almost unknown, as is particularly the case in some of the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and the interior of Anatolia. Silver enters largely into the native alloys of the common metals; wherever there is lead or copper, there silver is almost certainly present. In one single establishment in the north of England $50,000 worth of silver is annually extracted from the vapors evolved in the manufacture of lead, by condensation in a tube fourteen miles long, by which they are carried off, and their deleterious influence removed. A large quantity of silver is also combined with the copper of Lake Superior.

Among the chief localities in which silver has been found and advantageously worked in ancient and modern times, we note the following countries. Britain, Ireland, France, the Pyrenees, Spain, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Austria, the Tyrol, the Hartz Mountains, Saxony, Bohemia, Hungary, Prussia, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Attica, Epirus, the Greek Islands, Turkey in Europe, Lybia, Nubia, Morocco, the region adjacent to the Senegal river, Turkey in Asia, Siberia, India, Persia, Ava, Cochin China, Mexico, the United States, Central America, New Grenada, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, La Plata, Buenos Ayres, and Brazil. Of these Spain was the most productive in antiquity, and the American colonies the most prolific in modern times.

In the age of Solomon, and of the Hebrew prophets, the principal silver mines appear to have been in the Iberian peninsula, and to have been worked by the Phœnicians. At that remote epoch gold and silver were brought by the ships trading to Tarshish. "Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz, the work of the workman, and of the hands of the founder."† "Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches. With silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."‡ It was from Spain that the Carthagenians, in the first instance, and after them the Romans, obtained their chief supplies of the precious metals, and especially of silver. The silver mines of Spain were worked during the whole course of the Middle

* Overman, Practical Mineralogy, pt. 1, p. 47–61.

† Jeremiah, chap. x, v. 9.

‡ Ezechiel, chap. xxvii. v. 12.

Ages under the Goths and the Saracens; and when the gold of the world disappeared under the Roman Empire, Spain still continued to render up silver from her rich veins of ore.

The wealth of the Spanish mines may have been the cause that silver was adopted by the Romans as the standard of their currency, and that the taxes were required to be paid in this metal.* But this prescription was relaxed under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, and perhaps by Constantine. Possibly the removal of the seat of empire towards the east, and the proximity of Constantinople to the auriferous mountains of Dacia, and the argentiferous rocks of Asia Minor, may have occasioned this provision.

Throughout Anatolia and the adjacent tracts, silver is still abundant, though the mines are almost entirely abandoned. A more tranquil state of society and a more energetic and enlightened government might, however, again introduce advantageously into Turkey in Asia, mining operations for the extraction of silver from the rocks. "The mines of Gumish Khaneh produce argentiferous lead ore." "In the mountains near Osmanjook, beyond the Kizil Irmak, or Halys, are silver mines." There is a mine of argentiferous lead at Keban Maden, near the junction of the two main branches of the Euphrates; also at Ak-Dagh-Maden, between Yuzgat and Tokat. "Two and a half miles from Tireboli are some remains of ancient silver mines, supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the Urgyria of the ancients."† In former times, silver was also obtained from Armenia and the country of the Chalybes. It is known to be abundant in Thibet, and in many other parts of Asia which have been already specified as rich in the more valuable metal, gold.

But, whatever accessions to the product of silver may be hereafter made from other sources, the Cordilleras between Mexico and Chili promise still to exceed all other places in their proceeds, as they now do, and have long done; and to be fully adequate to satisfy our present wants and our prospective necessities for many centuries to come. The silver ores of Europe are richer in metal than those of America, but it is the exhaustless abundance of such ores over an immense tract of country which has given to America its marked superiority in the production of silver. The obstacles which impede the

* Pliny's Nat. Hist., lib. xxxiii, cap. vii. Franciscus Balduinus, De Legg., Const. Mag., lib. ii, p. 613. Ed Heineccuis attributes the relaxation of the law to Constantine; but the rescript to which he refers is assigned to Arcadius and Honorius. Cod. Just., lib. xi, cap. lxxviii, (lxxvi.)

† Murray's Handbook for Turkey, p. 157, 187, 206, 210, 260, 262, 267. To these localities should be added Baiburt, on the road from Trebizond to Erzeroom, mentioned by Marco Polo, and still worked, p. 269.

procurement of the metal in South America do not arise from the niggardliness of nature, but from difficulties which may be surmounted by the introduction of commerce, population, industry, intelligence, and enterprize. A few railroads and steam engines would remove them almost entirely, if the political condition of those countries were tranquillized and ameliorated. The present impediments to production, which have led to so many failures, and to the abandonment of such a multitude of mines, are due to the extreme elevation on the mountains at which the richest ores are found—to the consequent severity of the cold—to the continuance of snow—to the scarcity of water and fuel—to the sterility and inclemency of the surrounding country—to the want of roads and means of transportation, for mule power is a slow and costly expedient in this progressive age, and it is entirely by mules that everything required for the use of the mines—provisions, implements, clothing, and machinery, and everything drawn from them—must be conveyed from and to the ports of the Pacific. The mines of Copiapo, which were discovered in 1832 by a poor man while digging up a tree, are situated in a soil utterly barren, where no water is to be found in a circuit of nine miles. The ore in this region is scattered over a surface of 1300 square miles. Sixteen veins of silver were opened in the first four days, and forty more in the course of the first three weeks. The loose pieces on the surface rendered much pure metal; and a single mass was obtained which weighed 5,000 pounds.

A similar description is applicable to a majority of the mining districts. The eastern side of the great Madeira a basin is described as made of silver.* "In Peru, there are silver mines along the whole range of the Andes, from Caxamavea to the confines of the desert of Atacama." "The soil under the town of Pasco is metalliferous." "The ore in the mines at Chota is near the surface over an extent of half a square league, and the filaments of silver ore sometimes even entwined with the roots of the grass." In the district of Huantajaya, not far from the borders of the Pacific, there are mines where masses of pure silver are found, of which one weighed 800 pounds."† When it is considered how large a portion of the grand mountain system of the Andes, and its extension into North America, remains still unexplored, and that silver has been found in profuse abundance in nearly all the districts which have been long settled, or in which regular investigations have been made, it is evident that the present value of silver

* Henderson's exploration of the valley of the Amazon, pt. ii, by Lieut. Gibbon, p. 112.

† Mrs. Sommerville. Physical Geography, chap. xv, p. 176.

is regulated not by the actual scarcity of metalliferous ore, or by any permanent natural limitation of the products, but by such difficulties, political, social, material, and commercial, as it is the pride and the habit of a developed civilization to overcome.

It thus appears that, without wandering from familiar localities, the production of silver can be indefinitely expanded, under favorable circumstances, so as to keep pace very nearly, if not entirely, with the augmentation of gold. Whether it will actually do so, is one of those contingent problems dependent upon the casualties of Mexican and South American politics, which are reducible to no law. All that can be confidently asserted is that, in the order of creation ample provision has been made to prevent any serious derangement of the relations of the precious metals to each other; and that there is every probability that a decided and continued elevation of the relative value of silver would speedily result in the reopening and profitable working of numbers of abandoned or new mines, and would enlarge indefinitely the annual supplies of silver. If no other measure were sufficient for the achievement of this end, it may be safely conjectured that the temptations afforded by the South American and North American Cordilleras would attract energetic emigrants from other lands, who would occupy, either by right of conquest or by voluntary concession, the argentiferous regions which have been latterly turned to such very inadequate account by the listless and turbulent populations among whom they are situated. A movement in this direction has already commenced by the recent policy adopted by the republics of the Pacific coast of South America, and by the seizure of the Central American provinces.

We have run hurriedly over the long catalogue of gold producing regions, and still more hurriedly over the argentiferous sites; and, although conscious of having omitted and overlooked many significant facts, our laborious investigations have enabled us to present a much more extended and complete list of such localities than we have been able to meet with before. This enumeration, besides the interest which it may independently possess, is an indispensable preparation for enabling us to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in regard to the future condition of the gold and silver question, and to draw any safe inference relative to the probable effects of the recent and still progressive augmentation of gold. These problems have latterly risen into urgent importance, and every day will increase their significance, and the necessity of some definite solution.

THE CALIFORNIA WAGON ROAD.

"If the Roman Republic, in the darkest days of its ruthless paganism, had conquered and annexed a fertile and gorgeous region beyond the Lybian desert, yet had neglected for ten years to connect that region with its earlier possessions by a substantial, practical, highway, I have no doubt that this neglect would have subjected it to the grave rebuke of its historians from Polybius to Arnold. Yet it is now nearly ten years since the American flag has waved in undisputed ascendency over the modern Ophir, yet it remains to this hour separated from the Atlantic States by a dreary, inhospitable, desert the haunt of the wolf and the savage, which a few hardy pioneers annually traverse with their families and herds, at the cost of infinite peril and suffering, losing a whole season in a journey which might be completed in ten days, and should be at furthest in thirty." So writes, from Washington, the editorial correspondent of the New York Tribune.

Some weeks since the People of California forwarded the following petition to Congress, praying an appropriation for the establishment of a wagon road, by which we hope to be brought in closer connection with our brethren residing on the Atlantic.

Memorial to the Congress of the United States for the construction of a wagon road across the Plains, and for the establishment of Military Posts.

"Your petitioners, citizens resident of the State of California, respectfully represent to the honorable the Congress of the United States the following facts, and ask your earnest consideration of our necessities, and immediate action for our relief.

"We are a population of five hundred thousand in number, occupying the western limit of American possessions upon the Pacific; our State is the growth of a little more than five years, yet within that brief period we have erected, as an outpost upon the frontier of our Republic, a municipal government faithfully reflecting the spirit of our common institutions.

"By energy and enterprise we have laid the foundation of a great State, which, properly protected and encouraged, shall add to the dignity and stability of the Union. We have passed laws yielding willing allegiance to the Federal Government. We have built cities, villages, and works of improvement worthy an industrious people. We have planted the germ of a commerce already important, and destined to produce, in time, most magnificent results, and from which we have already paid large revenue to the Federal treasury.

"Our mines, not yet fairly opened for successful working, have realized, by moderate estimate, $300,000,000, which we have sent forth to the world, and thus, in no inconsiderable degree, contributed to the prosperity of our whole country. We have been and still are developing new sources of wealth; we have explored and brought to notice parts of our country hitherto unknown; we have planted ourselves on this distant coast, where we are prepared to do loyal duty in protecting our country from aggression or wrong. Our loyalty, the character of our people, the nature of our productions, the capabilities of our soil and climate, the accomplishments of the past, and the reasonable hopes of the future, should all commend us to the favorable care of the Federal Government. And, while we appreciate the benefit of all the appropriations of the Federal Government for our debt, defences, and commerce, which have been so generously expended on our coast, and which gives us reasonable assurance of the future, there is a present necessity, for the want of which, our State of California and the whole Pacific coast, is now languishing and unprosperous.

"Our great necessity is increase of population; our requirement is an immigration of the working and producing classes; our State presents most unparalleled inducements for this class of persons; our climate is unequalled—from its extremes suffering is unknown; our soil is productive almost beyond belief; destitution to the healthy and willing worker can never exist; our mines yield as readily as upon first discovery, and are as permanent and durable as the eternal hills in which they are located; every inducement for immigration is now as strong as when, in 1849 and 1850, all the approaches to our State were thronged with immigrants. The best portion of our present population arrived here by passage across the plains; and from the length of the journey, the character of the country, the absence of settlements, and the inability to obtain supplies and recruit their stock, this journey was not without its inconveniences and its dangers. The recent hostile demonstrations of the Indian tribes have so multiplied the hardships and increased the hazard of this our only land approach, as to render it nearly impracticable, and the result has been an almost entire suspension of travel by this route—a cause from which we are now laboring under much embarrassment.

"Our petition to Congress is for the immediate construction of a wagon road between the frontier of the States of Missouri and California, following the general route of the old emigrant road, passing through the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and and reaching California at a point on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, where the Carson river leaves the mountains,

and where is now established a flourishing village known as "Carson valley settlement." This is the route of the great immigration of 49–50. It is mostly a level plain, requiring a few small bridges, the establishment of ferries, occasional excavations, and the sinking of a few wells. It is central; already have two hundred thousand people crossed it, thus satisfactorily demonstrating the practicability of the route.

"Our petition is also for the establishment of military posts, at such convenient points along the line of said road, as shall effectually contribute to the protection and safety of the imigrant; the construction of workshops, blacksmith shops, and such other aid as may be necessary for the public.

"We most earnestly ask of our Government the immediate and favorable consideration of our petition; reflect that we are a part of the people of the United States, now separated from the twenty-two millions of our fellow citizens by a belt of our national territory less than two thousand miles in width, and over a great portion of which is now the best national road in the world, requiring only here and there improvement, and at a cost by no means great. We are now as it were, a distant colony; access from other parts of our own country to ourselves, is by a most circuitous route, requiring the passage of two oceans, transit through foreign territory and a tropical climate; our business is subject to delays and hazards, our people to danger and inconvenience, our carrying trade pays revenue to a foreign government; and in a measure we are the tributaries and dependants on the will of private corporations.

"Should our present friendly relations with other governments be disturbed, our commerce, our correspondence, and our treasure, is subject to embarrassment, interposition, and loss; we would find ourselves so far removed from the central authority, that ere troops, munitions of war, or aid could reach us, we should have become subject (so far as a brave people could be subdued,) to an enemy, and the insolent exactions of foreign military power over a defenceless people.

"Moved by these and such other national considerations as will suggest themselves to the intelligence and patience of your honorable body; in the interest of the present, and the anxiety for the future, we most respectfully and earnestly ask the immediate construction of this national highway, protected by adequate military strength.

"Your memorialists will ever pray, &c."

This memorial was signed by a large proportion of the people of San Francisco. It can scarcely fail to attract the attention of Congress. It is respectful—it is free from insolence or bravado, and also without the least subservient or undignified

submission. It plainly enumerates the grievances under which we suffer, the dangers to which we are exposed in case of a foreign war, and the great benefit which our treasure and infant commerce has already afforded to the world, and more especially our own beloved country. An appropriation of two or three hundred thousand dollars to the building up of the most important pioneer State which has been formed since the Revolution, and whose treasure has saved the United States from a monetary revulsion far more severe than any with which they have been visited, is surely not extravagant, nor would the most stringent opponents of internal improvements by the General Government have the suicidal hardihood to vote against it.

Geographically speaking we have no connection with the Atlantic States, and commercially much less. Our exports principally consist of the precious metals, and if our connection with the United States of North America were severed to-morrow, these exports would be admitted free of duty, while we would be enabled to realize a very large revenue from the imports from the Eastern States. We have purchased from the Atlantic producers and manufacturers, and paid them $250,000,000 for their merchandize and manufactures; we have increased the value of personal and real property with them $200,000,000; we have annually exported to them over $60,000,000; we have been the means of increasing the ship tonnage of the United States over twelve hundred thousand tons; we have entered upon a contest with the great maratime States of the world for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific, and we can and will maintain this contest. Our people by their own voluntary labor and outlays have constructed tunnels, canals, ditches, bridges, and roads, at a cost of $35,000,000.

Could Congress be induced to take immediate action upon the subject of this memorial, the immigration across the plains during the present year would largely exceed that of any preceding. It is a well known fact that agriculturists throughout the United States, in anticipation of a heavy demand from Europe, have expended all their energy and means to raise a large crop this year. But it is probable that the foreign demand for breadstuffs, inasmuch as the crops in Europe are sown much later in the year than in the United States, will fall off, and the immediate consequence will be a decline of the prices, and a proportionate lowering of the wages of the agricultural laborer. Under this state of affairs it is not unreasonable to expect that, during the present year, large numbers of this class most needed in California will be induced to immigrate to this State, if the difficulties of the overland route

should be removed, as far as practicable, by the expenditure of a few thousand dollars by the General Government.

In a recent number of the Review we endeavored to show the progress of our State in agriculture and horticulture as well as in a commercial point of view. We would now say that the State of California offers greater inducements to the thrifty emigrant than any other State in the Union. It is a mistaken idea to suppose that California is simply a gold producing country. The experience of the last few years has taught us that it is also the greatest agricultural country in the world. Sixteen bushels of wheat to the acre is regarded as an extraordinary yield in the most favored portions of the eastern States. Here, thirty or forty to the acre is nothing uncommon. And in addition to this, in consequence of the certainty in relation to the climate, no expense need be incurred by the farmer for the building of barns, for the grain when cut can be thrashed in the open field; and if the work be commenced before the setting in of the rainy season, the advent of which can be computed almost to the day, no apprehensions need be entertained that any of it will be damaged by the rain. It is a remarkable fact, and one which should not be without its weight, that a very small quantity, if any, of the large crop of wheat raised last year, was thrashed out in barns. The whole of the work was performed in the open field, under the genial rays of the sun. Independent of the advantages offered by our mineral resources, our climate ought to induce a large emigration, and if Congress should make the appropriation which California now asks, an addition of fully one hundred thousand may be made to our population this year by the overland route.

At the time of the adoption of the memorial it was suggested to leave the selection and location of the route to the Government. This suggestion however was not adopted. There are, it is believed, at present before the United States Senate, three bills regarding the establishment of an overland mail to the Pacific:

1. One proposing that the Postmaster General shall advertise for a weekly mail, to be conveyed in four-horse post-coaches from the Mississippi river to San Francisco in nineteen days the first year, and seventeen for three years thereafter—said mail not to exceed three hundred pounds in weight, without extra compensation, and not to cost more than $250,000 per annum. The contractors to choose their own road (which is to be protected by military posts at the points most exposed to savage attack) and to be allowed $150,000 from the Treasury to be expended in making bridges, sinking wells &c., so as to render the trip at all times practicable.

2. One proposing to incorporate a company to build a railroad and telegraph to California south of latitude 37°; and, as an incitement to build it, giving to the corporation thirty (miles square) sections of land for each mile in length of the road; also $5,000 per mile as a loan, (to be secured by first mortgage,) wherewith to purchase the iron; also $600 per mile per annum for carrying the mails thereon until the work shall be completed, and for ten years thereafter; also the right of way for a width of four hundred feet.

3. One proposing to give a company twelve miles in width of the public lands, and $25,000 per mile in United States six per cent. bonds, (the latter as a first mortgage loan;) also not more than $300 per mile per annum for carrying the mails.

It is a matter of national humiliation that we can get no post, wagon, or railroad across the continent. California entreats that this session may not close without some decisive and affirmative action on the subject.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, *May*, 1856.

MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY OF RACES.*

It is scarcely necessary for us to say that we disagree with our contributor in the conclusions to which he has arrived in his Review of the able work of Dr. Nott. As science must always be promoted by fair criticism, the insertion of the article entire is readily awarded. The Review has on several occasions presented in elaborate detail the argument and facts upon which the theories of Dr. Nott are based, and which are receiving the sanction of the religious as well as of the scientific world.

The Westminster Review, for March, 1856, sums up the argument, and gives its approval in the following strong language:

"Notwithstanding the strict unity of mankind, a unity manifested physically, intellectually, and morally—a sameness from the beginning in instincts, propensities, feelings and faculties, hopes and fears, and the like reverent looking upwards to a great unseen Cause, and constant adumbration of a future heritage, everywhere—there are numerous specifically distinct races of men, essentially differently endowed; that these races were perfectly distinct, and likewise identical, at periods the most remote to which we have any means of reference; that they are quite incapable of transmutation by any influences of which we have a knowledge."

"The writers of the 'Types of Mankind' have done well by this fresh and rich contribution to the science of ethnology, the result of very diligent inquiry, toward recalling attention to the question of its true philosophy. The arguments they adduce and the views they maintain, have long since been received on the continent of Europe."—[EDITOR.]

The above is the title of an exceedingly valuable book upon the subject of which it treats, just given to the public by the enterprising house of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadel-

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*The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, with particular reference to their respective influence in the civil and political history of mankind. From the French of Count A. De Gobineau: with an analytical introduction and copious historical notes by H. Hotz. To which is added an appendix containing a summary of the latest scientific facts bearing upon the question of unity or plurality of species. By J. C. Nott, M. D., of Mobile.

phia. We have read the work carefully, and feel that we are doing a real service by recommending it to all whose tastes may incline to the investigation of the interesting question of the diversity of races. We are aware, that the mere recommendation of a book, by the press, no longer carries with it the authority which in earlier times was more deservedly respected than now; but whether our own opinion be accepted or not by the public, our purpose will be fully accomplished if we shall succeed in directing its attention to this excellent work.

Count Gobineau, the author, is engaged, we learn, in the diplomatic service of his country in Persia, and the volume now presented is one of a series of four on the same subject, hereafter to be published. It does not appear whether we are indebted or not to Mr. Hotz for the translation. But the translator, whoever he be, has attained a very high order of merit, and has given an exceedingly idiomatic version, free from gallicisms and all the blemishes of inverted construction, improper use of words, inelegance of diction, and other even less venial faults so frequently encountered in translations. As to the fidelity and accuracy with which M. Gobineau has been presented in his English dress, we have no means of judging, not having met with the original; but the fact that Dr. Nott's name is connected with the work, will, we presume, be sufficient guaranty that no errors of importance have crept into the text.

Mr. Hotz's Analytical Introduction is a very lucid exposition of the general subject, and forms a graceful vestibule to the more elaborate structure of M. Gobineau. His Historical Notes also, numerously interspersed throughout the volume, furnish a valuable commentary, in some cases where the author would otherwise be obscure. But we do protest, in most positive and energetic terms, against the suppression, in one instance, of a portion of the original text, for which, it seems, Mr. Hotz is responsible. We refer to the omission of the beginning of Chapter XII, on the Classification of Races. He (Mr. H.) says:

"In supervising the publication of this work, I have thought proper to omit in this place, a portion of the translation, because containing ideas and suggestions which—though they might be novel to a French public—have often been laid before English readers, and as often proved untenable. This omission, however, embraces no essential feature of the book, no link of the chain of argumentation. It extends no further than a digressional attempt of the author to account for diversities observable in the various branches of the human family, &c."

Mr. Hotz's reason for the omission may be very satisfactory to himself, but a common spirit of fairness, it seems to us, ought to have restrained him from taking so unwarrantable a liberty with M. Gobineau. An annotator surely cannot be justified in suppressing any portion of the text of his author, because he may happen to disagree with him in opinion. American publishers, generally, are too much in the habit of resorting to the expurgation of foreign works reprinted in this country, giving to the public what the Italians aptly term castrated editions. This practice might be tolerated in omitting passages of gross indecency in certain popular authors, although, even in that case, we doubt its propriety, unless the object be to make a text book for children or boarding school misses. Mr. Hotz has no such excuse as this; he makes suppressions simply because he dissents from the opinions of his author, or deems the matter irrelevant. With this single exception, we think Mr. Hotz has rendered valuable service by his editorial elucidations.

The contributions to the book by Dr. Nott, of Mobile, add greatly to its value. They consist in an appendix, containing a series of short essays, illustrating the physical differences among the various races of mankind, with particular reference to the size of the brain, a discussion upon the subject of hybridity, and, also, some brief remarks contrasting the received opinions as to the unity of the human family.

The arguments of Dr. Nott, on this last point, though ingenious, are not, we think, satisfactory. It is true, as stated by him, that the sciences of astronomy, geology, chronology, and cosmogony, have established facts which were formerly regarded as contrary to the teachings of the Bible. But it is evident that they were contrary, not to the Scripture itself, but only to the received interpretation of it. Geology, for example, has demonstrated that the earth has existed many thousands of years, and that there has been a succession of creations of organized beings at different periods. This implies no necessary contradiction to the narration given in Genesis with regard to the creation. It is there stated, merely, "*In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth*," or, in other words, that every thing existing derived its origin from God, that is, that nothing was self-created. The order of creation is then enumerated as having taken place in certain periods, indefinite as to duration, called "days." There is nothing here in the slightest degree repugnant to any of the fair deductions of the sciences mentioned by Dr. Nott, or of any other science.

If the doctrine of the unity of the human race is clearly and distinctly taught in the Bible, there is no room for argument or discussion. The right use of reason, in regard to this

and all similar questions, is to satisfy ourselves that the Bible is what it purports to be, a revelation from God, and then gratefully to accept whatever that revelation teaches, although it might to us seem contrary to the fitness of things. We all know the effect of food, climate, and hereditary peculiarities in producing diversities, not only in the human family, but throughout all organized nature; and it would be exceedingly rash to assert that these, and probably other unknown causes, are insufficient to produce all the varieties we find in the races of mankind. Besides, it is not a matter of much consequence as a question of natural history, whether all the races of mankind are descended from a single pair, or from many pairs, since we know that there are *now* permanent differences of type.

Our space would not permit, even if we had the desire, to enter upon the general subject of the unity of the human race. We will, therefore, content ourselves merely with a few strictures upon the theological argument of Dr. Nott. It is but just to him that it should be stated in his own words:

"On searching diligently the New Testament, from one end to the other, we were not a little surprised to find but a single text that seemed to bear directly upon it," (the question of unity of race,) viz: "the oft quoted one in Acts xvii, 26: 'And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' &c. Being astonished at the fact that this great question of the common origin of man should thus be made to hang so much upon a single verse, it occurred to me that there might be some error, some interpolation in the text, and having no material at hand for such an investigation in Mobile, I wrote to a competent friend in Philadelphia, to examine for me all the Greek texts and old versions, and his reply confirmed fully my suspicions. The word 'blood' is an interpolation and not to be found the original texts. The word 'blood' has been rejected by the Catholic Church from the time of St. Jerome to the present hour. The text of Tischendorf is regarded, I believe, generally as the most accurate Greek text known, and in this the word 'blood' does not appear. I have at hand a large list of authorities to the same effect, but as it is presumed no competent authority will call our assertion in question, it is needless to cite them. The verse above alluded to in Acts should, therefore, read: 'And hath made of one all races (genus) of men,' &c. The word 'blood' is a gloss, and we have just as much right to interpolate 'one form,' 'one substance,' 'one nature,' 'one responsibility,' or any thing else as 'blood.'"

The text quoted in the extract is taken from Paul's address to the Athenians on Mars' Hill; and surely it is a trivial objection that it is the only passage in the New Testament which asserts directly the unity of the human family. A positive declaration in one text is certainly entitled to as much authority as if it were made in a thousand. Repetition *per se* neither adds to nor diminishes the value of a fact, although it may show that it is regarded as important.

But it seems that Dr. Nott suspected some interpolation or error in the passage, and wrote to a friend in Philadelphia to examine "*all the Greek texts and old versions*," and that after this examination his friend reported the absence of the word

"*blood*" from the originals. We presume that the Greek texts mentioned above were manuscripts, or else the examinations could not have been of much value. Or, if the term used is synonomous with "*version*," then it must have been known to Dr. Nott that there is but one complete Greek version, those of Symmachus, Theodotian, and Aquila being mere fragments, as well as the two anomymous versions given in part in the Hexapla of Origen. Neither Philadelphia, nor the entire United States, nor even any one country in Europe could have afforded the facilities for the examination of *all* the manuscripts of the New Testament. We greatly doubt if a half dozen of such manuscripts could be found in the United States. The examination made by the Philadelphia gentleman, then, must have been of the most *flimsy* character.

Dr. Nott has also fallen into error in making the assertion that the text of Tischendorf is generally regarded as the most accurate Greek text of the New Testament. On the contrary, the text of Griesbach is generally regarded by biblical critics as superior to all others; it is in fact the almost universally received text. Griesbach devoted the whole of a long life to the collation of the various manuscripts, with reference to the single purpose of giving to the world a critical edition of the New Testament. There have been other learned laborers in the same field, such as Michaelis, Matthiae, and more recently Scholz; Tischendorf is scarcely mentioned by writers on this subject, certainly he is not noticed as being distinguished in this department of letters.

It is true that in the Douay or Catholic Bible, the word "*blood*" is omitted; and it is also omitted in the Vulgate, of which it is a translation. But the Vulgate itself is a translation from the Hebrew and the Greek, the New Tastament being translated from the latter language. It is possible that the word "*blood*" may have been omitted in the particular manuscript from which this version was made. The manuscripts being prepared by hand, omissions must have been frequent, and no two of them would be precisely similar in all respects. It is true that the manuscript from which the Vulgate was translated, was necessarily older than any we now possess, or any to which the translators of our authorized version had access, but these last must themselves have been copied from the ancient manuscripts.

In Dr. Nott's opinion the word "*blood*" is an interpolation, and some other word, such as "*form*" or "*substance*" or "*nature*" might with as much propriety be substituted. It seems from this that he conjectures some word to be missing from the text. But if we find the word "blood" in some of the manuscripts and absent from others, it is a reasonable presump-

tion that it was omitted by accident, unless we can show some good cause to believe that it was omitted by design. We have no evidence that the question of the unity of the human race was agitated in the Middle Ages or earlier, at the period when the manuscripts were prepared, on theological or any other grounds. We have the high authority of Griesbach, after diligent collation of about 500 manuscripts for the word "*haimatos*," signifying "*blood*," in this particular passage. The whole passage in the original is as follows:

"*Epoiese te ex henos haimatos pan ethnos anthropon Ratoikein epi pan to prosopon tes ges.*"

But even admitting that the word "*blood*" is an interpolation, and that the correct reading of the passage is as he gives it—"*And hath made of one, all races of men*," &c., it is manifest that the word "one," logically and grammatically refers to the word "*race*," not expressed. Supplying theo mission, the passage will read: "*And hath made of one race, all races of men*," &c., which by fair interpretation plainly means, that all are descended from the same original stock.

If then the Bible unequivocally teaches the dogma of the unity of the human family, the fanciful deductions of overwise naturalists being founded upon false or insufficient premises ought to be disregarded by every candid mind. We think, to say the least, that Dr. Nott has been unfortunate in his theological argument.

M. Gobineau wisely refrains from discussing this *questio vexata*, but inclines to the opinion that it has already been adjudicated. The leading idea of the book is, that in whatever manner produced, there are now and have been for ages, certain inirradicable differences in the appearance, character, capability, and tendencies of the various races of mankind. This idea is abundantly illustrated throughout the volume, and we may add, the statement proved almost beyond controversy.

We will conclude this article by giving a few extracts upon one or two points connected with the general subject of diversity of races. The following remarks upon Civilization are taken from Mr. Hotz's Introduction, and are an amplification of the same idea expressed by M. Gobineau in the text. They strike us as being very forcible:

"Few terms of equal importance are so vaguely defined as the term *civilization*; few definitions are so difficult. In common parlance, the word civilization is used to designate that moral, intellectual, and material condition at which the so called European race, whether occupying the eastern or the western continent, has arrived in the nineteenth century. But the nations comprised in this race differ from one another so extensively, that it has been found necessary to invent a new term—enlightenment. Thus, Great Britain, France, the United States, Switzerland, several of the States of the German Confederacy, Sweden and Denmark, are called enlightened; while Russia,

Spain, Portugal, Italy, Brazil, and the South American republics are merely civilized. Now, I ask, in what does the difference consist?

"Is the diffusion of knowledge by popular education to be the test? Then Great Britain and France would fall far below some countries now placed in the second, or even third rank. Denmark and China would be the most civilized countries in the world; nay, even Thibet, and the rest of Central Asia, would take precedence before the present champions of civilization. The whole of Germany and Switzerland would come next, then the eastern and middle sections of the United States, then southern and western; and, after them, Great Britain and France. Still retaining the same scale, Russia would actually be ranked above Italy, the native clime of the arts. In Great Britain itself, Scotland would far surpass England in civilization.

"Is the perfection to which the arts are carried the test of civilization? Then Bavaria and Italy are the most civilized countries. Then are we far behind the Greeks in civilization: or, are the useful arts to carry the prize? Then the people showing the greatest mechanical genius is the most civilized.

"Are political institutions to be the test? Then the question, 'which is the best government?' must be decided. But the philosophic answer would be: 'That which is best adapted to the genius of the people, and therefore best answers the purposes for which all government is instituted.' Those who believe in the abstract superiority of any governmental theory may be compared to the tailor who would finish some beau-ideal of a coat, without taking his customer's measure. We could afford to laugh at such theorists, were not their schemes so often recorded in blood in the annals of the world. Besides, if this test be admitted, no two could agree upon what was a civilized community. The panegyrist of constitutional monarchy would call England the only civilized country; the admirer of municipal liberty would point to the Hanse towns of the Middle ages, and their miserable relics, the present free cities of Germany; the friends of sober republicanism would exclude from the pale of civilization all but the United States and Switzerland; the lover of pure democracy would contend that mankind had retrograded since the time of Athens, and deplore that civilization was now confined to some few rude mountain or nomadic tribes with few and simple wants; finally, the defender of a paternal autocracy would sigh for the days of Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius, and hesitate whether, in our age, Austria or Russia deserved the crown.

"Neither pre-eminence in arts and sciences, nor in popular instruction, nor in government, can singly be taken as the test of civilization. Pre-eminence in all, no country enjoys. Yet all these are signs of civilization—the only ones by which we distinguish and recognize it. How then shall we define this term? I would suggest a simple and, I think, sufficiently explicit definition: Civilization is the continuous development of man's moral and intellectual powers. As the aggregate of these differs in different nations, so differs the character of their civilization. In one, civilization manifests itself in the perfection of the arts, either useful or polite; in another, in the cultivation of the sciences; in a third, in the care bestowed upon politics, or, in the diffusion of knowledge among the masses. Each has its own merits, each its own defects; none combines the excellencies of all, but whichever combines the most with fewest defects, may be considered the best or most perfect" p. 44.

It is not generally known how much China and other Oriental nations are in advance of even New England in the diffusion of the elementary branches of knowledge. In illustration of this, we give below an extract from a note found on page 44.

"How far England and France are behindhand in this respect, (as to number of persons able to read and write,) compared either with ourselves, or with other European nations, is tolerably well known; but the fact that not only in China proper, but in Thibet, Japan, Anam, Tonquin, etc., few can

be found devoid of that acquirement, will probably meet with many incredulous readers, though it is mentioned by almost every traveller. (See J. Mohl's Annual Report to the Asiatic Society, 1851.) But, it may be safely asserted, that in the whole of that portion of Asia lying south of the Altai Mountains, including Japan, altogether the most populous region of the globe, the percentage of males unable to read and write is by far smaller than in the entire population of Europe. Be it well understood, that I do not, therefore, claim any superiority for the inhabitants of the former region over those of the latter.

"In China," says M. Huc, "there are not, as in Europe, public libraries and reading-rooms; but those who have a taste for reading, and a desire to instruct themselves, can satisfy their inclinations very easily, as books are sold here at a lower price than in any other country. Besides, the Chinese find everywhere something to read; they can scarcely take a step without seeing some of the characters of which they are so proud. One may say, in fact, that China is an immense library; for inscriptions, sentences, moral precepts, are found in every corner, written in letters of all colors, and all sizes. The façades of the tribunals, the pagodas, the public monuments, the signs of the shops, the doors of the houses, the interior of the apartments, the corridors, all are full of fine quotations from the best authors. Teacups, plates, vases, fans, are so many selections of poems, often chosen with much taste, and prettily printed. A Chinese has no need to give himself much trouble in order to enjoy the finest productions of his country's literature. He need only take his pipe, and walk out, with his nose in the air, through the principal streets of the first town he comes to. Let him enter the poorest house in the most wretched village; the destitution may be complete, things the most necessary may be wanting; but he is sure of finding some fine maxims written out on strips of red paper. Thus, if those grand large characters, which look so terrific in our eyes, though they delight the Chinese, are really so difficult to learn, at least the people have the most ample opportunities of studying them, almost in play, and of impressing them ineffaceably on their memories."

We would gladly give further extracts from this extremely interesting volume, but our limits will not permit. We had intended to have made some remarks suggested by the subject upon the hopeless inferiority of the black races, even apart from all the unfavorable circumstances by which they have been surrounded. But we forbear for the present. We conclude by most heartily recommending this valuable book to the public.

MINNESOTA AND THE NORTHWEST.

RECORD OF MARVELLOUS PROGRESS.

We but pronounce an universal sentiment among the informed on that subject when we say that no portion of our great confederacy has ever yet started with greater natural or social advantages. Minnesota is the only State above the Mason and Dixon's Line having the Mississippi running through the heart of her country. She stands at the head of the navigation of the wonderful natural channel of communication, unequalled in the world. By means of it, her produce is borne through thousands of miles, by an uninterrupted course, to the Gulf of Mexico. On her northeast she is bounded by the first and greatest of the chain of great lakes, Lake Superior. From that point she can communicate with the rich country along their banks, with the Canadas, with the country of the St. Lawrence, and, finally, with the Atlantic Ocean and with Europe. Her whole western boundary is formed by the Missouri river, another great outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, and draining from the west and northwest a country yet to bear its tribute of wealth to Minnesota, while, to the north, runs out the Red river from the heart of her territory, opening a communication with the great bays of Canada. She is thus, as it were, the centre from which radiates the greatest water courses of the continent. She gives birth to the Mississippi river. She heads the great chain of fresh water lakes—the inland seas of North America. She gives rise to one of the greatest tributaries of the Canadas, and she supplies a great part of the volume of the turbid Missouri. Thus east, west, north, and south, she has a ready natural communication with the external world. But as if it was not water enough to supply the land, she is still more generously gifted. If one will take the map, he will find Minnesota dotted over with an infinite multitudes of lakes, of all sizes and forms, absolutely sprinkled over the face of the country. We have heard it said that astronomers are of opinion that the numerous small bodies lately discovered one after the other in the heavens, are the fragments of one large planet once existing, but dissevered by some rude convulsion of nature, or perhaps the pieces from which a planet was to have been formed, left scattered and uncollected. In like manner, if we glance at the map we will almost conclude that here in the innumerable small lakes of Minnesota we find the rudiments or the remains of some large lake, the head of the great chain of lakes, first in position and of a size beside which Superior would appear dwindled. Be the theory as it may, these lakes have made Minnesota the greatest water country in the world. They have supplied her,

in the most abundant quantity, with that first blessing of life, fresh, pure water. They have given her water-power for manufactories, beyond all reckoning, and they have served us a healthful and beautiful site around which her agriculture is crowding and clustering.

Let us look next to her geographical situation. None could be better. She is northwest of the great Northwest. She is the very head and front of that great phalanx of States whose rapid population, unequalled advancement, and tireless energy have made them the wonder of the world, and have added a new and brilliant page to the history of human migrations. She leads Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. She repeats and she improves upon them all. Beyond her the chapter connot be continued, for Nebraska, with much of her merits, combines many defects exclusively her own.

There seems to be a certain zone of climate within which humanity reaches the highest degree of physical and mental power. That zone included Rome in her great day when the eagles sat upon her seven hills and the Tiber was frozen to its bottom. That zone, rizing northward by some immutable law of nature, brought out from the Saxon family all its decided features of character, and revived in the land of Shakspeare and Schiller, of Alfred and Hofer, all the valor and almost all the intellect of the ancient Republic. That zone struck this country where the pilgrim and the Quaker landed, and has ever since been streaming across the continent in one unbroken path of progress and glory. It is vain, either in this or the old world, to ascribe the condition of the people to the effect of any social institution, religious or political; the institutions and the character of the people are both the result of the climate, not the one of the other. Slavery and comparative inactivity are as natural to the south, as energy and free labor is to the north. It is the good fortune of this Territory to lie not only within that zone, but within its very apex. It is, as we have said, the northwest of the great Northwest. It has much the latitudinal position of New York and New England. It possesses with equally good climate, natural advantages, beside which the rocky hills and meagre soil of those sections compare illy. In fact, if we range over all the States that have attained any position of pre-eminence, we will find Minnesota surpassing each and all of them. If Ohio has a beautiful surface of country, so has Minnesota, and with it a richness of soil that Ohio has not. If Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa, possess the dark rich prairie soil so desirable to the former, so does Minnesota, and with it a freedom from miasmatic diseases, a variety of surface, and a plentitude of water and timber which those States cannot lay claim to. If Wisconsin

presents some of the advantages of Minnesota, she is, on the other hand, from her proximity to the great Lakes, subject to an unhealthy moistness of climate, and a variability of temperature, which much detract from her merits. In Minnesota alone, we find a clear, dry, bracing climate—regular, if we may utter an apparent paradox, even in its extremes, and so stimulating to the animal system that it has been observed that both the brute and the human creation are able under its influence to undergo more labor than in any of the States southeast of it. Already it has become a point to which persons whose constitutions have grown enervated in less healthy climates resort for relief and recovery. We have met already several who have come here for that purpose, and all with satisfactory results. We would quote as an illustration of this, the following facts from Mr. Seymour's work. He says, speaking of a gentleman residing on the St. Croix: "I was impelled by curiosity to inquire of Mr. Lyman why he had left the fertile soil and sunny prairies of Illinois and wandered off here in the woods, into this northern clime. He states, in reply, that he has been severely afflicted with the ague in Illinois; that his constitution had become nearly broken down by disease. Many of the young men of his neighborhood came up to work at the Marine Mills, and he noticed that all returned with recruited health, although suffering with ague at the time of their departure. He therefore resolved to try the climate. When he arrived here five years ago, he was scarcely able to walk from the landing to the boarding house. He was immediately restored to the enjoyment of excellent health, with which he has been blest ever since." We would again quote from the same author. He is speaking of the garrison at Fort Snelling. He says: "Major Wood before coming here was stationed at the south, (in Texas I believe.) Since his arrival here, in September last, the weather, he tells me, has been uninterruptedly cold and disagreeable, forming quite a contrast to the climate of his former station. The companies under his command, however, have been benefitted by the change. The invalids have recovered, the healthy have acquired additional vigor, and the hospital which was formerly thronged, is now nearly destitute of tenants." We might quote numerous other authorities to the same purpose. There is no doubt whatever of the peculiarly salubrious character of the climate. A stranger will very soon notice the effect of it on the lungs. The atmosphere is so strong and pure that while it will strengthen weak lungs it will prove too much for those far gone in consumption, resembling is this respect the action of sea air. We have no doubt that before many years physicians will change the direction in which to send their patients, and Minnesota be sub-

of business transacted annually did not amount to more than $131,000, while, in 1855, it had reached nearly $6,000,000.

The increase in the value of property has, of course, kept pace with this advancement. We will recount a few instances to illustrate the unexampled growth of St. Paul in this respect.

A gentleman resident at Prairie du Chien, two years ago bought one hundred acres of land on the bluff, immediately west of St. Paul, for $65 per acre. He can sell the same property now at $400 an acre.

Mr. Selby, of this place, five years ago bought a quantity of land on the road to St. Anthony, near St. Paul, for $20 per acre. He is now selling it out at the rate of from $1,500 to $2,000 per acre.

Col. Robertson, of this place, five years ago bought 300 feet on St. Anthony street, for $2 per foot. It is now worth $100 per foot.

Dr. Sprot, of St. Louis, in 1850, purchased 100 feet front by 150 deep, at the corner of Third and Robert streets, for $600. He sold it this spring, not to strangers, but to residents of long standing, for $24,800.

Mr. Simon Arnold, of the firm of Arnold, Nausbaum & Nirdlinger, Third street, near Arch, Philadelphia, in 1848, bought 25 acres back of the town for $4 per acre. He can now sell it for $150 per acre.

Only the other day, Mr. John Nininger, of this place, sold a piece of land about two miles from this city, for $14,000, for which, one year ago, he paid $6,000.

The same gentleman also, last year, bought a piece of land, adjoining the city limits, for $9,300, for which he is now offered $18,000.

And so on. We might recount numberless instances to the same purpose. We have heard of thousands of other cases. But it is needless to enumerate them. It is sufficient that not only has the town of St. Paul progressed in a proportionate rate with the instances given above, but the whole Territory around has grown in a like proportion. It is nothing strange to hear of men taking up land at the Government price, $1 25 per acre, and selling in one or two years at $5, $10, $20, or $30 an acre. In such instances the whole country abounds. And as to town plats, they rise like magic, and their progress is astonishing. Take the little town of Hastings below this point on the west side of the river. It is about one year and a half old, and town lots are now selling in it for $2,000 and $3,000 per lot. The same thing occurs in Prescott, in Winona, and all the rising towns along the river. At the same time, all kinds of business bear a similar proportion. The profits on any kind of trade or labor are enormous, and money commands

usually as high as three per cent. per month, often five, and even as high as eight. When we contrast these things with the way things progress in the east, we are tempted to conclude that all this wild advancement will lead to eventual ruin and revulsion. Such, doubtless, would be the result in any other country. But here the necessity of things establishes a political economy, better fitted for the circumstances than anything human philosophy could devise; the secret of it all is that this land presents the phenomenon of a great and most fertile country, filling in with wonderful rapidity, by a people unsurpassed in the world for enterprise or energy. Here, laborers are still scarce, and labor is high. Here, there is little competition, and everything physical or intellectual, is rated at the highest value. Here, the earth's fertile and habitable surface is sold by the General Government, at a price much below its real intrinsic value, and above which it must, from the necessity of things, rise. Here, a new and crowding population are fast assuming the old forms, luxuries, and ceremonies, of civilization. There are places vacant everywhere, and men are at a premium; there is a want of capital everywhere, and capital is at a premium; there is a necessity for land everywhere, and land is at a premium. The history of the world never saw anything equal to this emigration, and when once this greatest and latest discovered continent is perfect, it never will again. For there is no other similar land so to be populated. Where else in the world could we see a city of nearly 10,000 inhabitants rising, as this has done, into being in five years? Where else are there presented facilities such as these? Why the very necessities of circumstances, not the far-sightedness of any man or set of men, have driven all these things into existence. It has transformed the strangest sort of men into the most incompatible of positions. It has made town owners of the half-breeds. It has turned the poor wandering preemptor into the wealthy capitalist. One gentleman in St. Paul, I mention the instance to his most redounding credit, came here five years ago a blacksmith—he is now a banker. His old log blacksmith shop stands on one corner of the street, his large stone banking house on the opposite corner. What a commentary on the West! What a frontispiece that picture would make to a history of St. Paul! Why, if we want any further evidence of the immense progress of this place, or of the powerful current of emigration that drives it along, we have only to notice the business done on the steamboats bringing passengers to St. Paul. This is best evidenced by one or two facts: The "War Eagle" cost about $20,000 to build, last year she cleared $44,000 profits. The "City Belle" cost about $11,000 to build, last year she cleared over $30,000 profits.

The first more than doubling, the other almost tripling in one year the whole cost of construction. And the company to which these boats in common with others belong, declared last year a dividend upon a profit of $100,000, besides building several new boats. Nothing but the most tremendous emigration to this whole country could bring about such startling results.

THE WESTERN COUNTRY.

THE NORTHWEST AND ITS CITIES—THE CENTRAL WEST—CHICAGO, CINCINNATI—THE FAR WEST—ST. LOUIS—VAST PROGRESS OF THE WEST.

THE NORTHWEST.—In the northwest let us include only the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and the Territory of Minnesota. There they lie, penetrated and washed by the greatest lakes and some of the greatest rivers of the world. They have so many thousands of miles of lake and river navigation, leading to the ocean through both the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and the artificial avenues created by capital, science, and labor in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and other States—for the products of Iowa sometimes go over even the Baltimore and Ohio railroad—that it is only necessary to refer you to the map and the Gazetteer for the navigable resources of the northwest. The area embraced in the three States and Territories, with an approximation to their population and number of miles of railroad at the present time, is in the following table:

	Square miles.	Acres.	Pop. 1856.	Miles of R.
Michigan	56,243	35,995,520	550,000	590
Wisconsin	53,924	34,511,360	550,000	647
Iowa	50,900	32,576,000	600,000	67
Minnesota	83,000	53,120,000	60,000	00
	244,067	156,202,880	1,760,000	1,304

What a domain is there! One hundred and fifty-six millions of acres! Have you ever tried to measure the capacity for production, or even the magnitude in area, of the region here presented? The area of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, according to the best authorities, is 121,000 square miles. The northwest here spoken of is more than twice as great in area as the United Kingdom; and, if Queen Victoria had no colonies, she would rule over a patch of earth smaller than Iowa and Minnesota! Less than Iowa and Minnesota too in agricultural capacity, and only the size of Vermont larger than Michigan and Wisconsin!

The area of the New England States is about 65,000 square miles. Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, cover

nearly four times as much of the earth's surface as all New England, and they would divide into *thirty-one States* as large as Massachusetts, and leave enough over for some modern Roger Williams to found a new State larger than Rhode Island.

These comparisons are made to bring as boldly as possible before you the *extent* of the northwest. You know what New England is. By comparing the size of your own section of the Union—of which you have so much cause to be proud—with the northwest, you can realize the magnitude of the latter. If our entire Union were composed of thirty-one States no larger than Massachusetts, and we had never been used to a larger Union, doubtless we should all regard it with pride. Yet the three States and one Territory of which I speak would make such a Union—make in area, and, save in sea-going facilities, far exceed in capacity for producing wealth, thirty-one States like Massachusetts.

The population given in the table is estimated from the best accessible data. I have given to Michigan the number of people shown to be in *Wisconsin*, by the census of 1855. The people of Iowa and Wisconsin will say that both States are put down too low. In Minnesota they will say the same. But the figures are kept down that even unintentional exaggeration may not occur. Still, if you will recollect, the population of all New England, in 1850, was only 2,357,324, according to the United States census. The northwest has, therefore, within about 600,000 as many people as all New England had in 1850. In 1860 New England will have, at the same per cent. of increase as in the decade ending in 1850, about 2,900,000 people. In all of the year 1860 the three States of Minnesota will nearly if not quite rank side by side in population with New England; they will certainly have at least as many people as all new England had in 1850; but they will not have as many *to the square mile*. If settled as densely as New England was in 1850—about 42 to the square mile—they would contain over nine millions of people. If as densely peopled as Massachusetts is now—say 148 to the square mile—they would contain a population of thirty-six millions.

That the northwest here spoken of is capable of sustaining a population as dense as the present population of Massachusetts no one acquainted with the extent and variety of its resources can doubt. That such a population is in time to occupy its broad and fertile acres, swarm in its cities, float on its waters, and dash along its railroads is equally certain. True, the area of that country has long been known. But its population has never been so great as to-day. In no previous year had it so many steamboats on its waters or miles of railroad

in operation as now. Never had it so much fixed property; never so much unchangeable wealth; never so many common schools; never so many higher institutions of learning; never so many churches, as in 1856. It had never before so many firesides; never so many familes; never so much productive machinery; never so great an aggregate of comfort, convenience, elegance, and luxury; and never before so able a press. It was, consequently, never so deserving of attention.

Cities of the Northwest.—Detroit, Milwaukie, and Superior Cities—the latter at the very head of Lake Superior—will be, I think, the principal cites on the lakes, in the region of which I speak. From Superior City a railroad only 140 miles in length will extend to St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota. And, as the extreme western point of Lake Superior, now rendered accessible by the Saut Ste. Marie canal, is but little if any more distant from Buffalo than the south end of Lake Michigan; and as a steamboat can load at Buffalo and make a voyage to Superior City in about the same time and for about as many months in the year as she could to the south ports on Lake Michigan, it would seem that even there, at the head of Lake Superior, a city will grow up.

By a publication which I have seen it appears that Detroit had in June, 1855, a population of 40,375, and a valuation for taxation of $12,500,000. Milwaukie had in August, 1855, a population of 30,448, and a valuation corresponding. Here, then, in these two remote places were nearly half as many people as in the city of Boston. Their valuation is far, far below that of Boston, which is one of the most oppulent cities in the world. Yet there was a time when even Boston was as poor as they; and a time will come, is coming, when each of these cities will be equal to what Boston is now. They will probably never overtake Boston. The march after her will doubtless be like the march of Chicago after St. Louis—as vain as an effort to reach the horizon.

It is important to bear in mind that large cities on the lakes can only exist if there is a productive interior. To the thoughtful man the present growth and accumulation of these cities is the best evidence which could be produced that a productive interior is there; and those who know that interior will tell you that it is yet comparatively untouched. The realities of the present are, therefore, only the harbingers of greater wonders in the future.

The Central West.—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois! Do you realize what is going on there? Fifty-five years ago there were not fifty-five thousand people in all that region, except the original owners of the soil, who have given way to the

superior races. The Indians were there, but only 50,000 whites. Now let me present you a table of population in 1850, an estimate of the population now, the valuation by assessment, and the miles of railroad:

States.	Population, 1850.	Population, 1856.	Valuation.	Railroads.
Ohio	1,980,329	2,300,000	$860,877,354	2,725
Indiana	988,416	1,250,000	310,000,000	1,789
Illinois	851,470	1,350,000	230,000,000	2,215
	3,820,215	4,900,000	1,400,877,354	6,729

These States had in 1850 nearly a million and a half of people more than the six States of New England. They have now more than double the population of all New England in 1850. The census of 1860 will give them between five and a half and six millions—double the entire population of the colonies when Massachusetts and Virginia were commencing the work of independence.

Their actual valuation is not less than two thousand five hundred millions of dollars; nay, citizens of those States will tell me I ought to put it up to at least three thousand millions. I do not believe if every man in each of these States desired to sell his property that the estimate in the aggregate would be less than three thousand millions of dollars.

The railroad figures in this table are from a Boston authority—the Rai'way Times. I have no doubt of their correctness, *if they are not too low.* But you will see from another table which I have before me—showing the progressive annual increase of the miles of railroad in the United States since 1828—that the three States have nearly *as many miles as the whole Union had in* 1850; and it is an interesting fact that the State of Illinois has to-day *more miles of railroad than the whole Union had in* 1840. Here is the table:

Miles of Railroad in the United States.

Years.	Miles.	Years.	Miles.	Years.	Miles.
1828	3	1838	1,843	1848	5,682
1829	28	1839	1,920	1849	6,350
1830	41	1840	2,167	1850	7,355
1831	54	1841	3,319	1851	9,090
1832	131	1842	3,877	1852	11,631
1833	576	1843	4,174	1853	13,379
1834	762	1844	4,311	1854	16,928
1835	918	1845	4,511	1855	19,664
1836	1,102	1846	4,870	1856	23,242
1837	1,421	1847	5,336		

It is shown by this table that there are 23,242 miles of railroad in the United States. More than one-fourth of all the railroads in the United States is therefore in the three States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and of the six thousand miles now being constructed in the Union, and which, it is estimated,

will be opened for use within two years, there is a fair proportion in these three States.

To show how rapidly wealth is being developed and created in these States, let me introduce tables of their assessed value at different periods. I have no back returns from Illinois; but you all know that fifteen years ago she would not have sold for fifty millions of dollars, though her present valuation is $230,000,000. The first table I present is from the Auditor of the State of Ohio:

Valuation for Taxation of Ohio.

Years.	Real.	Personal.	Total.
1840	$85,287,261	$27,538,895	$112,326,156
1845	108,185,744	35,984,725	114,160,469
1850	341,388,838	98,487,502	409,876,340
1855	577,859,530	283,018,815	860,877,354

There is not a man of forty years old here who cannot recall the time when Ohio was the "back-woods;" at least that was what we called her in Pennsylvania twenty-five years ago. Now look at her. With more miles of railroad than Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island combined! She had in 1854, 10,451 common schools, 7,469 male teachers, and 6,413 female teachers in her common schools, to whom she paid over $850,000! She built nearly 800 school-houses in 1854, at an average cost of $450 each. She expended about $1,700,000 for common schools purposes in 1854; and about $80,000 of this was for district libaries, the list of books selected for which would astonish those who have not kept up with the progress of civilization in the West. There was also a heavy expenditure for philosophical apparatus for the different counties.

The following table, taken from the Auditor's reports, show the valuation of the State of Indiana at different periods:

1841	$98,116,871	1847	$123,707,366
1842	109,173,610	1848	128,057,911
1845	117,161,714	1853	266,097,614
1846	119,931,199	1854	290,418,148

This shows, from 1841 to 1854, an increase of over $200,000,000 in the valuation of real and personal property in the State.

Education in Indiana is on a footing similar to that of education in Ohio. The same may be said of Illinois. The common school—for the origin of which Massachusetts may claim credit (as Ohio can claim to have had the first religious newspaper in the United States published within her borders)—the common school is an "institution" in every State of the Northwest, the central West, and the far West. Even in Missouri we have our common school system.

Cities of the Central West.—It would fatigue the ear for me to call over the names of all the cities numbering ten

thousand people and upwards in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. I can only advert to the principal cities of Illinois and Ohio.

THE CITY OF CHICAGO.—The rapid growth of Chicago seems wonderful. In 1840 she had 4,500 people; in 1855 she had a population of nearly 85,000. Many worthy people stand amazed at this increase, yet it has nothing in it half so wonderful as the general increase of the country. Chicago could not help but grow rapidly, particularly after railroads had begun to penetrate towards her. With a country so fertile and so easily reduced to cultivation tributary to her, it was but natural that she should for a few years increase from year to year in almost geometrical progression. St. Louis had done the same thing. Both cities have outstripped the estimates of the most sanguine; but all men (wise as are we after the fact) now see it could not have been otherwise with them. The future of these cities will not astonish the West; we are prepared for it; but it will astonish many people East.

A few figures from the annual reports of the business of Chicago for 1855 will not be valueless, and may aid to convey an idea of what her people are doing:

Total receipts of Grain at Chicago for 1855.

Wheat, bushels	7,535,098
Corn, "	8,532,377
Oats, "	2,947,188
Rye, "	68,086
Barley, "	201,895
Flour into wheat, equal to	1,203,310
	20,486,954

This immense quantity of over 20,000,000 bushels of grain, received in one year at Chicago, was owing somewhat to the high prices of 1855, which drew grain from unusual distances to that market. But the settlement of the country tributary to Chicago is going on so rapidly, farms are being opened and extended so numerously and greatly, that no one is justified in doubting that her grain trade will keep up to enormously high figures.

Chicago, receiving from the Michigan and Wisconsin pine regions, and also from Western Pennsylvania and New York, does a large lumber, lath, and shingle business. Thus she imported in 1855—

Lumber, feet	306,553,467
Laths, number	46,487,550
Shingles, number	158,770,860

Most of these large supplies went into the country, to villages and cities of the interior, and are now in houses, stores, machine shops, fences, railroad buildings, churches, &c. A

considerable portion came to St. Louis, for which groceries are sent in return.

But I must not dwell too long at Chicago. With over one hundred railroad trains arriving and departing daily, and some thousands of vessels on the lake and canal each year, one need not be surprised by the extent of her commerce, nor will any one consider incredible the statement that the income of the railroads "centering in Chicago," in which, however, are included all the roads of Illinois and the Michigan Central and Southern Michigan, amounted in 1855 to more than thirteen millions of dollars!

"Four years ago," says the Chicago Press, speaking of the miles of railroad in operation in the State of Illinois, "there were only ninety-five." Now there are over twenty-two hundred miles. "The world," as is well remarked by the Press, "has never seen so much physical progress in so short a period." The editor might have gone further, and said that more good will accure to the human family from the railroads opened in Illinois during the past four years than from all the carnage and destruction in the Crimea.

The City of Cincinnati.—With commercial interests entirely different from those of either Chicago, or St. Louis; situated in the heart of the great Ohio valley; with artificial as well as natural avenues of commerce in nearly every direction; with a population (according to what they say in Cincinnati) numbering more than Boston; with a well developed manufacturing industry, and rapidly extending her railroads through the great iron and coal region of Southern Ohio, to found along their lines new manufacturing cities, as well as to open for herself additional routes to the seaboard at Baltimore and Philadelphia, Cincinnati might well call on us for an hour of our time, and she would furnish materials in herself for a speech of an evening.

Cincinnati, like Chicago, is the centre of her own system. The Ohio valley, by which we mean the area drained by the tributaries of the Ohio river, is one of the most fertile on the globe. It is also rich in mineral wealth, coal, and iron. A project is now in agitation to make a slack-water steamboat canal of the Ohio river its entire length, a thousand miles, and the thing will be done. Manufacturing industry has already reached an almost wonderful extent and perfection in Cincinnati, considering that she is not yet three-score and ten years old. You may therefore expect Cincinnati to grow in the future almost as greatly as in the past.

But details would only tire you. Let me impress upon you, however, that the growth of Chicago and St. Louis by no means implies the decline of Cincinnati. The latter has heretofore

supplied many manufactured articles to the St. Louis market, which St. Louis now supplies for herself; yet the manufactures of Cincinnati are constantly increasing. And why? Simply because the agricultural population of the west has been growing in numbers and wealth beyond all past estimates.

It is worthy of remark, too, that while Cincinnati has been increasing at so rapid a rate in population, capital, and diversified industry, the city of Louisville, in Kentucky, has gone up to 85,000, a population equal to that of Chicago, and is now in capital one of the richest cities in the Union. It will possibly surprise some of you to learn that a very large share of the real estate of Chicago is owned in Louisville, and that Kentuckians, even as far off as Superior City, at the head of Lake Superior, are among the shrewdest and boldest speculators in the real estate of the northwest.

The far West.—I have included only the State of Missouri and the Territory of Kansas in this division. Even Nebraska I have left out, because there is not time to speak of her. Let us see what Missouri and Kansas are. If we assume that the fertile and productive part of Kansas, extending to the borders of the arid plains, embraces an area of 50,000 square miles, we shall not, I think, over-estimate her territory. Missouri has 67,300 square miles. Here, then, are 117,300 square miles lying west of the Mississippi, south of the State of Iowa, and north of the State of Arkansas, a country nearly double the area of New England, and about fifteen times as large as the State of Massachusetts.

The Missouri, Kansas, Osage, and Grand rivers are the principal streams draining this large domain. The soil throughout nearly its entire extent is so rich and productive that one may almost say there is not a barren acre. In both Missouri and Kansas coal bed exist of extent so vast that a thousand years cannot exhaust them.

In Missouri, according to the report of Prof. Swallow, the State geologist, the great coal field of the State covers an area of 26,000 square miles, more than three times the area of Massachusetts, of inexaustible beds of coal. South of the Missouri river, extending from the Mississippi to the western line of the State, there is a metaliferous region covering an area of at least 20,000 miles, with mines of iron, lead, copper, cobalt, and nickel, the most valuable of the metals, and having also the best flint sand for glass and best porcelain clay yet discovered in the United States. And this immense district of metallic resources has the advantage of a soil more than sufficient to feed all the miners that can ever be employed in it, if they swarm as thickly as the miners in Cornwall or the Hartz mountains.

The population of Missouri in 1850 was 682,044. It is now, I think, not less than 850,000, and her valuation is $180,000,000. Her population would have been much greater but for the exodus to Oregon and California. Our people are adventurous and enterprising, and some of our best men are now on the Pacific.

Missouri Railroads.—The Pacific railroad of Missouri now unites her commercial with her political capital. It is in operation—a five feet and a half guage—from St. Louis to Jefferson City, on the Missouri, and is being extended to Kansas City, on the west line of the State; from which point the people of Kansas will carry it still further westward on its way to the Pacific ocean. There is no railroad in New England better built than this Missouri railroad; there is no railroad in New England with cars so spacious as the cars on this Missouri railroad; and some of the best machines of New England—of Massachusetts—have been put on this track, and will soon, we hope, be equalled by machines of Missouri manufacture, for we now build locomotives in St. Louis.

Forty miles west from St. Louis a branch—a branch of three hundred miles in length—leaves the main trunk of this Pacific railroad, and is being constructed along the border of the metaliferous region to the southwest corner of the State, ultimately to run through the country of the Cherokees to Texas, and to connect with any southern railroad which may be constructed through El Paso to the Pacific at San Diego.

Southward from St. Louis a railroad is in rapid process of construction to the "Iron Mountain" and "Pilot Knob," two of the most remarkable natural curiosities on the globe, where there is iron enough above the surface to last the entire world for many generations; and when this road is completed St. Louis will command the iron trade of the Mississippi valley forever. It will sound like fiction to state that eighteen tons per day are made in a charcoal furnace at the Iron Mountain; yet the manager asserts it as a fact, and doubters are invited to investigate.

Northward, inclining to the west, a railroad is now open from St. Louis to the Missouri river, at the town of St. Charles, and is being extended towards Iowa, ultimately to connect with all the railroads crossing that vigorous State, and in a few years to unite St. Louis with St. Paul on the north, and Council Bluffs on the west. Another railroad is projected to run from St. Louis, by St. Charles, thence on the west bank of the Mississippi river to Keokuk, in the southwest corner of Iowa, where a portion of it is already under contract, and will be completed round the Lower Rapids of the Mississippi by next July.

Such are the roads which are to assist in concentrating at St. Louis a trade so enormous from the west of the Mississippi alone that any figures made on it now would seem extravagant.

But the most interesting railroad of all in Missouri, is the road building from Hannibal, on the Mississippi, to St. Joseph, on the Missouri, across the State, a distance of some two hundred miles—a road to which upwards of six hundred thousand acres of as rich lands as the sun ever shown upon have been donated. These lands are not only rich for agricultural uses, but the road, for two-thirds or three-fourths of its entire length, will run over coal! In three of the counties along the line the State geologist estimates that there are *nine thousand millions of tons* of workable coal, enough to freight the road at 100,000 tons a day and three hundred days in a year for THREE CENTURIES! Only think of it! A railroad carrying out 100,000 tons a day would require three hundred years—or until Anno Domini 2156—to carry away the coal from three counties on the route of this Missouri railroad, which is controlled by Boston men.

But this coal will not all be carried away. It will be consumed in propelling machinery on the line of the road, in the cities which will grow up there, and which will make the entire line of the road, in greatly less than three hundred years, one continuous workshop. Coal is a motive power better than any other, and it is worth while for Massachusetts, which does not possess this motive power except by purchase, to consider how long she can afford to purchase it to supply the manufactured articles for people who possess it under farms more fertile than were ever known in New England.

This Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad is scarcely, I suppose, known to a hundred men in New England; but in a few years it will stand before the public like the Illinois Central road, one of the greatest speculations of the age. If the managers use their land grant with but ordinary sagacity; if they make the resources of the country through which the line runs properly known; if they encourage the building of towns along the road, I have no fears but that lands will, in less than seven years, be sold for enough to pay for the road.

OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD.—Having spoken of the railroads which have St. Louis for their focal point, (west of the Mississippi,) it will need no argument to prove that a railroad from St. Louis directly eastward to Cincinnati, (the focal point of the Ohio valley,) and making the shortest line to the seaboard, must be one of the most valuable lines in the Union. Such a road, with a gauge of six feet, is now in operation across the State of Illinois—from St. Louis, on the Mississippi, to Vincennes, on the Wabash—and connects there with all the

railroads eastward. Part of the line—ninety miles—is now in operation from Cincinnati *west*, and the whole road through will be completed inside of two years. Passengers will then put in Cincinnati in ten or twelve hours from St. Louis.

The City of St. Louis.—The immense extent of river navigation, of which St. Louis is the principal point, has made her what she is—a city of 125,000 people, with churches, schools, hotels, steamboats, newspapers, and other "institutions" of civilized life, which can only be appreciated on being seen. Her commercial houses are equal to any in the Union, not only in the intelligence and integrity of the merchants of whom we are so proud, but even in the edifices erected for commercial uses. Our paved and macadamized streets would more than reach from Boston to Providence. The gas pipes, street mains, laid down in the city of St. Louis, would reach from Boston to Worcester. There are eighteen miles of public street sewers, exclusive of sidings. The wharf stretches a mile and a quarter on the Mississippi, is several hundred feet wide, and during the season of navigation is crowded with the products of every clime and soil. In 1855 there were 600,000 barrels of flour manufactured in St. Louis and over 400,000 received from other places, making a million barrels, and equalling the flour trade of Philadelphia. About 140,000 bags of coffee were received in 1855, enough to make a string of coffee bags more than fifty miles in length. The hemp, tobacco, pork, lard, wheat, bale-rope, flour, coffee, sugar, and salt passing through the hands of St. Louis merchants in 1855 would, allowing the actual space occupied by each article, reach in one grand line from St. Louis to Boston.

In 1833 the treaty was made with the Indians on the site of Chicago. In 1855 Chicago claims to have proved herself the largest primary grain port in the world, and her lumber trade exceeded that of either Albany or Bangor, the two greatest lumber marts in the Atlantic States.

In 1840 St. Louis had 16,000 people; in 1855 she had 125,000. She added in fifteen years 109,000 to her population. In the same fifteen years Chicago added 80,000 to her population. So in fifteen years the addition to the population of these two western cities was 189,000, more people than Boston has collected together since she was founded, somewhat more than two centuries ago.

With population and capital accumulating in the west, the arts of civilized life are all brought into active and extensive requisition; and where farms are turned over in the smooth prairie, prepared by nature for the plough, 1,000 acres in a field, and every acre yields a hundred fold to labor, the increase of fixed as well as exchangeable wealth soon passes the bounds

of computation. The inventive genius of this country has of late years taxed itself to facilitate the operations of the farmer; and the labor-saving and people-multiplying machines for the farmer as well as the mechanic, where are they brought into most general requisition? In the west, and there will their results be felt. And it is to that region of natural resources so immense, with a people so active and industrious, with soil and machinery so productive, that I have thought it worth while to invite closer attention from Massachusetts and Boston.

The empire of which I have spoken—Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas—do you realize that it is as great an area as the whole Atlantic slope of the Union, from Maine to Florida, four times as great as the United Kingdom of Queen Victoria, and with elements of wealth in greater profusion and variety than any other region of equal area on earth? And if we have struggled up to our present numbers and powers from such small beginnings; if, starting on a basis of nothing but soil, climate, rivers, lakes, and mines, the west has within but half a century accomplished so much, what may we not anticipate in the future, starting from the present basis? I will leave you to make your own figures on this.

We have doubtless heard lectures on China, on Japan, on Egypt or other parts of *Africa*, and perhaps on Patagonia. Would it not be well for some of the able writers of the day to take up our own country as a subject, and, giving the light of their genius to the concerns of our own people, present in rounded periods and splendid declamation the topics so interesting as connected with the civilization of the age? I trust they will do so. Let them come to our section of the Union, spend a few summer months, and then embody their observations for the lecture room.

The study might not be unprofitable in other respects. I know very well that the manufactures of Massachusetts were over two hundred millions of dollars in 1855, having more than *doubled* in the ten years from 1845. This looks encouraging, and is so. But the trade of the lakes has increased about eight hundrd per cent. in that time!

The population, commerce, and manufactures of St. Louis and Chicago, have gone up several hundred per cent. The production and productive facilities have, on an average, in the country I have spoken of, more than quadrupled in that time. The railroad system of the west, stretching thousands of miles over her fertile soil, is almost entirely the creation of the same ten years. In 1845 you could not have gone from Boston by rail to the capital of any of the States I have been considering. *Now* you can go by rail from Boston (and by

several routes too, part of the way) to the capital of any State I have named, and before 1860 to the capitals of Minnesota and Kansas too, most probably.

THE COUNTER CURRENT, OR SLAVERY PRINCIPLE.

The tendency of modern civilization is to beget one public opinion throughout christendom. This civilization is itself the outgrowth and result of christianity grafted on Greek, Roman, and Hebrew institutions, slightly modified by remnants of feudalism. In the past, all recur to the same fountains of thought, on the subjects of law, politics, morality, and religion. In the fine arts, as well as the moral sciences, the highest authorities are also found two thousand years back. This derivation of all thought from a common source would, of itself, in time, wear off national distinctions, and bring about sameness of character, of purpose, and of progress. The attainment of such conclusion is greatly facilitated and hastened by the general freedom of intercourse and of trade, which distinguishes the group of christian peoples.

Men derive the prinples of science and the rudiments of thought, in their youth, from the common fountains of antiquity, and when they arrive at manhood flock to the schools of France, Germany, and Italy, to learn over again the lessons of youth put into modern forms.

The moral, religious, social, and political wants of a people thus educated, must be very similar, and even if they were not, common thoughts and belief, radiating from a few centres, will in time wear off all marked institutional distinctions. From these considerations we conclude, that the south, if she continue to belong to the family of christian peoples, must eventually model her institutions in conformity with the practices and opinions of those peoples.

Since the period of the Crusades, when all Europe seemed emptying itself into the lap of Asia, no spirit of propagandism so intense and so wide spread, has been witnessed among men, as that of the anti-slavery movement. Thirty years ago, it had fastened convictions on the minds of all, and the question of universal emancipation had ceased to be one of principle, and become one only of time, conveniency, and expediency. In little more than a century the public opinion, which begat the intense self-sacrificing zeal that distinguished the crusades, gave place to apathy, and soon thereafter to condemnation. Now, the same European christian peoples, who once considered a fillibustering expedition to Palestine, sufficient atonement for the blackest crimes, look upon those expeditions as greatly

adding to the crimes, which they even often intended to expiate. From this, and thousands other similar changes of public sentiment to be found in history, the south will find room to gather hope for the future. Indeed, the abolition movement has occupied men's minds quite long enough to suggest the expectation, that it will soon give way to other optimist and perfectionist theories and pursuits. We think we perceive already unmistakeable evidence that a counter current of thought has already originated. Like all such reactions of opinion, it has been occasioned by experimental demonstration of the fallacy and inadequacy of existing theories, and of practices founded on those theories. The great socialist and communist movement of the day, which is co-extensive with free society, whilst it has not yet invoked the re-establishment of domestic slavery, asserts, in a thousand forms, the utter failure of existing social institutions, which have arisen from the ruins of feudal servitude. The socialists are generally abolitionists, who propose to improve the condition of mankind by the adoption of institutions unlike any to be found in the past.

Despite of their intentions, they became the highest authority in favor of slavery, by their admissions that no other known and tested forms of social organization are even tolerable. So far as their doctrines are destructive, they are sustained by unanswerable theories and equally unanswerable facts. They show "that capital, skill, and competition, are calculated to place the masses of the, so called, free laborers, at the mercy of the rich, professional, and skilful, without any obligation to protection on the part of the latter, or valuable right of any sort on the part of the former. That men emancipated, without property, are relieved from the dominion of humane masters to be remitted to the more heartless and less responsible despositism of skill and capital." It is needless to inquire whether their theories are correct, since the results have always been such as they anticipated. The condition of emancipated laborers has, at all times and in all places, been far worse than their previous condition as slaves. But these socialists are all optimists and perfectionists, and none, except Mr. Carlyle, will sacrifice their theoretical Utopias for that practical amelioration of condition which slavery would be sure to produce. The extent of the socialist movement, so far as it is destructive, is little understood at the south. Beside professing socialists, who embrace a large majority of the writers on social, political, and moral subjects, beside the poor, who are generally chartists and red republicans, the moralists, the poets, the play writers, the clergy, and the press, are all largely imbued with the conviction of the necessity of organic social

present organization of free society, as right, or even tolerable. We have further shown, that the same opinion not only repudiates existing social forms, but also the principles, or philosophy, which justify those forms. And, further, we show that the foremost mind of English thought, adopts slavery as the substitute and remedy for existing social and political evils.

We think conclusive evidence of the necessity of domestic slavery is furnished by citing the facts of the universal discontent, famines, revolutions, infidelity, agrarianism, crime, mendicity, and socialism of free society, and the quiet, contentment, abundance, comfort, conservatism, and religious faith of slave society; but we invite those who are not satisfied with this and other proof which we have suggested, to explore English history. The first experiment of liberating the laboring class was made in England. In France, and most of the continent, much of feudal slavery remained till the French revolution of 1792. All writers concur that pauperism and beggary were unknown in England until the liberation of the serfs, and that crime was vastly increased by their liberation. The history of the English poor is to be found in her so-called poor laws. These laws, from the days of Edward the Third to those of Elizabeth, present the most cruel and bloody code to be found in the annals of history. No provision, during that time, was made for the poor, except stripes, branding, and hanging. They were confined to their parish, and punished severely for charging or receiving good wages. The preambles of the various statutes, with regard to them, always denominate them as "rogues, robbers, vagrants, or vagabonds;" yet, bad as their condition was then, it is much worse now, because excess of numbers or competition has reduced their wages to the starving point. Half the time of the British Parliament is occupied in vain attempts to regulate and diminish their hours of labor, to provide for their education, and to keep them from starving. But, nevertheless, their condition daily becomes worse; and yet, perhaps, they are better off than any free laboring class in western Europe. The history of the English poor is the only history of free society, and to that we appeal, to prove the necessity of the more general and active adoption into practise of the slavery principle.

Let us now inquire what is slavery, or the slavery principle? We would define it to be "a social status or condition in which the will of the superior stands for law to the inferior." If this be a correct definition, then have all peoples recognized and approved it, as well in theory as in practice. The wives, the children, the soldiers, the sailors, the lunatics, the idiots, and the convicts, the world over, throughout all time, have been subjected to this "status." That slavery is the appropriate

social status of far the larger portion of the human family, admits of no dispute, because the practice and theories of all mankind, in all ages, and in all countries, have concurred in assigning them to that condition. The slavery principle is a necessary and universal principle of government, and is the opposite of the let alone, or Laissez faire doctrine, of the political economists. The only difference that can exist between us and the abolitionists is this: are the negroes, as a class, weak, helpless, improvident or dependent, like women and children, and therefore, as a class, to be subjected to slavery; or are they fitted generally for the offices and functions of masters? We presume very few will not be willing to admit that negroes are not fitted for the unrestricted liberties of white men. All men, whose opinions are worth considering, will agree, that more of the slavery principle should be adopted in the government of negroes than of white men. The question, then, as to the status of the negroes, is narrowed down to this: is the kind of slavery to which he is subjected the proper and necessary one, looking to his moral and intellectual wants and capacities? He is certainly improving, and his bonds relaxes everywhere as he improves. We believe that nature best adapts and modifies slavery to suit its subjects, but are quite willing to see the question discussed, how far it would be proper to define by law the obligations of the master and the rights of the slave?

NOTE.—Without further explanation, it might appear that we hold the opinion that woman is naturally, in intellect and morality, the inferior of man. We do not think so, however. Their intellectual and moral qualities differ in character rather than in degree. The man has more audacity and physical courage, and is fitter to command. The woman is more observant and impressible, possesses a calmer and more correct judgment, has more moral fortitude, and is better fitted to counsel and advise. The relations usually subsisting between the sexes, are the true and natural ones. Woman is oftener, as she should be, "the power behind the throne greater than the throne itself.

SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT OF KANSAS.

WHAT KANSAS IS—RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY, ETC.

I travelled through the northern and western parts of the Territory in 1849, and through the southern parts in 1855.

Kansas is an undulating country of extensive open prairies, with a sufficiency of good timber on the water courses for agricultural purposes. It presents a dreary aspect in winter, but is beautiful beyond the power of language to express in summer. The climate is healthy—the spring is cool and moist,

the summer pleasant—the fall delightful—the winter cold and dry.

The country is not, in my judgment, a paradise, as has been often represented, but is unquestionably a desirable one for a farmer, whether he be rich or poor. He who settles in it must expect to encounter obstacles not common to regions of country more densely populated; but in the end he will be amply rewarded for temporary privations.

Game is rather scarce. Water is abundant and pure. Fish abound in all the streams. Wherever there is a deficiency of woodland, limestone, rock, and extensive coal fields may be found. Nearly all the land on the streams is exceedingly fertile, and considered by the hemp growers of Missouri equal to any in the world. The open prairie is better adapted to the production of corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, rye, barley and various kinds of grass. It is eminently suited for stock-farms. There is now, and will be for many years to come, an unlimited demand for mules, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, and hogs, from Missouri to the Pacific ocean.

A hemp farm in successful operation yields from 500 to 600 dollars to each adult negro man. It is a disputed point whether the hemp-grower or stock-raiser is engaged in the more profitable business.

Negroes seldom run away from their masters in Kansas, and those few who are enticed away, are easily captured. It is estimated by actual settlers of the Territory that the number of slaves there is about 1,000. From very recent accessions I think it probable there are more than 1,500 of them. From present indications, I would suppose the prospect for us is nearly as bright as that for the north. If you feel, as we do, that the salvation of the Republic depends in a great measure upon the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slaveholding State, come to the rescue, and we will not prove unworthy of your assistance. "Now is the day of salvation." Emigrants should leave in companies of from 50 to 100. This will facilitate their progress, and at the same time prevent the spread of measles and other diseases more or less contagious. I am fully satisfied that young men from the south will cheerfully cultivate the soil and cook their own food, but have no aptitude for learning to wash their own clothes. On this account it would be advisable to send an old negro man, his wife, and children, with every 30 or 40 white settlers.

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It would be *entirely useless* to send men without the means of support for the first year. The prairie must be worked, not with horses, but with oxen. The first season it will yield sod-corn which does not mature, but which makes good food for

cattle, horses, and hogs. The second season it is ready for hemp, or wheat, or any other product. Corn does not mature unless planted before July.

Estimate of expenses for five men the first year.

Passage to Kansas, $50 each	$250	Flour	70
Firearms with *bayonets*, $30 each	150	Coffee	20
1 tent	10	Sugar	25
4 yoke oxen, at $80 per yoke	320	Dried peaches, 2 bushels each	20
	$730	Tobacco	30
1 ox-wagon	100	1 cow	20
4 axes	5	3 sows with pigs	25
3 iron wedges	3	1 poney, to drive up cattle and for other purposes	75
Other tools	15	Contingent expenses, $15 each	75
1 prairie plow	25		
1,500 pounds bacon, 10 cents	150	Total	$1,388

After the first season they can exchange their oxen for horses and mules, and use a one-horse or a two-horse plow. They will then have no difficulty in supporting themselves. On the contrary, they will become attached to their Western homes, prosper in business, and live a life alike creditable to themselves and the South.

From this estimate of the expenses of five men, you will be able to ascertain the amount neccessary to be expended for any number you may send into Kansas. If they reach the Territory in June so as to raise vegetables, their expenses will not be so great: otherwise they will need the whole amount mentioned above. W.

THE NEUTRALITY LAWS.

From Gen. Quitman's masterly exposition of this subject we make an extract which sums up the material facts:

"Even if the penal laws which I have arraigned were strictly constitutional, I would still oppose them as unwise, impolitic, and against the genius of our free institutions. They are founded upon the false assumption that the government should direct the morals and control the sentiment of the people. It is sheer political hypocrisy, or, at least, self-stultification, to crown with honor the memory of the good man Lafayette, whose portrait is deemed worthy to decorate this republican Hall, in company with that of our own Washington, in our gratitude for the aid which, in despite of his country's laws, he rendered us in the dark hour of our revolutionary struggle, if we are by legislation to stigmatize as criminal the efforts of our own citizens, to bear assistance to a neighboring people, groaning under the yoke of an iron despotism—a despotism to which the condition of our ancestors was almost a state of freedom.

"If our moral and national obligations to other nations require us to curb, by severe penal statutes, the adventurous and progressive spirit of our people, and we have the constitutional right to do so, let the bond be executed. If no such obligations rest upon us, and we are left free to consult the best interests of our country, it is my opinion that, even if we had the power to retard the progression of the age, it would not be exactly the perfection of wisdom for us to do so. Keeping in view the remarkable and interesting condition of adjacent countries, we cannot fail to perceive that we have reached an epoch, pregnant with mighty events. A year, a month, even, may determine whether Mexico, Central America, and Cuba shall be European or American. If, as I fear, the eyes of the two great powers of western Europe are directed to their acquisition, how easy would it be for them, with their fleets and their armies now unemployed, to effect their purposes? How long, bloody, and destructive would be the struggle, should we attempt to assert the rights which, since the days of Monroe, we have claimed upon this continent, and which, but for the ignorant policy of the act of 1818, we would now peaceably and without violence possess! But for that act, Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, and perhaps all Central America, would be now Americanized, advancing and prosperous, under a liberal and stable form of government. In Cuba the tyrant-flag of blood and gold would have given place to the tri-color of independence, or to the starry and more glorious banner that floats "o'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave." The bayonets of Spain, with the war ships of France and England, could not have supported in that lovely island an unrelenting despotism, had not the private American aid, invoked by the patriots of Cuba, been cut off by the stringent application of this law."

NEW MEDICAL COLLEGE AT NEW ORLEANS.

Probably there is no city in the world (not excepting Paris) which is so well adapted to the establishment of Medical Schools as New Orleans. The physicians, from much training, are able, and the bills of mortality show the existence in the hospitals of almost all the diseases to which flesh is ever heir.

We regard then a *new* school as a public benefit, without any disparagement to the older institutions. *The prospectus appears in another page.* Dr. Fenner is well known to the country for his able editorial management of the New Orleans Medical Journal, and for his Annual Medical Reports. Dr. Axson in the science of his profession has few superiors any

where. He was one of the Sanitory Commission of New Orleans, and is now, we think, President of the Board of Health. The other professors if less known are all men of merit, and will devote themselves with assiduity to the interests of the school.

"The New Orleans School of Medicine is the first instance known to us of the extension of the public school system to the study of Medicine in all its branches. Such, however, it appears to be from the published "announcement" of the school as forwarded to us. In this institution it seems that the usual professorial system is invaded, and the system of instruction made more to accord with the ordinary methods of imparting knowledge in respectable educational establishments. Every branch, including clinical teaching and dissections, is nevertheless embraced in the school course, and that important section on the diseases of women and children made distinct from obstetrics, with which it is commonly associated. A museum has been ordered from Europe, and in Materia Medica a full and very complete set of articles, specimens of plants, &c. has been collected. The Co lege building is situated in Common street, directly opposite the Charity Hospital, a location obviously convenient. The terms for a medical education appear to us to be low, being less than one hundred and fifty dollars."

EMPLOYMENT TO OFFICE.

We have received from the Administrative Reform Association of England a pamphlet devoted to the subject of reform in the appointment branch of the Executive Department. God knows we have need of similar movements in our own country, but it is inconceivable that any hand of the reformer can reach the seat of a disorder so deep-seated and universal. Torchlight and banner bearers, in processions, club men at the ballot box, hoarse declaimers on the hustings, pot-house disputants, *et omne genus*, are the leading and successful claimants for place, whilst closet thinkers and modest meritorious *aspirants* must be content with the enjoyment "of their virtue's own reward." The exceptions, and there are not a few such in in all governments, do nothing more than prove the rule. We quote from the pamphlet:

"The object sought to be accomplished is, that in future, competitive examination, open to all Her Majesty's subjects who may be found to be duly qualified, shall be the sole passport to appointments in the civil service of the country, or, in other words, that qualification and examination shall, in all cases, *precede* nomination or appointment; and thus, in a practical manner, carry out the principle of having right men in the right places."

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

The following sensible article is from the London Daily Telegraph:

Those who are disposed to attach but little value to the preservation of peace with the United States, should carefully examine the Blue Book which has recently appeared. They will there find that the value of the exports to foreign countries, in the year 1854, of the products of the United Kingdom was as follows:

To Russia	£54,801	Cuba & other Spanish Islands	1,037,150
Sweden and Norway	736,808	Egypt	1,253,353
Prussia	798,434	Brazil	2,891,840
Hanse Towns	7,413,715	Buenos Ayres	1,267,125
Holland	4,573,634	Chili	1,421,655
Belgium	1,406,932	Peru	949,280
France	3,196,290	China (exclus'e of Konghong)	532,639
Portugal	1,370 603	United States of America	21,127,631
Spain	1,270,464		
Total			£51,277,054

Thus we are furnished with a result which should always be prominent in the public eye of every patriotic Briton, that the United States consume £21,127,631 of the industrial products of the isles, while the other foreign countries designated take only £30,159,500.

The declared value of the raw cotton imported into the United Kingdom in 1854 was £20,173,393. The declared value of the cotton goods exported during the same year, including cotton twist, was £31,745,581. No one is so ignorant as not to know where and in what manner this cotton was produced upon which, after supplying ourselves and our colonies with the manufactures proceeding from it, we are enabled to furnish the rest of the world with a surplus to the amount of £11,570,464.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS AND THEIR CAUSES.

This is the title of a very interesting volume, just published in Boston. We learn from it that from 1840 to 1852, there were 4,476 individual casualties on the English roads, of which number 1,823 were killed, and 2,648 wounded. They are classed as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Passengers	266	1,796
Persons not connected with the road	175	65
Persons standing on the track	306	84
Engine drivers	73	94
Firemen	116	123
Conductors	126	100
Watchmen and Brakemen	117	65
Other employees	646	321

The passengers killed were in proportion to those carried as 1 to 2,300,000. The passengers wounded were in proportion to those carried as 1 to 340,000. Among the causes of accidents, there were 308 collisions, of which 28 were caused by bad weather, 8 by deficiency of motive power, 34 by defects in the material of track, engines or cars, and 238 by inattention or negligence on the part of employees. Of the 308 collisions, 110 occurred at stations. It is remarked that fewer accidents happen to express than to other trains.

BOOK NOTICES.

Works of William Gilmore Simms; uniform edition, 12mo, illustrated by Darley, New York; J. S. Redfield, 1856. Price $1 25 each in cloth.

Revolutionary Tales, New and Revised Editions.

1. The Partisan; A Romance of the Revolution.
2. Mellichampe; A Legend of the Santee.
3. Katharine Walton; or, the The Rebel of Dorchester.
4. The Scout; or, the Black Riders of the Congaree.
5. Woodcraft; or, The Hawks about the Dovecote.
6. The Forayers; or, The Raid of the Dog-Days. A New Revolutionary Romance.
7. Eutaw; a new Revolutionary Romance.

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In our May number appeared an extended notice of the literary labors of Mr. Simms. We intend to add something more to what is there said, but at present have only space for a few notes from a leading cotemporary.

No literary man of our age has had to work his way against a greater amount of supercilious ignoration and patronizing stupidity, than Mr. Simms; and that under such influences he has steadily gone on, fastening himself more and more strongly upon the popular sympathy, is simply proof that he carries with him an irresistible appeal to the heart of the people, which tolerates the intervention of no dilettanti courts of criticism. In the illustrations of the legends and history of his own region of the country, no American can be brought in comparison with Mr. Simms, either in the wide space he has covered or in the care and study he has bestowed upon his materials. His novels are in fact our history, and will go down to posterity as such. His poetry is in the first rank of American song; and his multifarious essays upon every great subject of public interest, form a mass of argument, illustration, and instructive teaching, that we shall not find in the writings of any other American author.

Lamartine's Familiar course of Universal Literature.—M. J. B. Desplace, a devoted personal friend of the French poet, author, and statesman, Lamartine, is now in our country. M. Desplace visits America for the purpose of making arrangements here in aid of his friend, who has been plunged in some pecuniary embarressments, from which he designs to relieve himself by the publication of a monthly series of papers, entitled "A Familiar Course of Universal Literature." For this work by Lamartine, M. Desplace desires to procure as many American subscribers as possible; and we are confident that our readers wish him every success in this interesting mission. M. Desplace is no "speculator," but a gentleman who proves himself "a friend in need, a friend indeed," to the author. He brings excellent letters, and has been cordially received by our most eminent literary men. A circular, commending to the attention of the public the objects which he has at heart, has already received the signature of the following gentlemen:—Washington Irving, George Bancroft, Winfield Scott, Charles King, William C. Bryant, George P. Morris, in New York; and William H Prescott, Edward Everett, George Ticknor, James Walker, C. C. Felton, Jared Sparks, Louis Agassiz, in Boston and Cambridge.

The following extracts from a letter from M. Desplace will give further information on the subject of of his mission:

Lamartine having spent his whole life in doing good to others and enlightening mankind by his labors, is now, in his old age, reduced to a state bordering on poverty. Although sixty-five, he rises regularly at four in the morning, and works to an advanced hour in the day, for the benefit of his creditors. The result of these labors will be embraced in a new monthly periodical, which he has just started, entitled "A Familiar Course of Universal Literature." This publication will extend over two years, and will embody the thoughts and reflections of this illustrious man—the very essence of his intellectual life.

I have come to the United States to make an appeal to the sympathies of the American nation on his behalf, and to get for this publication as many subscribers as possible. I have to add, that as far as I have had an opportunity of judging from my brief intercourse with your countrymen, there is no reason to apprehend that the anticipation with which I have undertaken this mission will be

disappointed. I have everywhere been received with the greatest kindness, and the most cordial disposition has been manifested to further its objects.

The importance of these to M. de Lamartine will be most forcibly explained by a brief extract from his letter to Mr. Bancroft:

"I introduce to you one of my best friends, Mr. J. B. Desplace, who, out of pure love for me, goes to America exclusively for the purpose of forwarding my interest. His success is, with me, a matter of life or death."

Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland, of Sunny Side. By Mrs. OLIPHANT, author of Zaidee; 1 vol., New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. From the popularity of Zaidee, we doubt not this little volume will be found to possess very great interest.

History of England, from the accession of James II., by THOMAS BABBINGTON MACAULEY. Vols. 3 and 4; Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. This is an admirable edition in duodecimo, and is, we believe, the cheapest published of this universally popular historian.

Foreign Reviews.—Edinburgh, London Quarterly, Westminster, North British, and Blackwood. We receive our numbers regularly from Leonard, Scott & Co. Price $3 a year. Price of Blackwood and any of the four Reviews, $5; the four Reviews and Blackwood, $10.

Poems of Charles Kingsley: Boston; Ticknor & Fields. The leading poem is the Saint's Tragedy, or the True Story of Elizabeth, of Hungary.

British Poets: Boston; Little, Brown & Co. We have received Shakespeare and Herrick. The following volumes are already issued:

Akenside, 1 v.; Beattie, 1 v.; Butler, 2 v.; Campbell, 1 v.; Churchill, 3 v.; Coleridge, 3 v.; Collins, 1 v.; Cowper, 3 v.; Dryden, 5 v.; Falconer, 1 v.; Gay, 2 v.; Goldsmith, 1 v.; Gray, 1 v.; Herbert, 1 v.; Hood, 2 v.; Keats, 2 v.; Milton, 3 v.; Parnell and Tickell, 1 v.; Pope, 3 v.; Prior, 2 v.; Shelley, 3 v.; Spenser, 5 v.; Surrey, 1 v.; Swift, 3 v.; Thomson, 2 v.; Watts, 1 v.; White, 1 v.; Wordsworth, 7 v.; Wyatt, 1 v.; Young, 2 v.

American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the years 1854 and 1855. Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. We are indebted to the publishers for these two volumes, which make our set complete from 1830. There is in no country a more valuable statistical record published, nor one that should more generally be introduced into families and libraries.

Wolfsden; a New England Novel; by J. B. In one volume, 12mo. Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. Rural life in New England was never more graphically painted. And such is the variety of incident and character that every reader will enjoy its perusal with a hearty relish. It is as unique as Tristam Shandy.

PRINTING OFFICE OF THE REVIEW.

This office located in Washington City, (where for the last two years the Review has been regularly printed and issued,) is prepared with the material and presses to do any kind of pamphlet or book printing which may be required, on the most moderate terms. Location corner of Sixth street and Louisiana avenue. The business office of the Review is at 448 E street, Washington, and 54 Camp street, New Orleans.

ERRATA.

In Dr. Barton's address, page 715 of our June number, the Address should have been characterized as the "Anniversary Address of Dr. E. H. Barton," as President of the Academy of Sciences of New Orleans.

At page 723, note, 4th line, for "1853" read "1833."

At page 724, 4th line from top, for "four" read "fewer."

At page 726, 12th line from top, for "ultimate" read "intimate."

At page 732, note, 7th line from its top, for "not" read "only."

The leading article of the June number, on Slavery, etc., was by A. and not A. S. Roane, of the District of Columbia.

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1856.

EFFECTS OF THE INCREASE OF GOLD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.*

The accumulated amount of gold and silver throughout the whole world at the beginning of the nineteenth century has been estimated at two thousand five hundred millions of dollars, ($2,500,000,000.) The annual importation into Europe, whither the main stream of the precious metals flowed, was at the same period about forty millions of dollars, ($40,000,000,) according to Humboldt; between 1800 and 1847, the gross addition to the store of Europe had amounted to nearly fifteen hundred millions of dollars ($1,500,000,000,) but the effective addition, after making the due allowance for the wear and tear of the whole mass, for marine and other losses, for jewelry, and the multifarious purposes of luxury, is supposed not to have exceeded seven hundred millions, ($700,000,000.)† The total annual productions of the precious metals in the year preceeding the discovery of the mines of California has been rated at sixty-five millions, ($65,000,000,) an amount which was surpassed by the second year's production of gold in California alone. The estimated returns from California and Australia, since the opening

1. *Remarks on the Production of the Precious Metals, and on the Demonetization of Gold in several countries of Europe. By Monsieur Léon Faucher, translated by Thomson Hankey, jr. Second edition, revised. London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill, 1853, 8vo.

2. Remarks on the Precious Metals and on the Depreciation of Gold. By Monsieur Michel Chevalier, member of the Institute of France, &c., &c., translated by D. Forbes Campbell, Esq. London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill, 1853, 8vo.

3. Tégoborski. Epai sur les Conséquences Eventuelles de la Découverte des Gîtes Auriferès en Californie et en Australie. Par M. L. De Tégoborski, Membre du Conseil de l'Empire de Russié. Paris. Jules Renouard et Cie. Libraires Editeurs. Rue de Tournon, 6, 1853, 8vo.

† Tégoborski, p. 67.

of their exuberant mines, have varied excessively, as might have been expected from the absence of anything like complete ascertained data; but it is no unreasonable compromise between divergent calculations to suppose that the entire aggregate production of 1852 in gold and silver did not sink below three hundred millions of dollars;* and that the average prospective supply will attain to the same sum in future years and may possibly reach as high as six hundred millions of dollars, which would render the annual production more than double the whole amount of gold and silver in the world at the time when America was discovered.†

We do not pretend to endorse the accuracy of these estimates. "Nothing is more difficult in matters relating to money than to present statistics which may be considered as an approximation to truth."‡ During the years which have elapsed since the first announcement of the discovery of gold in California, we have assiduously collected and carefully collated all the information to be obtained from sources apparently reliable; and our own estimates form in most respects a medium between the sanguine anticipations of M. Tégoborski and the very reduced calculations of M. Faucher. Accuracy in questions of this sort, however desirable it may be, is not to be obtained. The circulation of the precious metals is as imperceptible in its whole volume as its movement is continuous. We may count the regular pulsations, but we cannot determine the absolute quantity of the circulating medium which passes at each beat, or which is thrown into the system without any sensible manifestation. For our present purposes accuracy of statistics is by no means essential. We do not propose to determine, like M. Tégoborski, what will be the exact rate of duplication of the precious metals, or how many years will be required for each successive multiplication of their mass; nor like M. Chevalier, to detect the scale of depreciation through which gold has been sinking, not merely with regard to silver, but also with respect to other commodities; nor with M. Faucher, to discuss the wisdom of the policy adopted by some of the States of Europe in 1850–1 to divest gold of its monetary character. Each of these inquiries requires an unattainable degree of accuracy before any reliable conclusion can be drawn. But we design only to investigate the general effects to be anticipated from the present and prospective increase of the precious

* Tégoborski, p. 87, 72. Wyld, Notes on the Distribution of Gold, p. 22. Faucher, p. 85.

† $580,000,000 is the estimate of M. Tégoborski, p. 95, and he assigns only 30,000,000 francs to the joint prospective production of Africa, Borneo, Java, Malacca, Sumatra, and other countries.

‡ Faucher § ii, p. 22.

metals, which has hitherto been due almost entirely to the augmentation of gold through the out-pouring of the treasures of California and Australia. It is a sufficient basis for our inquiries to know that "gold has never previously flowed from such numerous channels, and from such abundant sources,"* as it has done duringthe last eight years. This admission will be readily and universally made, and being conceded, it is only a question of a few years more or less which can modify the consequences likely to result from the rapid augmentation of the precious metals. If M. Tégoborski's estimates are correct, and we are disposed to regard them as approximatively so, the aggregate of gold and silver would be doubled in Europe in the course of thirteen years, and throughout the world in twenty-four years, after having deducted the requisite proportion for losses, waste, and consumption in the arts of luxury.† If those estimates are incorrect the periods may be contracted to ten and twenty years respectively, or extended to twenty and forty, or they may assume any inferior, superior, or intermediate ratio, but the ultimate results of the duplication will only be slightly modified by the greater brevity or the greater duration of the term of duplication. It is indeed true that the political, social, and moral effects of the increase of the precious metals would take place in a more hazardous and aggravated form if they were compressed into the third portion of a single generation, than if they were evenly distributed over a whole life-time, or between two successive generations. The increase or diminution of the populations of civilized countries would also materially affect the development of the phenomena, but the expansion or contraction of the census of a nation is more forcibly influenced by other circumstances than time. It may be necessary in discussing a subject as complex as the present to keep these and many other similar points steadily in view; but they can only modify and can scarcely prevent the natural evolution of the consequences to be anticipated from the sudden influx of such copious torrents of wealth into the arteries and veins and circulating system of the world. They may expedite or retard, they may alleviate or inflame the topical symptoms of the gold fever; but sooner or later the financial, commercial, and social tendencies inspired by the accretions principally due to California and Australia, will produce their natural fruits; and the exaggerated or alternated estimates of different authors can scarcely produce any serious confusion in investigations of this character, because the events apprehended will only anticipate or postpone the period for the realization of our expectations, according as the larger or the smaller calculations prove the more just.

* Faucher § v, p. 81. † Tégoborski, pp. 87–88.

We are very willing to accept any adequate excuse for escaping from the intricate and perplexed labyrinths of financial calculations and monetary statistics. No patience, no ingenuity, no compromises, and no net work of compensations can introduce harmony into the midst of the everlasting discords which hover over all such questions, or extricate any thing like fixed and consistent data from the chaos of conflicting opinions. Every step must be taken through the deep waters and noisy waves of polemics, and the conclusions ultimately deduced are steeped in the spray and corroded by the brine through which we have been compelled to pass before arriving at even the semblance of solid ground. We gladly leave this turmoil behind us, and seek a serener air above the clouds and storms of statistical disquisitions. We consign cheerfully to the paternal solicitude of Messrs. Faucher, Chevalier, Tégoborski, their compeers and their successors, the hopeless task of filling the leaky tub of the Danaides, and of erecting huge edifices on shifting quicksands. We are content to adhere principally to M. Tégoborski, the latest, the most diligent, and apparently the best informed of the authors specifically cited, for our information, and to take our departure from those provisional data recorded in the opening paragraph of these remarks.

In 1847 the sum total of the precious metals dispersed amongst the various populations of the world has been represented to have amounted to six thousand millions of dollars.* In 1852 the annual supply had reached at least three hundred millions,† or one-twentieth of the entire aggregate accumulation of centuries only five years previous. If there were neither losses nor abrasion to be compensated, twenty years at this rate of production would suffice to double the metallic treasures of the world; and, twenty-four are sufficient on M. Tégoborski's estimate to achieve this result after repairing the incessant subtractions. Assuming that the future annual produce has been, and will continue to be equivalent to the receipts of the year 1852—an hypothesis more likely to fail from defect than excess—we have the main data required to enable us to appreciate the conditions and the magnitude of the problem presented for the intelligent or instructive solution of the passing age.

Such vast numbers as those now necessary to note the characteristics of the money question are well calculated to startle and bewilder the mind of every inquirer, for they are not the loose counters of fictitious multiplications, but the representa-

* Tégoborski. pp. 71–2.

† M. Tégoborski's own estimate reaches $342,000,000. p. 26.

tives of actual realities, the exponents of a movement taking place annually and from year to year, and in which every day in each year, and every man in each community, participates in due order and degree. Every separate unit in these enormous numerations has been handled, and washed, and worked, and refined, and assayed; it has been fingered, noted, and exchanged; it has passed through numerous manipulations and will pass through many more, leaving at every turn its own sorrows, enjoyments, penalties, or profits behind it. Imprehensible, (if we may coin a word,) as the aggregate numbers may prove to the mind that would apprehend their significance, the separate elements are not merely tangible and substantial, but they have been many times touched and weighed already.

With such immense accessions of wealth flowing into the grand treasury of humanity, serious convulsions, important changes, and considerable oscillations of value might be reasonably apprehended. The duty obviously presented itself to statesmen, legislators, financiers, and publicists, to take precautions against such convulsions, to regulate such changes, and to appreciate in advance such oscillations. It was consequently a natural impulse which led several European States in 1850 to adopt measures calculated in their estimation to avert or alleviate the immediate dangers apprehended from the sudden multiplication of gold; and it was equally natural that the influence of those measures should extend over the whole commercial world; and that their propriety should be critically examined by the financial writers of the times.

In July, 1850, Holland gave the first symptom of the general panic by demonetizing, or excluding from circulation, the gold ten-florin piece and the Guillaume. Portugal refused a current value to any gold coins other than English sovereigns. Belgium, which had previously endeavored to attract gold from abroad, demonetized gold coins, both domestic and foreign. Russia, by a ukase of 29th December, 1850, prohibited the export of silver. In the same month the French Government issued a commission to examine into the questions connected with a double circulation of gold and of silver. England alone escaped the Aurophobia, as M. Faucher terms it.

Coincident with these public ordinances, and in great measure due to them, a marked change took place in Europe in the relative value of gold and silver. English sovereigns fell 2 per cent. at Paris. On the Amsterdam Exchange the fall of gold amounted to 4 per cent., silver rose at nearly the same rate in London; and in Holland, Belgium, and Hamburg the relative value of pure gold bullion to fine silver fell from the proportion of 15¾ and 15½ to 1—to 15¼ to 1. A much greater depression was apprehended, but the panic soon passed over,

and the precious metals resumed their normal relations, partly perhaps in consequence of the fearless and steady conduct of England, partly perhaps in consequence of the report of the French Commission adverse to any change.*

The great oscillations of the currency, and the sudden action of the commercial nations, directed inquiry to the difficult questions connected with the precious metals and the currency; and several able writers, including those cited as our text, discussed the subject with more or less fullness, but confined themselves principally to the determination of the future relations of gold and silver. This, however, is the least important feature of the consequences to be anticipated from the increase of gold—because, under any circumstances it would occasion only a temporary disturbance; and the social changes to be effected by the multiplication of the precious metals were likely to be both more serious and more durable.

The intervention of the immense expenditures and losses of the Turco-Russian war—the demand for specie which it created—the vast expansion of many special industries which it caused, without arresting the general movement of production in western Europe—must prevent us from considering the question of the oscillations of gold and silver as by any means settled, since the same interruption of the ordinary routine of commerce denies to us the steady data which would have been afforded by the continuance of peace. But we may safely concur in the general conclusion of the more sober writers on this intricate topic, that the increase of silver will probably be at least proportionate to the increase of gold, if it does not augment at a still more rapid rate under the influence of renovated peace. The number and wealth of the silver mines are indefinite; and if not exhaustless, are amply sufficient to meet any steady demand that may be made upon them for many centuries to come. Eliminating, therefore, the inquiry into the prospective relations of gold and silver to each other, and regarding the augmentation of gold as simply equivalent to the augmentation of the precious metals, we proceed to inquire briefly into some of the more important effects to be anticipated by society from the past and prospective multiplication of the precious metals.

We deem it needless to imitate M. Tégoborski by entering into minute investigations to determine the increase of currency or bullion in particular countries or in the whole world, estimated per capita, in the compound ratio of the augmentation of the precious metals and the increase of the population. We have no faith in such general averages. They are service-

* Faucher, § i, pp. 2–5.

able within certain very narrow limits, but if pressed one inch beyond that restricted circle they are certain to mislead and betray. It may or may not be an approximation to the truth that, at the estimated rate of the production of the precious metals, and the estimate rate of the increase of the population in Europe, the addition of gold and silver in thirteen years would reduplicate the whole mass, and be equivalent to an average accession to each individual of twenty-one dollars and a half.* There is no such very long division in the distribution of wealth or even of money; nor would it add very materially to the comforts and independence of the masses, to the abundance of the rich, or to the productive energy of the community, if every man, woman, and child throughout Europe, were to accumulate in thirteen years an equal sum of four or five pounds. All that could be obtained from any such calculation would be a more apprehensible indication of the actual progress of the increase of the precious metals.

We leave such minute inquiries, our concern is with more general views and larger consequences.

The first and most obvious result of the recent accessions to the metallic treasures of the world has been the rapid increase in the value of property, especially property of a reproductive and durable kind. The price of land, and of most things raised from land, ascended during the first five years, at a rate estimated by M. Chevalier for France as equal to 3 or 4 per cent. per annum. Of course this rate was not uniform in different countries—local circumstances and concomitant peculiarities necessarily producing very great diversities. During the last three years the failure of the grain crops in Europe, the emigration to Australia, the Russian war, the excessive drought, and the excessive rains in America, severe winters, the extension of railroads, and other influential events, have variously disturbed and modified the increase in the value of property. But it is indubitable that there has been a general advance in prices in the most commercial regions of the globe, and that this advance is at least in part due to the depreciation of the precious metals.

The wages of labor have advanced, and are advancing with a varying increment, which is affected by all the dissimilar influences of places and circumstances. In England this rise of wages is attributed, and is in part attributable, to the exodus of the Irish people to the United States, to the immense emigration to Australia, and to the great destruction of human life in the Russian war; but it is also due in part to a general rise of prices occasioned by the depreciation of money. In

* Tégoborski, p. 87.

America the immigration would naturally have tended to lower wages or to maintain them at their former rate, unless more powerful influences had more than counterbalanced them. Among these influences may be enumerated the high price of grain and other provisions, consequent, but not entirely, on the transatlantic demand, the immense development of all branches of industry, but also the large augmentation of the precious metals.

Manufactured goods alone, though experiencing considerable oscillations of value, have never risen in price in a degree proportionate to the rise in the prices of other commodities around them. This admits of a very simple explanation, though it is one rarely taken into consideration. They are in great measure the products of perishable and circulating capital; and the relative value of such capital, as well as the rate of its profits, sinks with its enlarged accumulation. This is, indeed, only the first symptom of the ultimate tendency. The extraordinary augmentation of the precious metals will operate in many more modes than one to check and depress that ascendancy of wealth which has been the characteristic of the late centuries, and has tended to nurture so much social mischief and corruption, as well as to produce such brilliant material results. The very abundance of the precious metals, notwithstanding present appearances to the contrary, will ultimately render their accumulation, or the concentration of their products, in a few hands, impracticable; but it is the monopoly of wealth, or the monopoly of its productive applications, which gives to it its immense, though often untraceable power. For at least three centuries, since the reign of Henry VII. in England perhaps, the legislation of the more civilized and prosperous countries of the world has been steadily directed, under the dictation of capital, to the enlargement of the powers, the capabilities, and the influence of commercial and manufacturing wealth. All other considerations—the development of the moral worth of communities, and of the other elements of national greatness—virtue, intelligence, genius, heroism—have been at times disregarded altogether, at times treated as merely subordinate aims. Human nature rebelled against this tendency: the physical constitution of the nations has declined under it. The physical necessities of the masses, combined with the moral and intellectual aspirations of the few to attract attention to the social consequences of industrial supremacy. Hunger, and want, and misery inspired vain devices, accepting the wild guidance of reckless enthusiasts in a blind effort to break the galling chains which bound them, thus imagining the erratic and pernicious schemes of communism, socialism, Owenism, Fourierism, Icarianism, Poudhounism, agrarian-

ism, and anti-rentism. A new organization was sought, with a nobler and more stable basis than capital and the profits of capital, to minister to the requirements and relieve the needs of men. It was not merely the chimerical reformers who proclaimed the necessity of such a social regeneration; however tardy they may have been in making the acknowledgment, the wisest statesmen, the most profound publicists, the most sober and diligent students of the actual phenomena of society have in late years fully recognised the imperative urgency of such a reform, and have avowed that the industrial system of recent centuries has eventuated in wide spread misery, and menaces hopeless ruin, notwithstanding the delusive brilliancy of its apparent promises.

Profetessa menzognera,
Che il crepuscolo di sera
Dice albor di nuova età,
Una turba, che non vede,
Nel passato immota il piede,
Spera undi che non verrà.*

Such delusions as the communists and their imitators proposed for the alleviation of social distempers were of course impracticable in themselves, and could be productive of no effectual amelioration. Heaven alone unties these hopeless social knots, which ages of human ingenuity contrive. It is not merely a moral precept, but a social and political axiom also, which is given to us by inspiration: "Labor not to be rich; cease from thine own wisdom."†

It is a curious study to note how the ordinances of Providence, as exemplified by the unforeseen currents of human change, defeat human aims, correct human devices, and redress human errors, even by the extraordinary satisfaction accorded to human desires. Thus, in the present instance, the long effort for the increase and ascendancy of wealth, and for the extravagant augmentation of human riches, in the very moment of its supposed victory, promises to result by an unexampled expansion of its gains, in the very reverse of every thing anticipated, and in the solution of those difficulties which the theories of the most earnest and ingenious minds were impotent to mitigate. Gold has been charged with the origination and perpetuation of the social grievances under which Europe has been suffering such bitter agony; the multiplication of gold, instead of rendering these evils more intense, affords the hope of their satisfactory removal. For, when wealth is placed within the reach of all, it will cease to be an object of inordinate and ex-

* G. Multedo. L'Apoteosi di Napoleone.

† Prov. xxiii, iv. The same sentiment is expressed by Tacitus. Ann. iii, c. lxvi. * * "quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quæ tarda cum securitate, præmatura vel cum exitio properant."

clusive desire: when accident confers it, the splendors of its acquisition will be diminished: when each year changes the hands in which it is placed, by continually bringing forward new multitudes of successful adventurers, no exclusive influence can be long maintained by its possessors: when money and money's worth lose something of their prestige, and their monopoly of power and regard, man and man's worth will resume a juster place in the estimation of society than they have latterly done; and when these results are once, even imperfectly achieved, all the wild fantasies of the communists, of every hue and sect, will be thrown aside as nugatory chimeras, whose vague aspirations have been exchanged for brighter realities by adequate and providential modes.

The principal conclusion, which might ordinarily be drawn from the facts, and figures, and statistics connected with the recent increase of the precious metals, might extend no further than to the expectations that, if the sum total of the precious metals in 1847 amounted to six thousand millions of dollars, it might, on M. Tégoborski's data, attain to twelve thousand millions of dollars in 1871, or to thirteen dollars and a half ahead for the whole population of the globe. We do not recognize in this increase of fortune eitherthe extreme of misery or the extreme of bliss. We do not think that the problem of the future condition of humanity is by any means solved by the discovery that some years hence we may calculate the fortunes, the metallic wealth of the human family, at thirteen dollars and a half *viritim*. We are compelled to look further for more important and significant information; and to do so, we must overlook, or look very lightly, upon such imaginary distributions of the sum total of the gold and silver of the world.

The train of reflections which we have been pursuing has led to the anticipation of inferences whose full cogency could only be appreciated after a more orderly development of the premises from which we set out. There are many phenomena in the present aspect of the times which appear to militate directly against the conclusions which have been indicated. Certainly, in no previous age has the ascendency, the omnipotence, the irresponsibility of wealth been more glaringly or outrageously displayed than in the years which have elapsed since the discovery of the gold mines of California. Never has the increase or the monopoly of capital by individuals or by corporations proceeded at a more rapid pace than in the most recent years. Never has the lust for gain been more rabid and insatiable; never has it enjoyed more numerous or more ample opportunities for the gratification of its appetite; and never have there been more portentous symptoms of the possible establishment

of the feudalism of capital and the serfdom of labor. Nevertheless, despite of national and credit banks; despite of companies in England and France for the development and appropriation of the resources of the globe; despite of corporate steam fleets and consolidated railroads; despite of Strahans, and Pauls, and Sadleirs, and Péreires, we believe that the ultimate tendency of the present current of events is to overthrow and and not to enthrone the despotism of commercial and industrial monopoly, and to attenuate, not to strengthen, the ascendency of mere wealth.

It is not, however, the simple multiplication of the precious metals, due directly or indirectly to the treasures of California and Australia, but the manifold and interlinked consequences which are likely to flow from such multiplication, that are calculated to achieve the results we have ventured to anticipate. For example, the depreciation of gold is and has been retarded by the extraordinary demands of war, and by the vast extension of commerce and enterprize consequent upon the increase of the supplies of gold, and the development of the countries whence the gold has been derived. So long as gold, the most sensitive of values, is but slightly affected by the vast increase of its quantity, other forms of capital can experience no very serious modification; at least their reciprocal relations will be but little disturbed. Indeed, the influence of capital might well appear for some time to be extended, for, in the first stages of the enlarged activity of trade, the capital already realized and invested would retain nearly all its former power, and would acquire an accession of influence from the fact that it would occupy the vantage ground which enabled it to secure the first and largest benefits for itself. But this can scarcely be of any long continuance; it is only the first chapter in the grand drama of change.

With the rapid increase of the precious metals the operations of credit have been even more largely augmented. This double extension of the means of enterprise has stimulated and aided the extension of industry and trade, which required such assistance. This expansion has been already marked by serious but transient oscillations, due to local or accidental causes, such as war, drought, and similar influences. But the progress of productive activity has nevertheless been very decided, and is likely to be accelerated by the unexpected restoration of peace. New sources of wealth are revealed, new fields are thrown open for labor, new channels indicated to commerce, new markets afforded to manufactures. The whole civilized world has been, accordingly, excited to more rapid and profitable movement by the impulse originally communicated from a single spring; and even the Autocrat of all the Russias avows his

determination to apply himself and the energies of his Empire to the development of the latent resources of his vast domain. Every where, however, despite of war and the interruptions of war, the tendency to an expansion of the industrial activity of mankind has been most evident. Strange populations from the extremities of the earth—from regions over-peopled, and where labor is too scantily remunerated—have been introduced into new lands, where the virgin soil offers the first fruits of her abundant wealth, mineral or agricultural, to the new-comers without stint, without condition, and without abatement. New communities are thus springing up, and with them arise new wants, new demands for commodities, and new means of paying for them. In satisfying these wants, the vested capital and the established depositaries of credit have been required, and will for some considerable time be required, to initiate the movement. From their position they have been, and must be enabled to command their own terms in large measure, and also to determine to a very great extent their own profits. They are the owners of the nets which are spread in the agitated waters; and, as they bring to the shore the miraculous draught of golden fishes, they instinctively take care to reserve the most and the best of the prize for themselves. Thus have arisen the mushroom millionaires who have sprung up in very recent years in all the great cities of the commercial world. But every day tends to alter the relations of all parties, if the present current of events flows on in its natural channel. Every day tends also to break the enchanted want with which capital has hitherto maintained its predominant power, unless it should be strengthened by some new and successful device—which is already foreshadowed in the gigantic banks of credit established latterly in France, and imitated elsewhere.

There are points in this grand progress of events which need particular illustration, because they are intimately connected with some of the most notable features of this advancing age of gold. It has been a striking spectacle to behold in the recent years, the ancient population of the world drifted from their moorings, and tempted across wide oceans by the sudden attractions of distant and uninhabited lands. From the over-populated regions of the earth, from China in the east, and from all western Europe, they came in crowds:

> A multitude, like which the populous north
> Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass
> Rhene or the Danau, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands.

Nations that have been groaning beneath the burden of redundant labor, whose poor-houses have been full of the indigent

for whom there was no work, and whose highways have been infested by lusty mendicants, have been suddenly relieved of the excess of this grievance, and already begin to complain of the rise of wages in consequence of the diminution of the competition in labor at home. Emigration has indeed been arrested for the last two years by the outbreak of the great European war, but the defect of population—a strange complaint for Europe—has been more signally manifested in consequence; and the outpouring of the population will recommence with the return of peace, unless the influences previously inducing it, should unaccountably cease.

But who is the loser in this operation? Not the masses who have exchanged the cares, and wants, and miseries, and unpaid labor, or, worse, unprofitable indolence, for the active industry of life in a new and untamed land. Not the masses who are left behind. They are obviously benefitted by the diminition of the pressure of population, and by the improvement of wages. Not the inhabitants of the countries whither the new accessions of laborers have flowed or may flow. They partake of the advantages resulting from the general development of the industry and resources of their undeveloped land. It is the capitalist alone, who experiences any injury. His capital is now able to command a smaller amount of labor than before, and to produce a smaller product or a smaller profit. But he has his own advantage: Heaven tempereth the wind to the poor shorn lamb, and even to him the changing breeze is softened. His market is enlarged, and rendered more speedy, more permanent, and more secure. He can extend his credit operations with the assurance of an increasing demand, and derive large profits from the expansion of his transactions. At the same time, however, the movement of business will become more rapid and urgent. For there will be the utmost competition to appropriate the facilities of credit; the claimants are multiplied, and so is the magnitude of the claims. There has been, and there may again be, considerable pressure on the money market, and times may be what is called tight, not because money or commodities are scarce, but because the demand is extraordinary, the prospective profits of the productive employment of capital large, tempting, and immediate, and the anticipations of the future as unsettled and vague as they are sanguine.

That portion of the general population of the world, whose departure from densely settled countries has relieved labor of its surplus, is now advantageously engaged in developing the new sources of wealth in new lands, and in reaping ample rewards for that industry which had before been not merely profitless, but an encumbrance to themselves, and a tax to the

communities of which they formed a part. The aggregate labor of the world is now acting under more favorable conditions, it is therefore enabled to create, and to renumerate a much larger production in every portion of the globe. Hence the unexampled activity, and the general prosperity, despite of serious interruptions, which the recent years have witnessed. The credit founded upon the old capital, upon former usages, and upon the influx of means from the gold mines, with actual increase of realized wealth, vast as this accumulation is proved by Messrs. Tégoborski, Chevalier, and Faucher to be, cannot at once extend itself or its results sufficiently to keep pace with the rapidly increasing demands upon it. Its profits, therefore, must be abundant; and the avidity to secure its advantages must exert for some time a constant strain on the money market. It may be that the intervention of war has produced a salutary effect by checking for a time the inordinate acceleration of commercial movements, and by agitating the minds of men. But the only serious crisis that can occur for many years to come must result from the mere frenzy of gambling speculations, easily suggested indeed by unusual prosperity, from the rash disbursements of governments, and from the extravagance of wealth. The only panic that need be apprehended is that which may arise from the want of comprehension of the true nature and course of the wonderful operations around us, in which all more or less directly participate.

It may be asked, how long will this state of things continue? The answer is difficult, and can be offered only with the greatest diffidence. A permanent change can scarcely be expected until the steadily increasing demand for products of all sorts has attained once more the limit of moderate, regular, and gradual augmentation; and until the present expansion of credit has been rendered unnecessary, and shall be precluded, by the supplies of the precious metals reaching that point when they will be sufficient of themselves to satisfy all pecuniary requirements, without its assistance, except as a measure of the most restricted convenience. Then, and not till then, will be fully manifested the progressive depreciation of capital, and the progressive ascendency of the native energies, instincts, and capabilities of man.

For many generations the world has been living in a straitened and factitious state, from the growing superabundance of labor in the regions to which it was principally confined, and the too great condensation and comparative scarcity of capital, and especially of money. These things are working through a series of rapid modifications; and the play of very nearly the same laws and agencies of social economy, which have given to these United States their miraculous growth and pros-

perity, will operate in California and Australia for the benefit of those countries, and for the general advantage of mankind.

A limit has been proposed, when the ultimate tendencies now dimly moving to their aim may be realized; but when will this limit be attained? This is an enigma which it would be rash to pretend to unriddle. The operation of laws may be traced; but contingent events cannot be anticipated. If M. Tégoborski's data were either accurate or stable, a mere arithmetical calculation might afford a satisfactory response. But of their accuracy we can obtain no assurance, though their instability is certain. They will fluctuate every day with the changing current of events. All that can be safely hazarded must be restricted to a few suggestions which may stimulate inquiry and reflection. The investigation of the influences to be exercised upon humanity by the discovery of gold mines of incalculable fertility, and by the probably consequent augmentation of silver, is one of the most intricate, the most perilous, the most bewildering, and the most delicate speculations into which the student of social changes can enter. Conjecture is easily betrayed into rashness; and induction is in danger of neglecting facts which may afterwards prove of paramount importance, or of misinterpreting some of the multifarious and complicated phenomena. Between Scylla and Charybdis, with whirlpools on either hand, it is difficult to sail. This voyage has not been undertaken without a compass: in the absence of a reliable pilot, we have kept our eye steadily fixed on the polar star of historical science.

In the prosecution of these inquiries, it must be remembered that changes in the order of human affairs proceed gradually, however sudden the change in the causes may be. They advance by degrees in a continuous chain of mutations; and when the moment of their final accomplishment arrives, it seems as if nothing had been left to be achieved. It is only by recurring to the conditions which preceded the commencement of the process that we can estimate what, and how much has been done. It is like the sand in an hour glass, or like the percolation of water through a filter, one drop falls at a time without perceptibly diminishing the quantity in the reservoir above; yet, at the last, it is only one drop that is required to leave it empty, and to transfer the whole to a new receptacle. Or, it is like the constant renovation of the human body, which physiologists assure us is renewed every seven years. It is always proceeding, and is at length completed, yet at no moment are we conscious of the nature of the change, or of any part of the process. So much does the life of humanity resemble that of the individual.

Many influences are operating to postpone the great social renovation anticipated. New applications are devised for the precious metals, many of them destructive of any future utility. The larger employment of gold in the industrial arts retards accumulation and the consequences of plethora. Three years ago, the consumption of gold leaf in the manufactures of Birmingham reached 1,000 ounces weekly, and 400 ounces in those of London. In the Staffordshire potteries the amount used varied from 7,000 ounces to 10,000 ounces per annum; and the quantity annually required for electrotyping in England was also 10,000 ounces. The increased extravagance of fashionable luxury tends to the same result—the rapid consumption of the supplies of the precious metals. It is not only those vagaries into which gold enters as a component part that retard the occurrence of the anticipated results, and may defeat them, but all unavailing and wasteful expenditure. The trifles of life are intimately connected with the general fortunes of the human race. Every one has witnessed instances of the sudden and wild increase of luxury and extravagance in recent years, and no one will hesitate to ascribe it, at least in part, to the gold of California and Australia.

Other influences, acting in a different way, will operate temporarily with a similar effect.

The same phenomena, which have been, or may be generated, by the mines of California and Australia, are likely to be repeated in successive cycles, separated from each other by only short intervals, in consequence of future discoveries of gold, or the increased production of silver. The period, therefore, at which the troubled waters of the new pool of Bethesda may again sink into repose, is still, in all probability, very distant, as well as very uncertain.

The seductions of wealth in recent times have been almost overwhelming, and have generated a feverish avidity for its sudden attainment, while furnishing splendid examples of such success. Thus has been exerted a spirit of furious rapacity, which reveals its intemperate course to the public by occasional exposures, such as the Schuyler case in New York, and the Paul and Sadlier frauds in England. The same spirit, united with the enlarged functions of credit, has also led to colossal schemes for the centralization, consolidation, and appropriation of the powers of credit, as manifested in the mammoth device of the Crédit Mobilier in France. To such projects there is a manifest proclivity in our times. Their success would completely derange the order of events which we have ventured to prognosticate, and would be ultimately as fatal to capital and enterprise, as it would be to labor. Such institutions, and the appetencies they reveal, are the grand counter-

poise to what we conceive to be the natural tendencies of the time. But these phenomena are too obscure and complex to be fully appreciated here.

At present, the most obvious consideration is the rapid accumulation of the precious metals, doubling, says M. Tégoborski, in twenty-four years. But, if man cannot live by bread alone, still less can he live by gold alone. Midas is said to have made the experiment, and to have starved. With the increase of the precious metals the development of all applications of human industry also increases. The untenanted lands of the world—many of them among its most fertile spots—will be occupied by active laborers. The elements of civilization will be disseminated, and the agencies of production brought into wider and more effectual exercise. Fortunately, the uninhabited, or the sparsely inhabited regions of the earth are more than ample for the prospective necessities of centuries. Fortunately, too, the population of the globe, so cramped and crowded in many places, if once let loose from its confinement, is sufficient to cover the eastern and western hemispheres with plenty. The problem has been to tempt the depressed and inadequately rewarded laborer from the countries where labor was too abundant, and to place him in favorable contact with the unemployed land, and with the unemployed resources of the world. The late discoveries of gold have commenced the satisfaction of this requirement; they have broken up the compact masses of densely inhabited countries; they have stimulated emigration, and inaugurated its practice on the largest scale among all classes; their attractions drew thousands from their homes, myriads followed, and the habit once confirmed will produce a transfer of labor from the places where it is redundant and ill-paid, to those where it is in defect, and will be handsomely rewarded. The hopes of half the world are already on the waters or beyond the seas; the capital of christendom is floating backwards and forwards upon the waves across whole hemispheres; crowds have passed, other crowds will succeed; and the more even and advantageous distribution of population will be the result. Gold was the first temptation, but it could not long continue to be the sole or even the principal attraction, for all places where human activity is intelligently at work will participate in the common benefit. Every product of industry will obtain its share of the profits.

When the varied influences, thus hurriedly indicated, are considered in their manifold reactions upon each other, new scenes may be presented, and new triumphs announced, of which we can now form no conjecture. These things are the

commencement of the change. If such things, as we witness, are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? Each onward movement will, in its turn, introduce other advances, and expedite the march of human progress, by pointing out the way, and making straight the road to other conquests, thus illustrating the sublime augury of the poet:

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done, but earnest of the things which they shall do."

With each fresh discovery, as with every grand change, the circle of progress is amplified, and the arena of humanity enlarged. New communities, and new nations will arise to assist in the development of the vast drama, to win additional triumphs, and to give additional lustre to the career of the race. The future, with all its promise and all its capabilities, but also with all its dark uncertainties, is before us; the instruments and the agencies of amelioration and advancement are bestowed upon us; Providence has opened an unexpected refuge from apprehended miseries, and it is left to our intelligence and discretion so to use the facilities afforded as to secure to ourselves and our posterity the salutary abundance of the rich harvest. But, when all else changes around us, we must adapt ourselves to the novelties of our altered position; and to do this, it is necessary to master the varied aspects of our situation, and to bring to the guidance of the new powers vouchsafed to this generation a larger intelligence, a loftier energy, a firmer integrity, a more generous industry than sufficed before. Every thing indicates a vast expansion of the sphere of human activity, and the mind and heart of man must expand with the augmentation of the material resources and material necessities of the world, in order to achieve the full and healthy fruition of the good which is offered for his acceptance. And, almost in anticipation of the external aid afforded by the numberless facilities of an ampler industry, Literature and Science, Philosophy and Society, have been stirred with a new life, and the waters of all human development have been agitated with an unseen and mysterious motion, like the spirit of creation brooding over the face of the deep, before the varied beauty and admirable harmony of the universe were evolved out of the void and formless darkness of chaos.

The domestic production of gold, so far as is indicated by the deposits at the Mint, amounts to more than three hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars from the year 1793 to 1855, both inclusive. Of this large sum, the gross product to the end of the year 1848, was little more than thirteen millions of dollars, as is shown by the annexed table. To this should be added several millions as the export from California, via Panama to Southampton—and also the export to China and elsewhere. Of this aggregate, about ninety-four per cent. has been produced by California, viz:

From California (eight years)		$313,235,502 77
" North Carolina	$8,282,152 85	
" Georgia	6,488,632 86	
" Virginia	1,458,210 50	
" South Carolina	1,154,305 44	
" Alabama	192,205 92	
" Tennessee	80,193 00	
" New Mexico	45,937 00	
" Other sources	64,831 00	
		$17,766,768 57
		$331,002,271 34
Deduct redeposits of 1854		8,041,137 00
Nett product of the States		$322,901,134 34

The total value of the coinage of the United States, from 1793 to 1855, both inclusive, has been within a fraction of five hundred millions. For the year 1855, the aggregate coinage, including fine bars, was $56,312,732 99.

RAILROAD SYSTEM OF THE SOUTHWEST.*

No. I.

PROGRESS MADE IN IMPROVEMENTS BEING CONSTRUCTED IN LOUISIANA AND STATES EAST OF THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS, THEIR COMMERCIAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGES, AND THEIR NECESSITY TO A COMMUNITY OF STATES OF KINDRED LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS.

At the first blush it would seem scarcely necessary to allude to our own railroads, as it might fairly be presumed that a subject so often before the public would have made every one acquainted with their condition, circumstances, and progress; but unfortunately this is not the case, but the truth is, there is a lamentable ignorance prevailing, and not without more or less hostility, jealousy, and opposition, which no promises can propitiate, or reason enlighten or subdue.

It could not be expected that the citizens of a State destitute of all public improvements, and possessing mechanical skill and experience to only a very limited extent, could at once be endowed with capacity to carry out large undertakings, and avoid the commission of many and serious mistakes. This is, more or less, the history of every undertaking, public or private, that has been commenced since the country has been settled; and nothing but time and a feeling of permanent interest in our undertakings, by those who have invested their means to construct them, will give us that skill and proficiency which we do not now possess.

That public expectation is disappointed, and its hopes discouraged, needs no proof; but still enough has been done to place our railroads beyond the reach of absolute failure, and to

* By James Robb, Esq., of New Orleans, addressed to Governor Wickliffe, of Louisiana.

establish an importance for them, which should command support; and no discouragement should be permitted to make us despond, or deter us from meeting the issue with courage and a determination to employ our means to their utmost limit, to secure the great prize of commercial distinction within our reach, and which once gained, will repay our sacrifices a hundred-fold.

The Great Northern Railroad Company will have, within a month hence, one hundred and sixteen miles of finished road, and sixty additional miles graded and bridged, in readiness for the iron, if it had the means to procure it. The Opelousas Company will soon have its road pushed to Berwick's bay, a distance of 72 miles, and with every prospect of a remunerative traffic.

The Vicksburg and Shreveport Company is making considerable progress; and the discretion and foresight evinced in its management, and the character, experience and responsibility of the contractors employed to build the whole road, are guarantee of its success. As a pioneer road, this is entitled to rank first over any road yet projected in the State. The region it is designed to open is of the greatest fertility, and its capacity to produce cotton alone will, in a few years, be sufficient to build up a trade that would support a city as large as Memphis. The travel of North Louisiana and Texas will pass over it to Vicksburg; thence by the Vicksburg road to Jackson, and over the Great Northern road, to New Orleans, and every State in the Union. North of Canton, Miss., commences a series of railroads which have already made progress, and are being pushed forword with energy. They will establish a complete network of intercommunication, commencing with the Mississippi Central, extending from Canton to Holly Springs, and thence to Lagrange, Tenn., where it intersects the Memphis and Charleston; and on to Jackson, Tenn., where it intersects the Mobile and Ohio road, running to the mouth of the Ohio river, and to Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee river. Twenty-four miles of the Mississippi Central are finished, between Holly Springs and Lagrange; fifty miles south of Holly Springs, and north of Canton, are graded and prepared for the reception of the iron, which has already been purchased; and every reasonable expectation prevails that the remainder of the grading and the preparation of the superstructure, will be complete within twelve months. The work on this road is chiefly performed by the planters on its line, and at a very small cost. Seventy miles north of Canton commences the Memphis and Grenada road, which will become the route for a direct line of travel from New Orleans to Memphis. Of this road ten miles are finished, and the remainder is progressing under such auspices as to assure its completion. From Memphis various lines of railroad

radiate, all of which have made constant progress; and the one constructing through Arkansas, to Little Rock, is of great importance to New Orleans, in assuring a considerable outlet for the produce of the interior to the Mississippi river, which, in seasons of suspended navigation, is locked up for many months. The Memphis and Louisville road is finished for a distance of thirty miles, and the energy that distinguished its past management, is an index of its future progress. This road is entitled to aid from the State of Tennessee, to the extent of ten thousand dollars per mile on the portion constructed within its limits. The Memphis and Charleston Company have in operation 172 miles of finished road, and the assistance lately voted by the State of Alabama, will greatly facilitate its progress towards completing all its connections within another year. At Chatanooga, railroad communication commences and extends beyond Knoxville to Virginia, and the entire line thence to Washington city is now more than two-thirds finished. Every calculation is to be made, on the whole being completed within the next three years. The road from Louisville to Nashville, is now finished for a distance of thirty miles, and its friends are sanguine of its success. In proof of its estimated importance, the citizens of Louisville have recently voted it additional aid for one million of dollars. The Tennessee and Alabama Company have finished thirty miles of road south of Nashville; this road is designed to form a continuation of the line between that city and New Orleans, and is entitled to the aid of the State of Tennessee, for $10,000 per mile on the portion running within its limits, which will amount to $1,100,000. The Mobile and Ohio Company have in operation 162 miles of road, and the whole of the line is nearly graded to the mouth of the Ohio river and Paducah. That portion running through Tennessee, is already prepared for iron, and the State is about to issue, in its six per cent. bonds, $1,100,000 to finish it.

The foregoing is an accurate sketch of the various railroads projected and commenced since 1851, (excepting the Mobile and Ohio,) which exceed 2,000 miles in extent, the work on which is to-day more than half completed, and every mile of which, when every connection is made, will contribute something in favor of the trade and importance of New Orleans. It suggests to every mind that will examine the subject, the profitable traffic and travel which such a system of extensions and intersections of railroads, will at once bring to the Great Northern road; and the slightest reflection will be quick to appreciate the rich inheritance this company will enjoy, in the undisturbed possession of the link of 206 miles between New Orleans and Canton, forever secure against rivalry and competition.

Its importance is emphatically, and relatively to any other railroad projected in the Union, what the Mississppi river is to its tributaries. Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, have expended one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in constructing lines of railroad that are rivals for the trade and travel of the West; less than one-tenth of the sum will give to New Orleans, the advantage of facilities of equal extent to those possessed by any of the great Northern cities through their enormous outlays. No expedient which invention can contrive, will ever intrude any competition against the exclusive control which is now and forever invested in the 206 miles from it, to Canton; and capital, that is given to construct it, will, in time, prove remunerative and productive beyond all example.

The vast basin of country which this grand system of improvement is designed to improve and adorn, embraces eight degrees of latitude from north to south, and thirty degrees of longitude. Of all climates it is the most highly favored; its riches in the fertility of the soil, its mines of iron and coal, constitute it in every respect, the finest region within the broad limits of our republic; and aided in its development, by the freedom of our genial institutions, and the enterprise of a bold and noble race, it will attain an opulence and power which will descend with renown, to the latest generations.

Its present area may be computed at 185,360 square miles, and 119 millions of acres, exclusive of the territory of Louisiana. Its population in 1850 exceeded three millions of inhabitants, nearly equal to the total of the New England States, and not much under that of the thirteen States, when our war of independence commenced; and if its population was increased to twelve millions, the average would not exceeed to the square mile, that known in England, in the commencement of the 17th century. Should it ever reach the average to the square mile in England at the present day, it would contain 36 millions of people.

I am now brought to a point of confession which must cause every honest and patriotic citizen who is attached to his country, to bow his head iu humiliation. Every section of this vast and magnificent region, from which we draw the materials of our enormous export, is exerting every influence to push forward great works, designed to achieve for New Orleans the greatest commercial grandeur and power; every day brings fresh appeals to arouse us from our indifference, and to extend a helping hand in completing the greatest mission of the age. But in vain do those appeals come recommended by works of the greatest promise, which are progressing for our benefit. We are in a condition of supineness with the works we have commenced,

incredible as it is true; and to use an expressive figure of Indian eloquence, we are "an aged hemlock, dead at the top."

There is that in American enterprise which, in other States, shrinks not, and faints not, and fails not, in its labor, but rises equal to its purposes; its unflinching resolution can accomplish everything, and the friends of progress must assume the armor of determination to renew the struggle, and restore our undertakings to a solid basis, by resuming the policy which experience has demonstrated to be the one of economy and safety. If the State of Mississippi postpones action, and denies the aid which is so clearly within the compass of her ability, without oppression to the most humble of its citizens, we must rely upon our own resources. I do not and cannot doubt that the large mass of our liberal and intelligent property-holders will be willing to lend cordial co-operation and support, in answer to any appeal that is recommended and assured by guarantees of renewed activity in prosecuting to their completion, the works we have begun.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION.

A FEW HISTORICO-POLITICAL VIEWS—CENTRAL AMERICA—THE CONTRASTS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD—THE MOVEMENT IN THE WEST—THE FUTURE.

An historical review of the past is generally considered the most befitting introduction to a work of travels. Many a reader may, perhaps, look to this introduction for a summary of the events that have transpired in the countries which we describe, during the last centuries. We might commence this first chapter with a review of the time when the Spaniards discovered and conquered the beautiful tropical regions of the western hemisphere, and in the realms of the Aztecs, the Inkas, and the Mozkas, in the highlands of Guatemala, among the Guiches and Kachiques, found that remarkable half-civilization and those populous cities, of which to-day but few traces remain. Then would follow a description of Spanish colonial dominion with its gloomy uniformity; a narrative of the separation of the colonies from the mother-country; and finally, the latest history of these Republics of which the revolutions of the soldiery and the dictatorial usurpation of ambitious military chieftains form the most important episodes.

In order not to tire the reader in the beginning with a lecture of historical events, the particulars of which are more of painful than attracting interest, we have postponed this historical review to the conclusion of the work. We begin with the consideration of that which lies nearer to us; the position of Central America to the north, and the condition and development of the western hemisphere in their relations to the Old World.

For the New World becomes daily more attractive and important, the further and wider the expansion of the two grand and chronic evils of Europe: *Over population* and *pauperism*.

The plastic form of the soil as well as the climate of Central America, render the largest part of it not only inhabitable for the emigrant from the temperate zones, but also advantageous and pleasant. This is a truth which, will be news to those only, who believe that the climate and the temperature of the atmosphere is dependent upon the relative proximity of the country to the equator or the poles, and who do not know the modifying influence upon the climate exercised by the elevation of the soil. The mountainous character is predominant in the States of Costa Rica, San Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Nicaragua only has more low lands and its climate is too warm. The most of the plateaux and high valleys of those States enjoy the mild temperature of an eternal spring, which never deprives vegetation of its green ornament, never forces the inhabitants to use artful devices to protect themselves against the cold, and allows them at all times the unabridged use of all their powers of body and of mind. The only exception make the low plains with their humid, warm, enervating atmosphere.

The greatest part of Central America, which since its separation from Spain was distracted by anarchy and civil strife, does now enjoy comparative rest, which seems to indicate a period of transition to a more regular and happy condition. Everywhere among the people, from the highlands of Mexico down to the Isthmus of Panama, is found the same presentiment of a near change in their condition—a change that probably will force them, to the welfare of the country, though it be to the ruin of the race which has hitherto governed it, to unite under the "Star Spangled Banner" of the "Union," and to join as satellites in the same orbit of planets. The new movement, into which the races of New Spain are peremptorily drawn by a providential power, stronger than human opposition, is painful to them. They know and fear rightfully, that in union with another race, the weaker must succumb to the stronger. At best, they think the weaker will meekly and humbly vegetate or die out slowly, under the shade of the colossal hickory tree of liberty of the North. While the northern hickory would independently and powerfully elevate its summit to the sun, the weaker parasitical plants could enjoy but so much of light and air as the giant may allow them.

That the country itself could only gain, if an energetic race were transplanted hither, nobody denies. With the Yankees, capital would come, and banks, commercial activity, manufac-

tures, immigration, railroads, steam communications, and plank-roads would soon follow. But then the Spanish races in this beautiful zone, where nature herself so tenderly gives everything man needs for mere existence, would lose the privilege to give themselves up to a sweet indolence—regardless of the giant-like progress of their neighbors—and yet to preserve to themselves the privileged advantages of political dominion. As a natural and, perhaps, the most effectual remedy against a forced annexation to, or absorption by the north, confederation presented itself to the New-Spaniards. All nations of predominant Hispano-American blood ought to have joined in establishing a strong confederacy as a counterpoise to the northern "Union." Mexico would have been the most natural leader of such a league, which might have comprised not only Central America proper, from Guatemala down to Costa Rica, but even the southern half of the new continent. But then, to achieve this, they ought to have possessed not only that nerve of enterprise, but also that spirit of association, to which the great northern Republic is indebted for its grandeur and power. Petty rivalries among individual States, the desire to advance sectional interests, and the lust for isolation, of provinces and cities, but chiefly the selfishness and ambitious designs of party leaders should have been abandoned. All private animosity ought to have been made subordinate to the grand national object, and united under the common banner: Independence of the Hispano-American Nationality; Union of all nations of the Spanish tongue on this continent; and no alliance with a foreign race.

Of all this, the opposite has happened. The territory of the old Spanish vice royalties dissolved itself into republics, gradually increasing in number. Each province, somewhat distant from the metropolis, strived to free itself from the political influence of the capital. Instead of uniting against the foreign race, internal feuds raged incessantly, State against State, of one province against another. The spirit of old Spanish provincialism, which the vicegerents of Spain have kept in abeyance by their despotism, again developed itself after their liberation from Spanish rule. All selfish passions strived for predominance. None would voluntarily give way to the great interests of the whole. None would hear the voice of warning and counselling.

And if in our endeavor to faithfully carry out this principle of our true policy, we should engender the active hostility of a rival or rivals, it will at once be our right and duty to repel and frustrate, with all the force we are master of, those hostile schemes of intervention, which are planned to intercept the onward course of the American eagle, and by ad-

hering to which, England has added thousands of square miles to its territory, and subjected millions of people to the domineering influence of British rule; and if the sad consequences is a bloody conflict of two nations, encircled by so many kindred ties, we are confident to believe that the unanimous response of public opinion of the world to the complaints of Great Britain would sound "*Tu l'as voulus.*"

We herewith introduce the following translation of the introductory chapter to a new work upon *Central America*, lately published in Germany, (in March, 1856,) by Professors SCHERZER and WAGNER, who have been residing in that country from May, 1853, 'till late in the fall of 1855. They speak from personal observation, and as they are favorably known among literary and scientific men of both hemispheres for their sagacity, learning, research, and the general correctness and reliability of their statements and observations, we speak for the article below a careful perusal.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

It was but a few short months ago, that the attention of the world was concentrated upon the Taurean peninsula, where a mighty struggle seemed to foreshadow great events. Whether or not the result of that struggle of five nations, brought to a close by the treaty of Paris, on the 30th March last, are in any manner commensurate with the hopes with which it was begun, and with the anxiety that followed its meanderings through its various courses, is not the intention now, and in this place, to inquire. The fact is enough, that the bloody battlefield of the Alma, of Inkierman, and of the walls of Sebastopol, have lost their magnetic power, and that the eyes of combined Europe, of nations as well as of governments, are now upon the West. That narrow strip of land which connects the North with the South of America, claims now that attention which was rightfully bestowed upon the Crimea, during the last ten years. For—and it is not without pride that we write it—American genius, and American enterprise, are here at work, to change the commercial geography of the world.

We are not a "Fliebusteiro"—in the common acceptation of the term. We do not advocate "land piracy"—as practiced by our kindred neighbor across the water for the last two or three centuries. But we believe, and believe firmly, in the

destiny of our country, as made manifest by the spirit of American propagandism, and the genius of the American people. Hence our conviction, that Central America, ere long, will be the scene of events, as fruitful for the future history of the world as either the fall of the Roman Empire, or the discovery of America. It is immaterial whether *Walker* succeeds in Nicaragua to establish himself, or whether he succumbs to the powers that are brought to bear against him. Nature will have its way, and *Walker*, whatever personal motives he may have for his actions, is but the precursor of a mightier power, an involuntary instrument in the hands of an unchangeable fate. Or is any one prepared to deny this? Let him look at the past history of Central America, and consider the mighty interests with which its geographical position links it to our Union. Let him look at the extraordinary fertility of its soil, almost without a parallel; at the general salubrity of its climate in the more remote and elevated regions from the seacoast; and then cast a glance at the native indolence of the predominant race. Let him compare the utter insignificance in the balance sheet of the world's commerce, of the once confederated, now separated five republics, with the probable and gigantic yield in the products of nearly every clime, if the productive facilities of those countries be cultivated by an enterprising and energetic people. And last, let him look at the dreary waste of the central region of our own country, which stands as an unconquerable barrier to extensive cultivation, thus as it were, breaking in twain *that* line of inland communication between the States on the shores of the Pacific and those of the Mississippi valley, which can only be successfully maintained when supported and nourished into life by a comparatively unbroken chain of advancing and prosperous settlements. And if he then should still dissent from our view, let him but stand aside, in company with the few of his like, and the spirit of the American political and social system will fulfil his sacred mission without their aid and co-operation, and even in spite of their open or secret opposition.

And opposition—a fierce and uncompromising opposition—we ought and do foresee; not only from among those of our own people—for whom the events of history always "rush too fast"—but even from a powerful foreign rival. But this fact convinces us the more of the entire correctness, success, and perpetuity of our national advance. For, whatever could weaken and eventually degrade the American people, would find a hearty welcome and cordial approval with the aristocratic rulers of our envious rival, "*Old* England." But whenever "*Young* America" steps forth with a bold consciousness of its right, to expand its fertilizing influence over that part of

the western hemisphere which rightfully belongs to it, then the "cross of St. George" looms up, the "British Lion" shakes his mane, growls and gnashes his teeth in anger, at the "ungrateful offspring." Not only for this reason, however, do we find this unceasing opposition of England to our gaining a controlling influence over Central America, quite natural; we are kind-hearted enough to excuse it even from a financial and commercial point of view. England knows and feels it, that if Central American States should once be opened to unrestricted colonization by Americans, her West India possessions would soon become almost entirely worthless. The coffee and sugar of the Antilles would, in the short space of a few years, be superceded by the coffee of Costa Rica, and the sugar of Honduras and Nicaragua; for which products these States seem by nature herself to be peculiarly adapted. But even cotton, that great staple of our country, which makes three-fifths of the manufacturing interests of Great Britain dependant upon the productive prosperity of our Southern States, offers an abundant yield in the lower regions of nearly all the Central American States. And an accession to American enterprise of a cotton-growing country is what England dreads most. She makes now gigantic efforts to supplant the produce of the United States, by warmly encouraging and materially supporting the extensive cultivation of the cotton plant in the East Indies and her Cape colonies, without affecting as yet, in any degree, the preponderance of our Southern States in the cotton trade of the world; but let a new field of enterprise invite the skilful hand of the American producer, and that preponderance is never to be overcome. Moreover, the unfettered control by Americans of the several transit routes across the Cordilleras is not far from being an imperative necessity, equally demanded by the patriotic desire to preserve and perpetuate the political union of the Atlantic with the Pacific States, and by a just and wise appreciation of the duties of self-protection and self-preservation, that require the entire exclusion of all and every influence of foreign governments over any part of the North American continent; and this can only be accomplished by firmly establishing the influence of our own race upon a national basis—harmony and political union against the greater danger of invasion from a foreign and more powerful nationality. Yea, the leading men of the Republic of Honduras offered to the northern Union the sale of a part of their territory and a political alliance, not from any sympathy with the yankees, but from hatred, jealousy, and a feeling of vengeance they entertained against the neighboring Republic of Guatemala. An ossified egotism is, perhaps, the most prominent trait of character of the Hispano-American.

This characteristic is so strong, that it alone keeps suppressed every attempt at elevating the national element, and breaks the force even of patriotism; and this, alone, is sufficient to keep the new Spanish republics in a state of permanent political inactivity against the North Americans, even if they possessed a true conception of their condition, and a clear foresight of the future, whilst but vague apprehensions of coming events fill their minds and paralyze their powers of action. Instead of striving to disenthral themselves from their present political abjection, by a thorough knowledge of their own faults, and by learning from their antagonist the secret of his strength, they attempt lately to intoxicate themselves by Mexican braggardism. No one believes earnestly in the ability of the Santa Annas, the Carreras, and other new Spanish "heroes" to combat with the mighty powers and men of the north. But their fanfaronades may serve well to bedumb the people in view of the tormenting presentiment of the future.

Whoever has fully apprehended the political impotency of these people, and the hopelessness and disconsolate condition of all Hispano-American States, where only by a peaceable northern immigration, that is, by a commingling of races, which would entirely change the inborn character of the population, a new spirit of activity could be generated, he might be tempted to adopt for these States that awful motto, which the poet of "*Comedia divina*" inscribed over the gates to hell. One may give the advice to Spanish-America, that it ought to submit to its fate with Asiatic resignation, and to adopt as a symbol for its policy the "*Allah Kerim*"—in other words, "*let destiny have its run.*" It seems as if nature herself had denied to these people of mixed Indian blood, the means, by their own exertion, to become masters of their lethargy.

United States Exports to and Imports from Central America.

Years.	Value of Exports			Value Imports.
	Dom. produce.	For. produce.	Total.	
1845	$41,543	$26,101	$67,649	$65,269
1846	75,136	45,117	120,253	116,733
1847	73,322	23,246	96,568	80,581
1848	34,940	15,438	50,378	18,272
1849	112,490	23,739	136,219	56,017
1850	57,225	12,967	70,192	261,459
1851	223,302	39,089	262,391	149,856
1852	386,136	87,332	473,518	368,355
1853	225,356	120,474	346,330	590,937
1854	250,539	53,345	308,884	2,360,422
1855	1,210,584	51,586	1,262,170	286,409

BLEDSOE ON LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.*

The agitation of the Slavery Question, which has been renewed in recent years with so much virulence and zeal, and which has exercised such a marked and disastrous influence on the federal politics of the nation, and the reciprocal relations of the several States, has so far produced at least one beneficial result. It has compelled the people of the South to re-examine the grounds of controversy with increased care, to content themselves no longer with indistinct and fluctuating opinions caught by unconscious infection from the adverse sentiment of the literary world, to enter more deeply and more philosophically into the consideration of the merits and demerits of the institution so acrimoniously assailed, and to compare with a keener discernment the principle on which the two conflicting systems of labor are founded, and the effects upon society which are due to them respectively. The latter branch of the subject has been only incidentally and imperfectly discussed as yet; but the former has been treated with much ability and from various points of view, so as to have furnished already a copious and irrefragable array of arguments in favor of slavery. The necessity for this elaborate investigation of the problem of free and slave labor, has generated an entire revulsion of feeling and judgment in the hearts and minds of many of our people; it has opened their eyes to the delusion and sophistry of the objections adduced by the adversaries of the South; it has satisfied them of the entire propriety and justice of a social arrangement which they had previously tolerated with ill-restrained repugnance as a necessary evil. Notwithstanding the speculative doubts by which the slave-owners were troubled, the general sentiment among them, under the guidance of instructive impulses, has always tenaciously maintained the sanctity and inviolability of slavery, but they have not arrived at a clear comprehension of the reasons by which slavery is justified and proved to be right and expedient without the aid of the numerous and usually able treatises which the controversy still raging has called forth.

The necessities of society in a great measure determine its literature; in many instances they give birth to it. They produce an appetency, which, by insuring an earnest and anxious circle of hearers, stimulates the inquiries of reflective minds, and encourages their literary efforts. This has been pre-eminently the case at the South with regard to the question of

* An Essay on Liberty and Slavery, by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856; 12mo.

slavery. The avidity for information and disquisition on this subject, which has lately been so manifest, is a natural and wholesome desire. If slavery is right let it be maintained at all hazards; if it be wrong let it be abolished at all costs; but let neither decision be accepted without a full appreciation of the various aspects of the investigation. Whatever that decision may be, if thus attained, it will leave behind it the consciousness of an intelligent performance of duty, and the assurance that the policy finally adopted will prove eminently beneficial and unquestionably right. In this crisis, as in all others, it is certain that truth is mighty and will ultimately prevail. In the mean time, we shall be indebted to the continuance and asperity of this controversy for the creation of a genuine southern literature—in itself, an inestimable gain to our people. For out of this slavery agitation has sprung not merely essays on slavery, valuable and suggestive as these have been, but also the literary activity, and the literary movement which have lately characterized the intellect of the South.

With other manifestations of the literary spirit, we have, however, at this time no further concern; our attention must be limited to the Slavery Question, and particularly to its discussion in the very satisfactory volume of Prof. Bledsoe—who has favored the public with the most lucid, and immediately available treatises hitherto produced on the subject. His work is strictly limited to certain definite aspects of the Slavery Question, to these he scrupulously confides himself, though incidentally shedding novel light on other branches of the inquiry. His treatise in the main is controversial, though the spirit which illuminates and the temper which regulates his arguments, rise very far above the level of ordinary prolemics, and supply frequent indications of a mind habituated to expatiate at ease in the most airy regions of philosophy and the loftiest walks of ethical speculation.

Prof. Bledsoe is, indeed, admirably qualified by his intellectual tastes, his previous studies, his former labors, and the associations of his life for the discussion of the special department of research to which he has devoted his essay. He possesses preeminently the genius of polemics; he revels in the metaphysical conflicts and dialectical subtleties of philosophical controversy. He is acute, ingenious, perspicacious. He discerns at a glance the weak points of an adversary's argument; he distinguishes with equal promptitude between the true and false which are presented in plausible combination; he instinctively discerns a fallacy and at once discovers its refutation, either turning the artillery of the enemy against themselves, or disclosing the latent errors which had mislead their reasonings.

An author who had approved of his dexterity and depth by assailing, and assailing with success, the metaphysical and logical strength of Jonathan Edwards, who had grappled with the recondite enigma of the origin of evil, and tested his powers against Leibuitz and the other princes of philosophical theology, and who had been more than a match for McCosh, was almost certain of the victory when he buckled on his armor to attack the sophisms of Channing, Wayland, and Sumner. Prof. Bledsoe's tastes and habits and career have led him to dwell from predilection amid the thorny thicket of polemics; he delights in the stormy atmosphere of controversy; he is familiar with the habitat, the nature, and the manœuvres of error; and he pursues his game with a fresh appetite, and with the certainty of securing his prey. This confidence of victory gives a leisurely tranquillity to his movements, and perfect equability of temper in the midst of the most intricate disputes. He appears to be in no hurry to despatch his victim; but plays with it at his ease, exhibits it in all the tortuous postures into which it has been thrown by despair, compels it to put forth its utmost strength and cunning, but never suffers it to escape entirely from his grasp. He thus escapes all temptation to underrate, misconceive, or misrepresent an adversary; he gives him all the benefits which can be derived from the most favorable statement of his tenets; he sometimes even improves his arguments; but he does this only to make the victory more complete, and his own triumph more brilliant. We are not aware of any person in our country more accomplished or more dangerous in a logical encounter than Prof. Bledsoe; he has certainly won his honors hitherto in his various engagements with names much more eminent than he is compelled to attack in the present volume.

In addition to these general advantages with which he enters into the combat, Prof. Bledsoe has the further advantage of being equally at home at the North and at the South. Of Southern parentage and Southern birth, his education and his residence have been distributed between the two dissimilar sections of the Union; and he has had his opportunity, which would not be neglected by a mind as quick and observant as his, of studying the institutions of the free States and of the slave States on their own soil, and of contrasting together their spirit and effects. It may be a matter of regret that he has not deemed it expedient to draw more largely on the private stores of information which he must possess in regard to this contrast; but it is manifest that this avoidance of all digression, and this unusual abstinence from all collateral topics, add to the cogency of the sole argument which he has undertaken to evolve. Much more is gained by the rigid adherence to a

special chain of reasoning than is lost by withholding the subsidiary information, which, while gratifying our curiosity, might have distracted attention from the main thesis. The task which Prof. Bledsoe has proposed to himself is single and distinct. It is not his aim to pour out his whole budget of information, knowledge, and ratiocination—to say all that he might be able to say on the subject of liberty and slavery—but only to say so much, and no more, as may be necessary to demonstrate the vastness, the invalidity, the untenability of the allegations and calumnies of the more respectable members among the abolitionists—if there is respectability in wilful error and malignant wrong-doing. This essay is distinctly a polemical work: it has a restricted but definite aim, and what is unnecessary for the attainment of that aim, would be an excrescence on the argument. It is not a theory of liberty and slavery—this remains still a desideratum, but Prof. Bledsoe has not undertaken to supply it. It is not an estimation of the absolute merits of liberty and slavery respectively: this is an insoluble problem which Prof. Bledsoe is too acute and too discreet to handle, for the excellence of all social institutions depends upon circumstances, and varies with the condition of races and societies. It is not a comparison of the fruits of free and servile labor; this may enter partially into the argument, but it is not the main thesis. The object of the work is simply to repel the assaults of the abolitionists by refuting their reasoning. This is done most completely and conclusively: it is done with such signal success that not a thread of reason is left to support their vituperation of the South; but, if they still persist in maintaining the war of bitterness and abuse, as persist they will, they do it pertinaciously in despite of reason, and in obedience to the spirit of jealousy, malevolence, hostility alone. It is no slight service which is rendered to the Southern cause by thus reducing its opponents to the alternative of either discontinuing their warfare altogether, or protracting it on grounds equally at variance with good sense and good feeling.

The character of Prof. Bledsoe's work is thus purely and intentionally negative. He demolishes the batteries of the abolitionists: he does not undertake to construct the fortifications of the South. He carries the war vigorously into Africa: he does not directly contemplate the condition of affairs at home. When he has so ably achieved his avowed purpose, it would be an unreasonable complaint to object that he had not discussed topics which he never proposed to handle. The objection recoils upon the objector; it makes no impression on the author. He has left to others those branches of his subject which are not within the legitimate scope of his essay. No

man is sufficient to do justice to all parts of the vast question of Slavery; in its various ramifications there is ample employment for the diligence, the learning, and the abilities of all; and each does his full duty, if he adequately discusses the particular department, be it limited or extended, which he has selected for the field of his exertions. Tested by this rule, which is manifestly dictated by common sense as the only proper criterion of a polemical treatise, Prof. Bledsoe's essay is perhaps the most remarkable contribution which has been added to the literature of slavery. We know of no other work in the whole course of that literature which equals it in the steady adherence to the special object of its contemplation, in the methodical regularity with which all its approaches are made to the beleaguered fortress, in the perspicuity and cogency of the argumentation, and in the satisfactory completeness of the refutation offered.

Though the peculiar excellence of this work pre-eminently resides in the steady conduct of the reasoning, this is very far from being its only merit. We have already alluded to the admirable temper in which it is written—a temper so foreign to the habitual spirit of the abolitionists, so rare in works of controversy, so unusual, especially in the discussion of slavery. He sets out with the declaration that, "In the prosecution of such an inquiry, we intend to consult neither the pecuniary interests of the South nor the prejudices of the North; but calmly and immovably proceed to discuss, upon purely scientific principles, this great problem of our social existence and national prosperity, upon the solution of which the hopes and destinies of mankind in no inconsiderable measure depend. We intend no appeal to passion or sordid interest, but only to the reason of the wise and good."* In this temper he executes his task, never swerving to the right or to the left, unseduced by the abundant provocations offered to acrimony, untempted by the equally numerous opportunities for violent declamation. He performs his office with the coolness as well as with the logical precision of a mathematician engaged in the solution of a geometrical problem.

This equanimity and the punctilious observance of the requirements of his thesis, without regard to any thing lying beyond the prescribed domain, may, at times, produce the impression that the work is merely apologetic, and does not place the institution of slavery on sufficiently high and solid foundations. But this impression would be erroneous, for it is entirely disproved by the concluding sentences of the Introduction, which are as explicit and as decided as language can

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, p. 12.

be. "If our arguments and views are unsound, we hope he (the reader) will reject them. On the contrary, if they are correct and well-grounded, we hope he will concur with us in the conclusion that the institution of slavery, as it exists among us at the South, is founded in political justice, is in accordance with the will of God and the designs of his Providence, and is conducive to the highest, purest, best interests of mankind."* This is the ground on which the question of slavery should be placed; it should be removed from the sphere of mere temporary expediency and contingent propriety, and planted on the immutable rock of right and justice. But it is not necessary, after making this admission, and arguing from this point of view, to introduce at all times and under all circumstances this fundamental principle.

The style of this work is always vigorous and piquant—singularly clear, and frequently eloquent. It reveals the pen of a practised writer, and of a person of ardent and lively imagination. For a controversial publication it is most attractive reading. The ordinary dullness of polemical dissertation is entirely avoided—the attention is skillfully riveted to the development of the subject; and the interest is sustained without drooping from the commencement to the close. There are no far-fetched graces introduced—no caprices of either thought or expression, but it is composed throughout in terse, lucid, manly English, which illustrates the subject as fully as it gratifies the mind during its perusal.

The essay is confined to the refutation of the strongest charges adduced against slavery, but the concentration of effort to this distinct effect does not prevent the introduction of views which very far transcend the range of this controversy. He is compelled to investigate the foundations of liberty, in order to clear away the fallacies, delusions, and equivocations which have sprung from loose conceptions of its nature; and in this inquiry he is led to the apprehension of many important principles, which, if not entirely novel in themselves, are novel in their application, and are placed by him in a novel light. The first chapter is occupied with the examination of the nature of civil liberty. This is beginning the argument at the beginning, for unless there be a distinct and philosophical comprehension of the characteristics of liberty, there can be no philosophical estimation of those of slavery. The subject is a congenial one to the mind of the author, and displays his powers to advantage in the opening of his work. The re-examination of the nature of liberty was a suitable research for one who had already in his Theodicy, (Theodicee?)

* Liberty and Slavery, pp. 7–8.

> Reason'd high
> Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate;
> Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute;

It was only necessary to descend from the region of the abstract and metaphysical to that of the practical political. This is a transition, indeed rarely achieved with success, but it is happily accomplished by Mr. Bledsoe; his professional labor as a lawyer having rendered him as familiar with the practical application of principles as his speculative career has rendered him with their theoretical evolution.

Many errors have received their consecration and perpetuation from the graceful style and the juridical authority of Blackstone; and this has been peculiarly the case in regard to the fundamental principles of liberty and slavery. "Civil liberty" says the great commentator on the law of England, as quoted in this essay, "is no other than natural liberty so far restrained as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage." This postulate, which has usually been received without hesitation, and repeated with unsuspecting confidence in its truth, Prof. Bledsoe impugns. He shows that by the mode of its acceptance, gross inconsistency is involved in this definition, that it rests on a false idea of natural liberty; which is at one moment regarded as the choicest boon of Providence to man, at the next as wild and savage license;* and that by the tacit omission of the limitations imposed upon the original conception of its character, it is speedily regarded as "a power to act as one pleases, without the restraint or control of any law whatever, either human or divine;"† hence leading by a necessary deduction to the state of nature advocated by Rousseau, and to all the orgies, the frenzy and the tyranny which sprung from the principles of the Genevan sophist. Instead of accepting the definitions of Blackstone, sustained as they are by the theories of Locke and the acquiescense of Burke, Mr. Bledsoe joins issue with him on these points, asserting that the moral law is equally obligatory in a supposed state of nature as in society,‡ that however, this law is in danger of being violated by the natural disposition of man to tyrannize over his fellow-man, unless it is enforced by material sanctions and that "civil society does not abridge our natural rights; but secures and protects them."§

By substituting a juster definition for civil liberty than has ordinarily been received, Prof. Bledsoe eliminates much of the confusion which has hitherto attended the discussion of the

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, §§ i–ii, pp. 12–16.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § ii, p. 16.

‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § iii, p. 27.

§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § v, p. 30.

slavery question. If the natural rights of man are not curtailed, but extended, fortified, regulated, and confirmed by society, and are thereby guarded against the domineering spirit of the strong and the cunning, it is evident that civil liberty, as the term itself might have been sufficient to indicate, is a product of society, and not the mutilated remnant of a larger freedom previously enjoyed.* Accept this theory, and all the declamation about the original right of liberty, about the primeval equality of men, becomes vain twaddle, as impotent as it is inapposite. Accept this theory, and the foundations of political philosophy are laid upon a broader and firmer basis than they could heretofore boast. But we are still liable to be met with the stale objection of the inalienable rights of men—the common-place and the armory of the abolitionists. The abuse of this doctrine has not escaped the notice of Mr. Bledsoe. He proves briefly, but irresistibly, that society does possess and habitually exercise the power to restrict, control, and withdraw the supposed inalienable rights of life and liberty, for good and sufficient cause, in the pursuit of the general good;† and consequently, that "if it be shown that the public good, and especially the good of the slave, demands such a law, then the question of slavery is settled."‡ The remaining and principal portion of the volume is occupied with the establishment of these conditions, and with applying the conclusions thus obtained to the casuistry of the abolitionists.

In this introductory chapter, which is one of great importance, and marked by consummate skill, the philosophy of the question is perspicuously laid down. The principles, by which the future controversy is to be decided, are thus fixed and published; and the decision of the question is simplified by contracting the investigation to a plain and limited issue. At the same time, by commencing the discussion with the criticism and determination of fundamental principles, the roots of error and the fibres of delusion are traced to their hiding places in the obscurity of speculative confusion; their plausibility is removed by this thorough exposure, and their entire eradication is facilitated. Nor would it be justice to Professor Bledsoe to overlook the fact, that in this research into the nature of liberty, his services are not limited to the defensive armor which he provides against the assaults of abolitionism, but they extend much further, and furnish the elements of a new and juster conception of the functions of society, and also of a more comprehensive and reasonable scheme of political philosophy.

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § ii, p. 18; § iv, p. 30.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § vi, p. 36.

‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. i, § vii, p. 41.

On many previous occasions we have remarked that the adequate investigation of the slavery question required and would necessitate the creation of a new system of political science; that there were fallacies involved with all the received maxims of political speculation, which alone gave strength to the representations of the abolitionists, but which assured to those representations general acceptance, until the popular errors had been removed by the careful re-examination and purification of political principles. The recent works of Mr. Fitzhugh and of Professor Bledsoe signally confirm the justice of our anticipations. They both rebel against the antiquated political doctrines; they both propound dogmas completely at variance with them, and inaugurate a new school of political speculation. We shall not compare the labors of these two gentlemen; their works scarcely admit of comparison, so different are they in spirit, in immediate purpose, in style, and in execution. Mr. Fitzhugh is replete with suggestions, though he scarcely presents a single position which would meet with many adhesions without previous modifications. Mr. Bledsoe, on the contrary, exhausts by his copious and methodical procedure the topics which he has appropriated to himself. He leaves nothing behind him—nothing to be desired within the range of his horizon. No doubts started by him remain without full satisfaction; and very few inquiries are suggested by him which he has not pursued to their legitimate results, and from which he has not himself extracted all the significance and juices which they contain.

It would prove as tedious as it is unnecessary to repeat the several arguments employed in a controversial work, to traverse again the successive stages through which Prof. Bledsoe advances to his final victory, and "to fight his battles o'er again." In an argumentative work of this complexion, it is impossible to appreciate the merits of the discussion without following the chain of the logic, and this chain is imperfect and unsatisfactory, if any of its links are omitted. In order to obtain from the Essay that instruction and gratification which it is admirably calculated to afford, it must be studied in its integrity, and in the language of the author, and not in any cursory abridgment of its reasoning. In its perusal frequent delight will be experienced in admiring the tenacious grasp with which the polemic seizes upon the prominent points of his adversary's doctrine, the dexterity with which he turns it about like clay in the hands of the potter, till it is divested of all disguises, and revealed in its nakedness, and then the ingenious ease with which its worthlessness and untenability are exposed. Mr. Sumner did not receive a more complete, or overwhelming castigation corporeally from the cane of Col. Preston Brooks than he sus-

tains intellectually from the dialectical tortures of Prof. Bledsoe. The enjoyment of witnessing the latter combat must be sought in the pages of this Essay on Liberty and Slavery; it cannot be communicated by any transference of its scenes to a critical notice. All the spirit of the contest would evaporate if separate parts were detached from the strictly concatenated evolution of the whole argument, and the flavor communicated to the controversy by the peculiar felicities of Prof. Bledsoe's manner and expression would be lost or become vapid if presented in any but the original combination.

All that criticism can safely undertake to do in attempting to appreciate a polemical essay, is to exhibit and estimate the principles and the method adopted in its conduct. These principles are fully contained in Prof. Bledsoe's initial chapter, in which he overturns the customary maxims relied upon by the antagonists of slavery, and introduces in their stead those tenets which have been already specified. He thus restricts the further progress of the inquiry to the refutation of arguments proved to be invalid by the application of these new principles, and to the demonstration of the proprieties and expediencies which justify the maintenance of slavery under certain circumstances, and particularly under those conditions which accompany its existence at the South. The abstract inquiry is completed in the first chapter of the work; the remaining chapters are occupied with adapting the blister thus coolly and deliberately prepared to the back of the most prominent abolitionists, and with confirming at the same time, and by the same procedure, the argument in favor of Southern slavery.

There is so much simplicity in the plan of Prof. Bledsoe's Essay, and there is also such methodical regularity in the development of his argument, that the titles of the few chapters into which the work is divided, furnish a complete insight into its character, and are at once the shortest and the most satisfactory abridgment of its contents that could be devised. Besides the logical distribution of the subject into separate chapters, each chapter is with equal care and precision subdivided into sections; and these sections are each supplied with its appropriate heading. An expeditious mode of reading the book, or of revising its doctrines is thus supplied, by comparing the table of contents with the rubrics of the sections; but if the bones and sinews of the argument might be in great measure thus obtained, they would constitute only the bare anatomy of the treatise; the flesh and blood, the life and the physiognomy of the argument would be sacrificed, and all the satisfaction lost which may be derived from the clear and racy elucidation of the several members of the disputation. There is nothing in the volume, neither deliberate expression nor

chance indication, to suggest that the preparation of a work for academical instruction was contemplated by the author; but no treatise could be more happily adapted to the function of implanting correct doctrines on the slavery question in the minds of students, and of guarding them in advance against the subterfuges and lubricities of abolitionist sentiments and reasonings. A more comprehensive treatise might be easily prepared, and might be in some respects desirable; but this Essay on Liberty and Slavery would be of more immediate practical use, it would be more generally available, than any other work with which we are acquainted, and we have diligently read nearly everything which has been written on this feracious subject. Moreover, the perspicuity and stringency of Prof. Bledsoe's reasoning would prove a most salutary discipline to the minds of the young, and furnish an example for "the conduct of the understanding," which would be found a serviceable model of discussion in after life. We are not disposed to indulge in any extravagant laudations of this or any other work, but it possesses some characteristic excellences in which it has rarely been equalled, and these excellences are of the kind most valuable in a text-book.

Mr. Bledsoe's essay is divided into five chapters. Of these, the first, occupied with the discussion of the nature of civil liberty, is the most important for the philosophy of the general subject, and has therefore engaged our principal attention. The second chapter reviews and refutes the arguments and positions of the abolitionists, dealing patiently and separately with seventeen different fallacies in succession. The examination and the refutation are most complete. He drives them from one point to another, dislodging them from every stronghold to which they retire, raising their fortresses, and overwhelming them with his rapid and resistless fire. There is no respectable semblance of a tenable argument against slavery, founded upon general and abstract principles of right, which is not considered in its due order, and shown to be absurd, inconsistent, or nugatory. At times accepting their allegations and analyzing their significance, he shows that the principles on which the abolitionists most confidently rely are usually fatal to the conclusions which have been drawn from them by the logic of passionate malevolence. Thus, taking the vulgar assertion that slavery should be abolished because it is an injury to the slave, he calls Dr. Wayland's attention to the fact that the reason assigned for abolition is the assumption of the very point in dispute—a gross *petitio principii*.* Professor Bledsoe urges against this argument the doctrine which has been held

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § iv, pp. 55–58.

in all ages, from Aristotle and Cicero down to the present moment, by every intelligent advocate of slavery, that the institution is justifiable only when and so long as it is beneficial to the slave as well as to the slave-owner.* He observes with singular point, that Dr. Wayland himself is compelled, by the perplexities of his position, to renounce his objection, and in despite of it to sanction the maintenance of bondage so long as it enures to the advantage of the slave. No weapon has been directed against slavery with more pharisaic complacency, or with more sanctimonious fervour, than the Gospel precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This commandment and its legitimate application are considered with reverent care, and it is found that a healthy exegesis detects therein no condemnation of slavery, but its actual approval; and that the interpretation imposed upon these words, which constitute the essence of the new law, is inconsistent with the maintenance of all law, order, and authority; that "all justice would be extinguished, all order overthrown, and boundless confusion introduced into the affairs of men."† The tendency of abolitionism to run into every heresy is abundantly shown by the hostility of the northern abolitionists to the Bible, by their proclivity to every form of social vice, by their appetency for communism in all its forms and extravagances. The premises from which they start, with the forced construction given to them, necessarily precipitate them into such immoral conclusions. An English abolitionist, in an elaborate work on the theory of society, declares "that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties."‡ This is abolitionism and agrarianism in the same breath—murder, slave-holding, and property in land are gravely placed in the same category of crime.

What has afforded us, however, the most sincere gratification in the thorough exposure of the fallacies of the abolitionists, is the effectual reply which is addressed to the commonplace denunciation of the conversion of the immortal soul of a fellow man into a mere chattel.§ Professor Bledsoe defends none of the abuses of slavery, but he makes it perfectly plain to every intelligence, not wilfully blinded by spleen, that slavery, however abused, has never laid any claim to the soul of

* "Est enim genus injusta servitutis quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse; quum autem hi famulantur, qui sibi moderari nequeunt, nulla injuria est." Cic. De Rep, iii, xxv, § 22. The remarks of Aristotle have been often quoted by us elsewhere; the testimony of Cicero is less known.

† Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § vii, p. 78.

‡ Spencer's Social Statics, pt. ii, chap. ix, § 9, p. 124–5.

§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. ii, § x, pp. 86–102.

man, but only to his "labor and lawful obedience;" and that a man enslaved never is and never has been considered as a mere chattel. The right to the personal services and obedience of the slave is unquestionably a chattel interest; but this is all that is claimed, held, or transferred. And why is it a chattel interest? Simply to distinguish it from a real interest, which it certainly is not, except in the case of serfs of the glebe. A favorable opportunity was afforded of illustrating this subject, and removing the confusion in which it is involved, by the vague and popular usage of legal terms; and we regret that Mr. Bledsoe has not employed his professional knowledge for the purpose. The abolitionists are as little distinguished for learning as they are for logic; and we doubt whether many of them could tell, or whether any of them have distinctly conceived, what a chattel is. Their abuse of the term is exactly equivalent to that which would arise if the Latin term for money, *pecunia*, should be translated cows. The opprobrium conveyed by the expression is entirely due to the fact that cattle and chattel are the same words originally, but so also are capital and chapter; and that all sorts of personal property, the most trivial and the meanest as well as the most valuable, are included under the term chattels. The original term was capitale, capital property attached to the person of the owner, and not to the ownership of the land. This expression was abbreviated or corrupted into catalla, and chattels; and as nearly all property in the ages when this transformation took place consisted of live stock, the generic name became in vulgar usage identified with its especial application, and assumed the form and signification of cattle.* This is the history of the term; but in legal phraseology the generic meaning was retained, and has thence descended by a different channel into popular employment, as chattels. If we seek to express any property in man, or in the services of man, can we avail ourselves of any other phrase than a chattel interest? But this does not make the man a chattel, as Professor Bledsoe very satisfactorily explains, but the limited right to his services, under legal conditions and restraints, is a chattel interest, or a personal interest, simply because unconnected with lands. This explanation convicts the abolitionist of occupying themselves with empty declamations about a matter which they either cannot or will not understand.

The third chapter considers the argument from the Scriptures, and is divided into two sections, appropriated respectively to the argument from the Old and that from the New Testament. It is not the scriptural argument in favor of slavery that Mr.

* Vide Dubange. Gloss. Med. 8 Inf. Latin, sub voce Catallum.

Bledsoe undertakes to supply, but the scriptural argument against slavery which he professes to refute, and which he completely demolishes. It cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that this is controversial treatise purely; it never contemplates anything beyond the reasonings of the abolitionists, except when obliged to do so in order to discover the proof of their sophistry. Thus he brings into full view the authorization of slavery by the New Testament, while disproving the arbitrary and unwarrantable translation of the Greek word *δουλος*, as a hired servant.* Mr. Barnes, Mr. Sumner, and other abolitionists, it appears, had trusted so far to their passionate ignorance, or had presumed so far on the ignorance of others, as to hazard the bold assertion, that this term permitted us to regard the slaves spoken of in the New Testament as simply hired servants. A blunder or perversion so gross as this, appears to merit a very curt denial; but the mischief and delusion which may result from this misrepresentation justify the elaborate demonstration of the error; and this demonstration in its turn brings strongly into light the sanction extended to slavery by the Scriptures.†

The fourth chapter, still pursuing the polemical method, discusses the argument from the public good, and to many readers will prove to be the most interesting portion of the volume. The abolitionists continually contrast the rapid increase of population and wealth in the free States of the Union, with their more sedate march in the Southern, or slave-holding States, and thence infer that they have secured the testimony of fact and experience to the superior advantages, and therefore, to the superior propriety, of free institutions. If the common weal consisted of nothing but men and money, no matter what the condition and character of the former, or what the distribution and effects of the latter, there might be great force in this ratiocination. But social welfare is a much more complicated problem than this, and it would be difficult to establish the greater blessings of Northern as compared with Southern society, if the points of comparison were multiplied. This particular line of tactics is, however, disregarded by Mr. Bledsoe; he still restricts himself to a simple reply to the allegations of the abolitionists. He accepts the issue as presented and understood by his adversaries; and he responds very truly, that the question for the South to consider and for the North to argue, is not, whether slave or free institutions should be chosen if the option were now offered for the first time, "not what Vir-

* Liberty and Slavery, chap. iii, § ii, pp. 183–225.

† As the Abolitionists prefer discovering hired servants to acknowledging slaves in the New Testament, we commend to their consideration the character which is given to hirelings in the Gospels.

ginia, or Kentucky, or any other slave State might have been, but what they would be in case slavery were abolished."* To this inquiry he reduces the question, and then proceeds to exhibit the almost certain consequences of abolition by exposing the effects of emancipation in the British colonies,† and the manner in which it has ruined them. The testimonies employed in this delineation are extracted from the reluctant evidence of the friends of emancipation, and of the enemies of slavery. We were previously aware of the desolation, the indolence, and the crime which had spread over those lovely, fertile, and once wealthy regions; but the darkest traits of the picture were absent till we met with this careful compilation of statistics and details.‡ From these it is manifest that the blessings anticipated from emancipation in the British colonies have never been realized, and that a frightful desert, defiled by the brutal vices of lazy and licentious monsters, exists where rampant abolitionists would have us to believe that Paradise has been restored.§

Having thus collected from experience the actual lessons of the past, Mr. Bledsoe has obtained a thread to guide him through the probabilities of the future. He is not consigned to the delusive pilotage of vague conjecture. He can see, and is entitled to assert, that the consequences of abolition to the South,‖ would be the annihilation of immense property, the ruin of agriculture and all industry, universal poverty and distress, bankruptcy and ruin, and most horrible civil war. All that had been gained by the efforts and labors of so many generations would be lost by a single change; and the "elevation of the blacks by Southern slavery,"¶ of which Southerners may rightfully be proud, would be exchanged for their hopeless degradation by a freedom for which they are unprepared. Thus the slavery which has been proclaimed as an injury to the negro is to him the greatest of blessings, and the freedom which is heralded as his birthright and as the sole requirement for his happiness, would only enure to his irretrievable wretchedness and ruin. Hence, the circumstances are such as justify, on the principles of the abolitionists themselves, the institution of slavery, and its continuance.

The fifth chapter on the Fugitive Slave Law,** fitly terminates Mr. Bledsoe's apology for the South; by replying to Messrs.

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* Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § i, p. 228.
† Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § ii, pp. 229–257.
‡ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § iii, pp. 257–267.
§ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § iv, pp. 268–284.
‖ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § v, pp. 284–291.
¶ Liberty and Slavery, chap. iv, § vi, pp. 292–300.
** Liberty and Slavery, chap. v, pp. 301–383.

Seward and Sumner, by removing the objections alleged against the execution of this necessary provision, and by exhibiting and enforcing the duties of a good citizen to the Constitution of the country. This part of his task is achieved with the same ability and conclusiveness with which the remainder of the work is executed, but it requires no further comment.

A treatise as consecutively developed and as rigidly connected as this is, cannot be appreciated adequately by any criticism, however conscientious and observant; it must be studied in extenso. Extracts, abridgements, and comments are little more than the description of a house by offering a few of the bricks of which it is composed as a specimen. The book must be read, and ought to be read, and this is its highest commendation.

OVERSEERS AT THE SOUTH.

OVERSEERS.—No. I.

A good deal of consultation, at various times, with some of the best farmers of the State, some observation, and some experience, both pleasant and bitter, has given us impressions in the matter of overseers, which we will now communicate to our friends for what they are worth.

If, as Von Thaer tells us, "the practice of agriculture is composed of an infinite number of different occupations, each of which appears easy in itself but is the more difficult to execute, inasmuch, as they frequently seem to interfere with and run counter to one another," if, "in order to regulate them according to the circumstances and powers that are at our disposal, so that no single one shall be neglected, but each performed properly and in its due order, there is required the greatest attention; activity without anxiety; promptitude without precipitation; a care of the whole united to the strictest attention to the most minute details; a judicious appreciation of all that is more or less necessary; and of that which belongs to different periods of time; an unremitting perseverance in whatever is undertaken, but which, however, does not lead to the neglect of more pressing duties; a prudent estimate of the value of labor and of time, so as to employ them to the best advantage;" if so intricate a combination of the circumstances which always encompass the proprietor of an estate demands a corresponding combination of qualities for their complete control, then it is evident that the overseer on a Southern plantation, like the steward of an English estate, requires the same combination in hardly a less degree. He is to the plantation what the mate is to the merchantman, and if he does not understand so well the principles of navigation, and is not entitled to the control

of the ship, he must, nevertheless, be able to guide the vessel, to command the sailors, to manage the cargo, and to keep every thing ship-shape, and to exemplify the subordination which it is his duty to enforce on others.

Though all the duties of an overseer relate to the owner of an estate, yet, for convenience in discussion, they may be divided into, 1, his duties to the master; 2, to the negroes; 3, to the animals, and impliments; 4, to the crops; and, 5, to the land itself.

The overseer has rights, too, as well as duties, which we shall not neglect to notice incidentally.

1. Subordination to the master is the first of an overseer's duties. Many of them think, and we have heard of their saying, that the master shall not do so and so with them. They thereby intend to define the limits of their obedience. Whether this originated in the wretched custom that once prevailed extensively, of giving an overseer a share of the crops, and leaving him to make them in his own way; whether it arises from a morbid feeling of manliness, or from a sense of social inferiority which suspects a foe in every man of higher rank or greater wealth, this recusancy is a great mistake.

The overseer who consents to serve an employer that he thinks will treat him as a menial, wants respect for himself, and cannot, therefore, command it from others. His entrance upon such service is a voluntary degradation which no amount of after rebellion can efface, to which, indeed, rebellion must add the additional fault of faithlessness to his contract; for it cannot be supposed that he would be employed if he should announce beforehand that he reserved the privilege of insubordination. A man who enters an army agrees to obey implicitly and without question the order of his superior; the chain of authority binds every man, from the privates to the generals; but it never occurs to the proudest of them that he surrenders the very manhood which leads him to the cannon's mouth, when he gives up his freedom of action and does automatically every bidding of an other. The very fact, if it exists, that his superior in rank is his inferior in worth or capacity, but increases the merit of submission by proving the subordinate equally a man in fortitude and in action. Subordination is not subjection: it is founded in the necessity of the case, not the whim of the master—in principle, and not in temper. For the same reason that the husband is allowed to rule the wife, the master must rule the overseer. There cannot be two heads; and he who owns the property, bears all its burdens, and takes all its risks and responsibilities, must have the entire control, and a discretion of delegating it in such way and proportion as may suit himself. On it depends not only the arrangement of details and the

consistency of plan, but especially the subjection of the negro, the freedom from infinite trouble and vexation with him, and often the life of either overseer or negro, or both, and the future happiness and success of the overseer himself, and the welfare of his family. He may rely on it that no proprietor, with a proper sense of his rights and obligations, will surrender this condition; and if pride or temper will not permit him to accept it cheerfully and to the full extent, he had better not undertake the business of an overseer, for he will find it full of annoyance.

Nor does subordination to authority imply submission to rudeness. If we were all of us anxious to deserve courtesy rather than eager to enforce it, we would have more of it. In the long run, every man's deportment secures him such consideration as he deserves, and those who mean to earn a good name need not fear "the proud man's scorn." A gentleman, or a man of proper feelings, will treat all around him with respect and kindness which is their due, and there is every reason why he should so deport himself towards his overseer. It may chance that amid the anxieties of business, a rude word or an angry comment may, at times, escape him, just as the overseer, at times, gives way to a similar infirmity; but in the main he will be considerate. If the overseer deserves it, he will look on him as a man entitled to civility, and will set him the example of good behavior. It is the readiest mode by which he can secure the same demeanor; and his interest, if not his amiability, will prompt him to keep on the best terms with one to whom so much is confided. If it does not, better part than quarrel. But civility is, in fact, so far the rule, that most overseers, we are sorry to say, are spoiled, and very few live more than two, or at the most three years, with the same employer. A disposition to avoid angry and unpleasant colloquies, and to overlook faults and tolerate relaxation from rules, to concede privileges, to submit to small abuses of administration and usurpations of power, in those who seem, in the main, to have our interest at heart, is generally carried so far that in the time specified the overseer is turned off, and a new one runs the same course of indulgence to the same end. For this the owner is as much to blame as the overseer. He forgets that it is in the very nature of agents to abuse trust; lawyers, the most elevated class of agents in the community, require watching and pushing, as much as any others; and it should not occasion great surprise or blame if a lower class yields to even greater temptations, under a relaxation of discipline.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because here is the beginning of much of the evil that results from the relation we are treating of.

THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF RAILROADS.*

It shown that English railroad stocks yield about 2 per cent. on the invested capital. Only two very short lines bring over 7 per cent. In France, the Northern and Eastern railroad yielded in the year 1855, 15 per cent.; the Lyons, and the Lyons and Mediterranean railroads 16 per cent.; the Orleans line 15½ per cent.; the Western railroad 15 per cent. The entire length of the French railroads is 2,880 English miles. The cost £58,000,000, and their gross income last year amounted to about £9,848,000, about 14 per cent. of which was clear gain.

If we compare the six principal railroad lines of France with the six principal lines of England—namely, the London, the Northwest, the Great Western, the Great Northern, the Midland, the Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the Northeastern—we see that their length is 2,660 miles, built at a cost of £122,000,000, consequently more than double the cost of the French lines, though they are only two hundred miles longer. The gross receipts are nearly the same, namely, £9,785,000. Hence it is clear that the capital in English railroad stocks brings only 3¾ per cent. The capital invested in English railways is estimated to be £300,000,000, in France £100,000,000, in the United States £150,000,000.

Even in the United States, where, at the close of the year 1855, there were about 23,384 miles of railroad, the receipts have diminished. The gross receipts during the past year of the 3,216 miles in the State of New York, which cost $125,000,000, were only $20,843,385. Though they yield nearly 7 per cent., they are considered a bad investment in a State where capitalists can get far higher interest for their money.

In Germany and Austria are numerous railroads, which yield over 10 per cent. Among them are the Cologne and Minden, the Leipzig, Magdeburg, the Ferdinands, Northern Line, and several others. Still more numerous are the railroads which yield 6, 7, 8, or 10 per cent.

These results show that the English railroads yield the smallest, and the French the largest per centage on the capital invested. We may, as a general rule, say that English lines of railway are too expensively constructed; still, it is not always so. The Belfast line cost £13,839 a mile, and the London and Blackwall £283,818. The principal railroad lines in England cost between £30,000 and £31,000 a mile. In France they constructed 54 miles of road for the same money that in England was expended on 40 miles, and in England 54 miles yield only as much as 42 miles in France.

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*From the Augsburg Zeitung.

This hopeless condition of the British railroads induced a reaction in the past month. In England, railroad profits have been diminished by too great a rivalry. The parallel lines have tried to ruin each other, and for the most part they have succeeded. A company, consequently, has been formed for promoting the interests of the British railways. The different companies have united their interests, and will wage no more war with each other. As it is they will find ways enough to rob the public. Even in England, travelling by railroad is by no means cheap. The first class of the English and French lines can scarcely be compared, as to comfort and luxury, to our second class. The luxury of our first class carriages, as on the Aix-la-Chapelle line in Bavaria, and on some of the Prussian railroads, is not to be found in England or France, and still less in Belgium, where the second class is scarcely to be compared with our third.

Railroad travelling in England is nearly three times as dear as on the continent. Season tickets in England are issued at a cheap rate. The company issues season tickets to persons for a certain distance, on which they may make two trips a day. These tickets are mostly taken up by persons who have business in the large cities, London, Liverpool and Manchester. They leave their homes early in the morning, and return after business hours. It would take nearly twice as much time if they lived in some remote part of London to go to their business place, and they would even spend more money in omnibuses, etc. They prefer to live a few miles out of the city, near a railroad. We are, therefore, not surprised to see that in the year 1854, no less than 11,000,000 of persons arrived at the several railroad depots in London. 36,000 season tickets would be enough to make up this number.

The small profits of the English railroads is not to be accounted for by low fares for passengers or freight. There are other more important causes. The best fruits are eaten up by the so-called railway locusts. In this class of insects are to be reckoned, first, the directors, then the members of Parliament, the engineers, the gamblers in stocks, and, in general, the whole body of honorable sharpers. The directors gamble in stocks on the Merchants' Exchange, and in their hands are all the interest of the line. Is it astonishing that they make money and sometimes lose it, or is it to be wondered at that railroad securities are at such a discount in England? Says the Economist, in one of its late numbers: "To gain money man may risk life and honor, but he who has railways to manage can make a fortune at the expense of shareholders without risking either. It has happened that directors have fraudulently appropriated sums like £80,000 to buy their own shares,

or have appropriated large sums of money and accounted for it under the head of 'sundries.'"

In the year 1845 the railroads yielded from 8 to 10 per cent. These profits gradually fell from 10 to 5, from 8 to 4, from 9 to 3¾ per cent. on the capital invested, in spite of the increase of freight and passengers. This is owing to the secondary railway lines. These lines were generally so constructed as to be of use to the two principal lines. They were advertised for sale, and as each of the principal lines wished to acquire them, enormous sums were offered and paid for them. Of course, the profits of the principal line were thereby proportionately diminished. But great swindles were effected in the matter of dividends. Expenses which should have been paid from the profits were paid out of the capital. The amount so abstracted was not replaced, and purchases were made at long periods to avoid payment. This, naturally enough, gave higher, although imaginary, dividends; the shares were coming up, the directors sold their shares and pocketed the gains. The only persons taken in were the simple shareholders, who believed in high dividends. Large sums were paid to landowners as indemnity for expropriation.

In this way the companies had to pay from £4,000 to £8,000 a mile for land. In one case £120,000 was paid for a tract of land which was valued at £5,000. A land owner once demanded £80,000 for his land, but finding rivals in the business, he ceded it for £80. The engineers were in many cases in the pay of these interested land owners. Even among members of Parliament these railway locusts were to be found. To have influence in the House of Commons, the companies elected members of Parliament as directors, and there are now no less than eighty-one directors members of Parliament. A goodly share of the profits is made way with by lawyers and attorneys. We know a case where six of those locusts divided among themselves £57,000; and lately it was shown that a company had paid £480,000 for court and Parliament fees in the space of nine years. It should be borne in mind that the fees of witnesses before Parliament are six guineas a day.

But the real root of all these evils lies in the fact that the interests of the shareholders are wholly under the control of the directors. These latter are generally good speech-makers, and are seldom opposed by the share-holders, for obvious reasons. Such are some of the ways of fortune in England. In America, the same evils, to some extent, are to be found, but the Americans are less timid, and they are very energetic in remedying abuses. England is now chequered with railways, but the English have paid dearly for the experiments, by which the two continents have profited.

GROWTH AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON.*

CORRECTED STATEMENT OF THE GROWTH AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON, FOR TEN YEARS, FROM 1845 TO 1855; ACCOMPANIED BY REMARKS, SHOWING THEIR RELATIVE RATES OF INCREASE.

The comparative supply and consumption of cotton have, of late, assumed an interest that renders some conclusion desirable, by which these relations can be determined, if only proximately. The elements which enter into the solution of this question are very complex. The relative costs of cultivation in different countries; the tenure of land and the revenue system of those parts of British India which form, next to the United States, the largest source of supply; the state of intercommunication between the cotton regions and the seacoast; these, with other constituents of the problem, render it one of much intricacy. The subject naturally assumes three divisions: 1. The comparative rate of increase in the supply and consumption, at antecedent periods. 2. The comparative rate of future increase. 3. The causes which facilitate or retard that increase. It is necessary to this inquiry that we should embrace a period, or periods, of sufficient length to exclude the influence of disturbing causes of partial or temporary operation. Decennial periods are most convenient for this purpose. In an article prepared by us and published in the Charleston Courier, May 31, 1845, the history of the cotton trade is traced back to 1800, divided into periods of 15 years, and brought down to 1845.

The results reached in that article were, that the growth had, down to 1845, outrun the consumption. The annual average increase in the growth was a fraction over 6½ per cent., embracing the period from about 1830 to 1845. The annual average increase in the consumption was a fraction under 6 per cent. The growth had, therefore, exceeded the consumption down to 1845; but from indications of the gradual diminution of the rate of supply of United States cotton, and the steady, regular increase in the consumption generally, the following conclusions were drawn: 1. That in three years the equilibrium between supply and consumption would be recovered. 2. That in 1845 we had reached the maximum *rate* of production in the United States. Both branches of this prediction were verified. It is unnecessary therefore to ascend further back in our comparison than 1845.

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* A pamphlet Report on Cotton has been issued from the State Department at Washington. We shall have occasion to refer to it, and make some extracts hereafter.—[EDITOR.]

In taking shorter periods for comparison, say 5 years, from 1846 to 1850 inclusive, and 1851–55 inclusive, it will be seen that there has been a decrease in United States cotton, in the former period, compared with 1845, of 9.36 per cent., while there was also a decrease in the total consumption, for the same period, compared with 1845, of 1.31 per cent. There was an increase in the United States supply from 1851–55 as compared with 1845–50 of 32.60; and in the total consumption of 33.48, or compared with 1845 of 20.34 in the supply and 31.73 in the consumption. These results show great differences as longer or shorter periods are taken for comparison, a period of ten years, 1845–55, exhibiting a difference of nearly ten per cent., while one of five years, 1845–50, a decrease in both supply and consumption, the former larger by 8 per cent. than the latter, while in the five years, 1850–55, a near equality between their rates of increase appears. We have given both periods of comparison that readers may form their own conclusions.

2. PROBABLE RATE OF FUTURE SUPPLY AND CONSUMPTION.—We have seen that the average rate of increase of United States cotton between 1845 and 1855 has been 5.55 per cent. per annum, and for the consumption, in the same decennial period, 15.19 per cent. annually; but that for the last five years the United States rate of supply and that of the total consumption have been respectively 32.60 and 33.48. The question naturally arises, can the supply possibly increase in the same ratio as the consumption has augmented within the last four years? The reply must be in the negative. The consumption appears, so far, to have kept pace with the United States crops, in the relative rates of increase, to a remarkable extent, as four heavy crops have successively been made, and the fifth will probably prove the largest ever grown. The effect has not yet been felt, however plainly apparent, of the increased and increasing consumption. The greatest proof of the relative diminution in the ratio of increase in supply, is the fact that notwithstanding the unprecedentedly large crop of the present season, the stocks everywhere, at the end of this season, will most likely be smaller than ever known. Having had for the last five years, this season included, the heaviest crops in the United States ever known, say an annual average increase over the preceding five years of 32 per cent., which enormous increase has been entirely absorbed in the increased consumption, from what source can the additional supply, which will be required, be obtained? The production of this year is in excess of any previous year 300,000 bales. There is every probability of its being entirely consumed, leaving at the end of the year 1855 as reduced a stock every-

where as was ever known in the history of the cotton trade, and that the heavy stock of the end of the season of 1845 has been consumed in spite of five heavy crops.

3. THE CAUSES WHICH FACILITATE OR RETARD CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY.—The interior of Europe is daily enlarging the sphere of cotton consumption. Russia and Germany are requirngi larger supplies. The war has widened the market for British cotton fabrics in the Levant. The people living on the shores of the Danube and Black Sea since the freedom of those seas has been secured, having a vent for their raw products, will become extensive consumers of cotton goods. These circumstances must give a yearly increased stimulus to the consumption of cotton. The causes which temporarily derange the relations of demand and supply, neutralize each other in decennial and sometimes shorter periods. Short crops and high prices, which limit, and excessive supplies, with low prices, which stimulate consumption, cannot countervail in their operation the influence of that general law which regulates and controls the value of an article of such general consumption as cotton. The circle of increase cannot be contracted except in the failure of purchasing power by those who consume textile fabrics, while the producing ability of those who grow this staple finds a boundary in the diminution of labor adapted to its cultivation.

The question of future supply is more complex. Its two great sources are the United States and British India. In the former as regards land, one of the elements of productive power, there is an absence of monoply. The soil is easy of acquisition and transfer; settlement is rapid. It has to sustain few burdens.

In British India land is subject to a fixed tenure. A settlement made 1793 by the Marquis of Cornwallis, then Governor General, was declared to be perpetual. By this settlement the ryot or cultivator was entitled to only one moiety of the produce, the Zeminder or collector of the rent being the nominal proprietor, and paying nine-tenths to the government, receiving the other half. The effect of this arrangement is that the soil is cultivated in a slovenly manner, while the holdings range only from six to twenty-four acres each. There can be little accumulation of capital, therefore, on the land in British India. With the aid of British agricultural skill and capital, its capabilities will no doubt be as fully developed as is compatible with the artificial and obstructive arragements of an old country, inhabited by a semi-barbarous and impoverished people. Still a certain stimulus, of late years, has been given to the cotton culture in India, the produce in cotton having augmented

within the last five years 64 per cent. It remains to be seen whether the incentives will be sufficiently strong to induce the British capitalist to invest so largely in the soil of British India as to add extensively to its productive powers and the supply of cotton.

As relates to another impediment to the largest development of agricultural resources, in the want of good roads, it is thought that within the next five years the whole of British India will be intersected by railroads, bringing its most remote inland districts into communication with its ports of exportation.

With regard to labor, the other important element of productive power, British India has greatly the advantage of the United States, from its density of population. Low wages afford to the cultivator a compensation for the burdens imposed on the land, in the form of an exorbitant rent or tax. Still there is an offset to this advantage in the degradation of the population and the want of material comforts. The scanty remuneration of the laborer leaves little to be expended on clothing after the wants of mere subsistence have been supplied. And it needs no illustration to show, that in the exchange of commercial equivalents between countries a permanent as well as profitable intercourse is best maintained by the consumers of manufactures who have a large instead of a small surplus of raw produce, after the necessaries of life have been secured, in exchange for those manufactures. In other words, that British India can never present, under the most favorable circumstances of improvement, the same facilities to agricultural development and reciprocal interchange of products as have characterized the commerce of the United States with Europe since cotton has formed the principal element of that commerce.

In the United States we will soon have reached the limit to a ready command of labor for the cotton culture. A more expensive outlay gradually encroaches on capital devoted to that culture. The price of field hands has risen nearly 100 per cent. in five years. The ratio of increase in the slave population is lessening. In the decennial periods ending 1830, 1840, and 1850, the annual average of increase was $5\frac{5}{8}$, $4\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. for these periods respectively. We thus see that the causes which limit production have been gradually operating for the last ten years, while consumption has been as progressively enlarging its boundaries, and that while the maximum rate of production has been long since attained, the consumption has no assignable point of limitation, but extends with the expansion of general commerce and the spread of civilization.

We annex the statement made by us in May 31, 1845, of the supply and consumption to that date, for several previous years, for convenient reference.

Statement of the increase in the growth of United States Cotton.

Season.	Ann'l Increase.	Ann'l Average.
1827–28	712,000	
1828–29	858,000	
1829–30	978,000	914,800
1830–31	1,039,000	986,200
1831–32	987,000	1,055,800
1832–33	1,070,000	1,111,000
1833–34	1,205,000	1,175,400
1834–35	1,254,000	1,262,600
1835–36	1,361,000	1,408,800
1836–37	1,423,000	1,440,000
1837–38	1,801,000	1,624,800
1838–39	1,361,000	1,676,600
1839–40	2,178,000	1,728,000
1840–41	1,620,000	1,844,520
1841–42	1,684,000	1,978,400
1842–43	2,379,000	2,107,000
1843–44	2,030,400	2,244,000

The annual average increase is equal to a very small fraction over 6½ per cent. down to 1843–44.

Consumption in Europe and the United States.

Season.	Annual Increase.	Annual Average.
1828	829,000	
1829	877,000	
1830	880,000	932,800
1831	1,016,000	985,000
1832	1,062,000	1,050,200
1833	1,090,000	1,125,000
1834	1,203,000	1,190,400
1835	1,254,000	1,254,800
1836	1,343,000	1,364,400
1837	1,384,600	1,400,000
1838	1,638,000	1,528,000
1839	1,381,000	1,595,600
1840	1,894,000	1,670,000
1841	1,681,000	1,745,200
1842	1,756,000	1,867,000
1843	2,014,400	1,989,000
1844	1,990,000	2,109,000

The annual average increase is a small fraction under 6 per cent.

CHARLESTON, JUNE 14, 1856.

SLAVERY IN CHINA.

The following appeared in the National Era, May 8, 1856:

To trace the history of Slavery in the Chinese Empire, where it has existed from a very early period, would be a tedious and unprofitable undertaking, and it will be sufficient to state a few facts which are gleaned from the few sources to which we may look for information on this subject.

The word *nu* (slave) is traced back twelve centuries B. C. The first slaves were prisoners taken in war, and next persons sold by their parents who had been reduced to poverty by wasting wars. About two hundred years before Christ, slavery was legalized. Under the Han dynasty, rebels and criminals were made slaves to the State, and the Emperor Kingti (168 B. C.) condemned the inhabitants of seven revolted provinces to this condition. Under the Tang dynasty, (A. D. 620,) rebels and their families were sentenced to be slaves of the State. Under the Sung (A. D. 1000) and following dynasties, prisoners were transported to Tartary, and the Government ceased to maintain slaves within its borders.

At various times, great numbers have been set free by Imperial decrees, and distributed to thinly inhabited provinces.

Under the present, called the "Tai Tsing," or eminently pure dynasty, rebels are beheaded, and their families given to officers for slaves. Although slavery is not named in the existing laws as a punishment, yet those transported to Tartary are condemned to hard labor in iron and salt mines, which is worse than ancient slavery.

The great majority of persons now in servitude is composed of those who have sold themselves, or have been sold by their parents on account of poverty and want. All the causes which in peace or war can bring persons to destitution are constantly operating on multitudes of this densely crowded population, and children are sold daily, although the law forbids free persons to be sold, even with their own consent.

The laws of the present dynasty on slavery are rigid, as an abstract of them will show:

"Every slave who purposely strikes his master shall be beheaded, without distinction in this crime of principal or accomplices. All slaves designedly killing or striking with a design to kill their masters, shall suffer death by a slow and painful execution. All slaves who accidentally kill their masters shall be strangled, after having been imprisoned the usual time. Every slave who shall accidentally wound his master, shall suffer one hundred blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of three thousand li, (1,000 miles,) and they cannot redeem themselves from punishment by the payment of a fine, as the law allows in ordinary cases." Sec. 314.

"A slave striking a freeman, shall, proportionally to the consequences, be punished one degree more severely than is by law provided in similar cases between equals. If the blow produces entire disability and incurable infirmity, the offender shall be strangled. If death ensues, the offender shall be beheaded." Sec. 313.

"A slave soliciting and obtaining the daughter of a freeman in marriage, shall be punished with eighty blows, and, if the master of the slave consents thereto, he shall suffer punishment less by two degrees. * * * The marriage shall be null and void, and the parties replaced in the ranks they had respectively held in the community." Sec. 115.

"A slave guilty of addressing abusive language to his master shall suffer death, by being strangled at the usual period." Sec. 327.

"The slaves of any family, accusing, whether truly or falsely, the master thereof, or any of his relations within four degrees, shall be punished with one hundred blows, and three years banishment, if the accusation is true, and shall be strangled if false." Sec. 337.

The above laws are sufficiently severe to make a part of any "black code," but it is to be remarked that in the matter of justice they contain full as much as the majority of the laws which apply to the whole population of the Empire.

There are a few clauses which are designed to protect the slave:

"If, in the case of a slave having been guilty of theft, adultery, or any other similar crime, his master or some of his nearest relations privately beat to death such slave, instead of complaining to a magistrate, the person who so offends shall be punished with one hundred blows." Sec. 314.

The same section provides, that if a slave, not guilty of crime, is beat to death, "the wife or husband, as well as the children of such deceased slave, shall be thereupon entitled to their freedom."

Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are perhaps seldom executed, and those who are in servitude enjoy as much immunity from oppression as others in the lower ranks. In ordinary times, it is those from whom money can be extorted that suffer from the zeal of officers to execute the laws.

Since master and slave are both of the same race, there is no line of separation, as in the case of African slavery, and the slave is received into the family, faring as other members.

The price of labor is reduced so much by competition, that it is in most cases unprofitable to keep slaves; and it is doubtless true, that comparatively few persons are kept in servitude for the sake of their labor. The buying and selling of persons is a very common transaction, but for other purposes than reducing them to slavery. Parents sell their children generally to get rid of the expenses and burden of raising them.

Boys are bought by persons who have no male offspring, and become in reality adopted sons; for it is exceedingly important that every man shall have a son to worship at his tomb.

Female children are bought to be educated for concubines, and sold as such when they arrive at a suitable age. Young and attractive girls often bring several hundred dollars; and it is likely that this species of barter in human beings is the most common. It is not always the case that the girl is sold against her will; for the man, having no choice about his first or principal wife, often chooses a second wife, or concubine, for whom he has a real affection; and although she is subordinate and subject to the first wife, yet the children of both are equal in the eye of the law.

COTTON SEED OIL, AND OTHER PRODUCTIONS OF THE REFUSE OF THE COTTON PLANT.

In an article, which we published in our paper last fall, we stated that the manufacture of oil from cotton seed had been commenced by the proprietors of one of our oil mills. The business is being carried on very successfully, and the oil is coming into general use.

Edgar Conkling, of Cincinnati, has now in operation a series of successful experiments, not only in reference to a new and simple mode of extracting the oil in its pure state from cotton seed, but as regards the application of the residue of the seed, after the oil is extracted, to other important and useful purposes. The matter is fraught with importance, and if Mr. Conkling's theory, contained in the following communication which we find in the New Orleans *Picayune*, be correct, and of which we can have but little doubt, we hope it will be fully developed in this city. We have the men and the capital to do it, if it can be done, beyond a doubt, says the Cincinnati Price Current.

Mr. Conkling says: "I am satisfied that the value of cotton seed fibre; of oil that may be made from the seed for burning, lubricating and perhaps painting, and for soaps of the refuse cake for distilling, feeding cattle and hogs, manure, and even for gas, is equal in value annually to that of the cotton crop. It is a subject I have given a good deal of attention to. Soap may be made directly from the seed by boiling it in the alkalies; oils may be extracted in a pure state, with a full yield and free of coloring matter, without the costly method of compression; and when extracted the seed may be distilled, as it has the essential properties, containing 11 per cent. of grape sugar, thus displacing so much grain of use for food. The railroad office of this city lights its office from gas made from cotton seed *cake*. The seed itself is richer for the purpose.

"No one item of residue, going to waste in this country, will compare in utility and value to cotton seed; and, with a little attention on the part of those interested and capable of appreciating it, the South in a few years may reap fifty millions annually of nett receipts from working it up. A recent number of the 'Scientific American' says that when cotton sold for six cents per pound, a large amount of it was used for making paper. The waste cotton fibre is equally as good for this purpose, and can be secured by the use of machinery, as supported by me in the May number of the 'Tennessee Farmer and Mechanic.' In paper, oils, and soap, the South can thus beat the world in quality and value, if it choose."

The *Picayune* appends some remarks, as follows:

Our readers are already aware that a company has been established in this city for the purpose of manufacturing rope and yarn from the fibres of the bark of the cotton plant. The terms of the charter of the manufacturing company leaves it open to them to devote their attention to other branches of manufacture also; and it would appear peculiarly fitting that they should enter upon such as may spring from sources so closely allied to—nay to a certain extent identical with—that to which they have particularly resolved on attending. We would therefore invite their attention to the enormous revenue which it is alleged upon apparently conclusive grounds, may be netted from produce of the cotton plant at present thrown away as refuse.

The seed, produces, as Mr. Conkling says, one of the most valuable oils, both for illuminating and lubricating purposes, ranking in both respects equal to sperm oil. The proportion it yields is said to be 30 per cent., and the 70 per cent. residue is all good oil cake. The total quantity of seed being 2,239,800,000 pounds, the oil produced would amount to 671,940,000 pounds, the oil cake to 1,567,860,000 pounds. Estimating the value per pound of the oil to be not more than that of the cheapest grease, it would be worth $67,194,000; and valuing the cake at one-half the rate at which other oil cake sells, that would be worth $7,839,300.

Here, then, estimating values at extravagantly low rates, we have a revenue of $135,000,000 literally being thrown away yearly. Allow that one-half of it—a preposterously large proportion—should be swallowed up in the course of manufacture, and still there would be sixty-five millions and a half left for net profit.

The Manufacturing Company have already directed their attention to yet another product of the cotton plant, as we commenced by remarking; but it appears that this, too, is extremely valuable for paper making purposes, as well as for those to which they appear more particularly intending to direct it. We would invite their attention, as well as that of our readers generally, to the subjoined remarks from the New York Day Book, on this point.

Specimens of the bark stripped from cotton stalks have been exhibited to paper manufacturers at the North, and were considered equal to good rags worth six cents per pound, or about $120 per ton, and were pronounced the best substitute for rags of any raw vegetable material known to the trade.

The magnitude of the paper business may be conceived when we take into consideration that there are 750 paper mills in the United States, employing 3,000 engines, and

which produce annually at 10 cents per pound, $27,000,000 worth of paper. To manufacture this amount of paper requires 405,000,000 pounds of rags, 1¼ pound of rags being necessary to produce 1 pound of paper. The value of the rags at the average of 4 cents per pound, amounts to $16,000,000, to which, if the cost of making them into paper, including 1¾ cents to each pound of paper in labor, with wastage, chemicals, &c., be added, would swell the cost to $23,625,000 to produce $27,000,000 of paper, leaving net profits on the total manufacture of $3,375,000. For the year ending the 30th June, 1855, we imported 400,003,516 pounds of foreign rags, from twenty-six different countries. Of this amount Tuscany, in Italy, supplied 14,000,000 pounds. Two Sicilys 6,000,000, Austria 4,000,000, Egypt 2,446,928, Turkey 2,466,928, England 2,591,178. The total value of the 400,003,516 pounds imported was $1,225,150. The manufacture of paper has outstripped the supply of materials, and rope cuttings, hemp waste, and other articles have been resorted to, but the supplies of all have been insufficient to meet the demand, and prices have been steadily on the advance. It is possible that the cotton fields of the South may supply an almost inexhaustable supply of hemp, so that hereafter we shall reach the great desideratum in modern civilization, an abundant and cheap supply of paper.

THE MESSILLA VALLEY.

VAST MINERAL WEALTH OF THE GADSDEN PURCHASE.

A late number of the Alta California contains some interesting facts with regard to the mineral wealth of the "Gadsden Purchase." Speaking of the first American expedition into that country, that paper says:

"This party arrived at their place of destination and discovered among other valuable mines, the copper one, now known as the Arizona, situated about thirty miles south of the Gila river and twenty-five north of the new boundary line between the United States and Mexico. The mine was formally claimed, and the news of the discovery sent back to this city, where a joint stock company, with a stock capital of $560,000 was formed under the laws of 1855. A working capital was easily raised, and since that time the work has silently but steadily progressed. Specimens of copper, in every respect similar to that of Lake Superior, were brought to this city last year, which had been chisseled or sawed off from the vein. According to the representations of Mr. M. R. Sackett, with whom we conversed last year, this mine is one of the richest in the world.

Provisions are obtained at Fort Yuba and Sonora, for the encampment at the mine. The steamer Colorado is now plying on the river. It is designed to ship the copper by her, or by sailing vessels, to the Gulf of California, where it can be shipped by sea-going vessels for Europe.

We were, on Thursday, requested to examine some further specimens from the mine, which is now called the "Arizone Mine." They are fully equal to the best shown last year. Ten tons of this ore are now in this city. The cost per ton of landing the ore at this port is estimated in round numbers to be $100. It is claimed to be worth from $350 to $400 per ton here and more in England, where it can be shipped as ballast in homeward bound vessels. The ore contains a considerable proportion of silver.

While on this subject we would refer to numerous other evidences of wealth discovered in that supposed valueless section, the Gadsden Purchase, as well as other sections of Spanish America. An ancient silver mine known as La Mina de Plancha de Plata has been lately examined by the Americans. A native Indian is said to have discovered large amounts of virgin silver there. But as yet the hostile tribes forbid its being worked. Copper and silver mines are by no means rare throughout Spanish America. Recent explorations have proved that the whole of Central America bound in them. In Tegucigalpa, in the State of Honduras, are found silver mines as rich as those of Cearo Pasco, or Tsingal. On the Atlantic slope of Olancho the hills disclose evidence of silver in many localities, and not ten Spanish leagues from the Bay of Fonseca, are the Castellaua silver mines, from which untold wealth has been extracted in the last century, which still enriches every branch of the family to which it belongs.

MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

We give below a brief enumeration of some of those mineral and other treasures which constitute the peculiar wealth of Virginia, and which, whatever temporary depression she may suffer from a combination of adverse circumstances, will ultimately raise her to the position of prosperity and influence which she deserves to occupy.

Iron Ore.—There are many deposits of *Iron Ore* in Virginia, from which refined and hammered iron can be made, which will *rival the best productions of Russia and Sweden.* Besides the immense deposits in other parts of the State, almost every variety of iron ore, and inexaustible mines of coal are found in

Southwestern Virginia in close connection with each other. Of the immense number of guns manufactured by Mr. Anderson at the Tredegar Iron works not one has ever burst, in the severe trials to which they have been subjected. We doubt whether as much can be said of any other establishment of the kind in the United States.

GOLD, COAL, AND COPPER.—These may be found in abundance east of the Blue Ridge. Patrick county alone could furnish the whole Union with copper. Besides the coal of the east and southeast, the Kanawha region possesses an inexhaustible supply. In Kanawha, there is an enormous vein of Cannel coal, the most beautiful and valuable of all coal.

LEAD AND PLUMBAGO.—The *Lead* of Virginia is abundant and of the finest quality. *Plumbago* has also been found in several places east of the Blue Ridge, part of which is of very superior character and can be placed in market at a small expense for export and home manufacture.

SALT.—There are immense *Salt* regions in Kanawha, and in southwestern Virginia inexhaustible stores of this valuable mineral. The salt water found in Washington county, is stronger than that of any other country. *Fossil Salt*, the largest, if not the only deposit of the kind discovered in the United States, is found near the Salt hills, and has been bored into from 50 to 100 feet, without going through it.

PLASTER OF PARIS.—*Plaster of Paris*, of the purest kind exists in great abundance in connexion with the fossil salt, and extending in immense quantities and almost forming mountains, for a distance of twenty or thirty miles.

PORCELAIN CLAY.—An intelligent gentleman of this city informs us that there is as fine *Porcelain Clay* as any in France, near Farmville, and in other sections of Virginia.

GRANITE.—The *Granite* of Richmond is equal in quality and beauty to any in the United States.

LIMESTONE, FIRESTONE, FIRE-CLAY.—In the same region *Limestone* of the purest quality also abounds. There are also great quantities of "Fire Stone" and "Fire-clay" on James river and near Richmond.

MARBLE AND SOAPSTONE.—These may be found in any quantity in Buckingham, Amherst, Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and other counties. They are of good quality and in great variety.

WATER LIME.—*Water Lime, or Cement*, is found on the James River Canal, in Stockbridge county, of very superior quality, having been tested by competent judges, and found to be *decidedly superior to the best English*, and to the Rosendale

and other kinds from New York, New Jersey, and other States, and can be afforded for *less than half the price demanded for the best Northern article.*

THE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS AND ASPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The greatest phenomenon of the last half century is commercial progress; in its magnitude, its machinery, and its results. The greatest exhibition of that progress is in the United States. This might have been anticipated in some degree, from the extent of the country; its entire freshness; the immense amount of its inland navigation; the rapidity of its colonization, and the entire freedom of its institutions. These invited the enterprising spirits of Europe; gave reward to labor and skill, security to property; and freedom to personal achievements. Much, therefore, might have been expected of both growth and commercial progress. But, we doubt whether any, certainly not more than a very few of the people, who are living in the sun-light of American prosperity, fully realize the great and wonderful progress which their country has made in commercial grandeur. In order to realize this fact, so dominant in our history, we shall set before the reader some steps in that progress, which will set it forth briefly and pointedly. We shall commence with a brief view of the Navigating Interests, which in the progress of commerce are the first in time. We have a return of the actual tonnage of the United States, which we condense into decennial periods thus—giving the tonnage of each period:

Period.	*Average tonnage.*
1816 to 1825, inclusive.....	1,360,000 tons.
1825 to 1835, inclusive.....	1,534,000 "
1835 to 1845, inclusive.....	2,112,000 "
1845 to 1855, inclusive.....	3,650,000 "
From 1815–'25 to 1825–'35, increase, 13 per cent.	
From 1825–'35 to 1835–'45, " 36 " "	
From 1835–'45 to 1845–'55, " 74 " "	
In the year 1815 the commercial tonnage was	1,368,000 tons.
In the year 1835 " "	5,212,000 "
Increase, " " "	300 per cent.

The increase of population in that time was 200 per cent. The growth of navigation is, therefore, much the greater.

In the year 1835, the aggregate tonnage of the United States was actually greater than that of Great Britain. We have mentioned that to persons who looked utterly incredulous, supposing it to be merely one of those boasts, for which Americans are supposed to have some gift. Such, however, is the

simple fact, and in the future the navigation of the United States, must, from the more rapid growth of the nation, and its immense coasts and streams, sweep far ahead of Great Britain, and of all other powers—unitedly the Anglo-Saxon race command every ocean, sea and outlet on the globe. Should the time ever come when it is necessary for that race to unite in a common defence of common interests, they can drive every ship of every other nation from the face of the waters.

Were all Europe and Asia combined against England and the United States united, they would be but one vast prison house, cast off from all commerce with each other, and shut up to the resources only of their own countries. As it is, the United States is now commercially dominant in the aggregate, but probably not so in regard to the ocean exclusively—certainly not as to military armaments. But, what is an armed marine on the ocean? Of what is it composed? Simply of the materials which the commercial marine furnishes. Give the United States a year of time, and we can have a hundred ships of the line afloat. In the war of 1812, we built some of the vessels of Perry's fleet in six weeks, and we can do it again. It is the commercial marine which makes the water defence of a country, and the nation which does not breed up its sailors in such a nursery and enure them to all climates and all hardships, can have no military marine.

In order to see in what manner our seamen are trained, let us examine the place of their employment.

Whale fisheries	186,844 tons.
Cod fishery	102,927 "
Mackerel fishery	21,624 "
Steam navigation	770,225 "
Coasting trade	2,491,109 "
Foreign trade	1,644,101 "

The coasting trade, like the fisheries, is the very best school for seamen. It is on the coast where the greatest dangers of all sorts lie, and it is a knowledge of our coast, especially, which is needed.

In order to present the rapid growth of navigation in another striking light, we make the following contrast between the vessels built in 1845 and those built in 1855, viz:

Built in 1845, 1038 vessels; 146,018 tons.
Built in 1855, 2034 vessels; 583,450 tons.

In the last ten years then, the number of vessels built increased 100 per cent., and the tonnage 300 per cent. The average tonnage of each vessel, in 1845, was 146 tons; but the average tonnage 1855 was 291 tons. This, of itself, marks a

great advance in ship-building. It shows what an advance in the magnitude of vessels has been brought about by the introduction of the great packet lines, the ocean steamers and the river steam-packets. This advance in magnitude marks likewise a great improvement in the accommodations of vessels and the facilities for commerce.

Let us us now pass from navigation generally to internal locomotion. Here, in half a century, we have the introduction of these powerful elements to commerce—the steamboat and the railroad. Just glance, in a line or two, at what was and what is, in this respect, at the extremes of a half century.

	1805.	1855.
Steamboats,.....	none	1,750
Steam tonnage,.....	none	780,000 tons.
Railroads,.....	none	22,000 miles.
Passengers,.....	none	50,000,000 No.
Canals,.....	none	2,400 miles.

Such a glance as this, exhibits at once how the commerce of the United States has grown up by the development of its internal trade. Here is a vast creation, exceeding in magnitude that of any portion of the earth, of canals, railroads, and steamboats, brought into being by the energy of this young but thriving nation. When Peter the Great laid the foundations and built the city of St. Petersburg on the marshes of the Neva, it was the wonder of the next century. It was regarded as the very highest exhibition of genius and grandeur. But, St. Petersburgs arise in our country like the mushrooms of the night. So truly is this the case, that they call us a "mushroom people." But what of that? We are mushrooms of a hardy growth; from whose lofty branches we look down upon the tallest oaks of the old world. In this very business of railroads and steamboats, we are beyond Great Britian, beyond France, beyond all the nations of Continental Europe combined.

As we behold the waves of this mighty progress rising up, over land and over ocean; as we behold it sweeping over the globe, carrying the might of power, the civilization of commerce, the colonization of freedom, the spirit of christianity, free, tolerant, and yet conquering, we behold the greatest triumph which patriot or sage could ever have predicted for our country. And what are the signs of the times? Can this commercial progress be arrested? And if not, can freedom, civilization, Christianity, be arrested? Can this Anglo-American, who sends his Bible to the Turk, his ship to every island, and unfurls his flag to the battle and the breeze, be arrested in his career? Never! Then let the nations hope and wait. *Cincinnati Gazette.*

THEORIES OF TAXATION—DIRECT AND INDIRECT.*

Of all the subjects that political economy has been called upon to discuss, there cannot be found one more recondite and perplexed than "taxation." Enter upon its consideration in whatever light and the same difficulties and embarrassments are presented; difficulties which not even the powerful analysis and experience of the first intellects have been enabled to remove. The profound investigations of statesmen with reference to the imposition and ultimate incidence of taxes, have indicated yet nothing so clearly as the difficulty that attends each step of the investigation, warring as their conclusions ever have, and presenting not even upon minor points that harmony and agreement which is so much to be desired. One cause of the difficulty, and perhaps an influential one, may be the peculiar odium which it has been the fate of taxation to meet with from the people—an odium which increases in a ten fold ratio to the extent of the taxation. The loss of the amount abstracted from the purse to be transfered to the coffers of Government, is more clearly appreciable, and calculated to excite more vivid emotions, than the privileges and immunities which in consideration government is enabled to confer. This, however, is but one of the lesser difficulties, whilst the great source of argumentation is the subject matter and *esse* of the thing.

There are, fortunately, in this region of doubt and incertitude, certain elementary and fundamental principles, which are pretty generally and clearly understood, and which have been assented to by the enlightened of every political school—principles that ought rather to be placed among the axioms than the demonstrable theorems of political science.

First. That taxation is an evil whenever it exceeds that limit which is consistent with a due regard to the interests for the encouragement and defence of which governments were instituted, or more emphatically in the language of Thomas Jefferson, "Taxes as much as are necessary and no more, as long as is necessary and no longer."

Second. "That every tax" in the words of Adam Smith, "ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State."

Third. That in the imposition of a tax all possible inconvenience should be be guarded against, and that all classes in

* From an old portfolio we drag to light this paper. It was prepared by the Editor whilst yet a college student, scarcely out of the leading strings of his *minority*. There are many views and positions taken which a more matured experience is very far from rejecting, and it is therefore published without change.

the community should be held on terms of the most perfect equality.

The question then for consideration, on a view of the whole subject, is naturally enough suggested by these political axioms. Does the direct or the indirect system appear to be the best calculated to ensure and perpetuate those advantages, which, for distinction sake, we have styled the fundamental principles of equitable taxation, economy, equal incidence and convenience.

If on this subject, as in law, prescription were a good plea as to right, the question would be relieved of all perplexity and definitely settled, for most assuredly indirect taxation has been the peculiar favorite of government time out of mind. We find it in the earliest commercial nations. At Athens, says Cleaveland, (Antiquities, 54,) no taxes were levied upon citizens, but all upon property, and these with the exception of a slight poll tax upon slaves, were indirect, for direct taxes were extremely odious to that people so jealous of their liberty. Indeed, the etymology of the word "customs," is itself sufficient to establish the antiquity of the tax, for Sir Edward Coke, in 2d Institutes, 58 shows that *custuma*, and *consuetudines*, were indiscriminately applied in the old law Latin to this branch of the revenue, as if it were founded on immemorial usage in England.

But we anticipate. Few will be inclined for such a reason to conclude, *a priori*, in favor of direct taxation, and deprecate all innovation as inimical to the interests of man. As well might a Copernicus, or a Gallileo, have yielded their own opinions to the theories of Hipparchus or Ptolomy; as well the disciple of Bacon consign to the flames the volumes of his master to light him as he grapples with the mysteries of Aristotle, and the ponderous nonsence of his expounders, the schoolmen; as well the philosopher claim prescription in favor of heathenism against the light of the Bible.

The first remark that we make, is, that the universal popularity of the system with government is so far from being in itself an argument in its favor, that it ought rather solemnly to admonish every inquirer after truth to pause and examine with circumspection the whole subject; for why, with great propriety it may be asked, has it been favored with this peculiar mark of estimation? Because it has been found most productive of the national interest? This will hardly be maintained when one reflects at how late a day the interests of the sovereign and people were acknowledged to be identical, and how little those interests have been observed and guarded by the "powers that be." The true reason seems to be that indirect taxation offers facilities of amassing wealth for the pur-

poses of the State much more considerable than could ever be obtained directly from the public purse. Its operation is silent and unperceived; the people feel, but they are incompetent to trace the evil to its source, and thus withdrawn from the public eye, the virulence of its operation increases in a geometrical ratio, and baffles all attempts to attack and expose its enormity. "And these are the duties" says an English Commentator, "felt least by the people, and if prudently managed the people hardly consider that they pay them at all. For the merchant is easy, being sensible that he does not pay them for himself, and the consumer who really pays them confounds them with the price of the commodity." And not seldom we find an instance in Roman history of this very natural error of the consumer. According to Tacitus, Nero gained the reputation of having abolished the tax on the sale of slaves by removing it from the shoulders of the buyer and imposing it upon the seller, so that, as he expresses it, it was *remissum magis specie quam vi; quid cum venditor pendere juberenter, en partem pretii emptoribus accrescebat.* Take the case of England as an example, a nation with the most complex and artificial system of taxation on the face of the globe, and which has been pointed out by the advocates of crippled commerce and high tariffs—England, where the utmost extremity of wretchedness and want is coupled with the magnificence of King, Court, and Aristocracy. Let this great but crippled nation reverse her measures, and extract directly from the people's purse those enormous amounts which she raises by her arbitrary restrictions to squander in luxury and wantonness of power, a new era in her political existence will be ushered in, and her bloated system of fraud and injustice be swept away in a revolution which will shake the kingdom to its centre, and establish upon its ruins that system of economy and equality which the public welfare so loudly demands. Even now the rumblings of revolution are heard throughout that mighty empire, and the ministry are admonished to take heed, lest the limits of forbearance are passed. Who will pretend that England could maintain her present establishment and supremacy—a supremacy which is paid for in the misery of the lower classes—were every species of indirect exaction abolished? As far back as 1775, Dr. Smith asserted that 8 millions of her population paid £10,000,000 to the support of the Government, or $50,000,000, twice the sum that double the number of inhabitants in the United States contribute for the same purpose, even with our own imperfect system. How much more grinding her extortion at the present day may be inferred from the enormous national debt of near £1,000,000,000 which has accumulated, and the extravagant and unprofitable empire

she maintains in the East. In the United States, from 1815 to 1829 inclusive, according to Condy Raguet, $315,000,000 were raised alone on import duties, an average of $21,000,000 per year, and that too at a time when General McDuffie asserted in the House of Representatives, that he would suppose $8,000,000 to be an ample revenue from the customs for an economical administration. How far such a reckless system, and which received the title, in the warm language of that period, of being "born in sin, and nurtured in iniquity," would have been carried, it is difficult to say, had it not been arrested by the vigilance of the South, and deprived of its venom by the compromise. With how great difficulty the work was accomplished will be remembered, when we revert to the unflinching opposition with which those who were really the injured were ready to meet the opponents of that which was so speciously glossed over and disguised under the misnomer—"the American system."

Here, then, at first sight is the great objection to every system of taxation of the genus indirect; and the more seriously and profoundly we meditate upon it, of more magnitude will it appear. But to duties upon imports in particular there are other objections, which if less evident, can by no means be thought unworthy of note. These we design to consider in a hurried manner, and then revert to such advantages as have been thought to grow out of them.

And first, we may state in general terms, that the mode of collecting these taxes is by far the most expensive, thus offending against one of the principles which we have laid down as fundamental in the science. The great army of custom-house officers, collectors, inspectors, clerks, tide-waiters, the expensive structures that are erected, the revenue cutters maintained, all swell the amount which is taken out of the hands of the people vastly beyond that which ever gets into the hands of the Government. Sir John Sinclair computed the expense of collecting the English customs at 10⅝ per cent., the excise 5½ per cent., and the land tax 3 per cent., (1 Chitty's Black., 318, note,) and Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, p. 430,) remarks "that if the salaries of officers and other incidents therefore, amount to more than ten per cent. (which is his computation) upon the net revenues of the customs, the whole expense of levying that revenue may amount in salaries and perquisites together, to more than 20 or 30 per cent." But in the second place, it is a discouragement to certain branches of industry, for though, says the same profound writer on political science, a rise of price in a foreign commodity in consequence of a tariff may encourage domestic industry in one particular branch, it necessarily discourages

that industry in almost every other. To this is to be added the inconvenience endured by those who are compelled to abstain from the enjoyment of particular commodities, in consequence of their enhanced value under the action of a tariff, amounting almost to prohibition. A third evil is the new crime of smuggling, which has been introduced into the statute book; but upon this subject we will permit the great Commentator upon the laws of England to speak: "These imposts, if too heavy, are a cramp upon trade, and especially when the value of a commodity bears litttle or no proportion to the quantity of the duty imposed." This in consequence gives rise also to smuggling, which then becomes a very lucrative employment, and its natural and most reasonable punishment, viz: confiscation of the commodity is in such cases quite ineffectual, the intrinsic value of the goods being very inconsiderable when compared with his prospect of advantage in evading the duty. Resource therefore must be had to extraordinary punishments to prevent it, perhaps even to capital ones, which destroy all proportion of guilt, and puts murderers upon an equal footing with those who are really guilty of no natural, but merely a positive offence. This objection however has lost much of its force in modern times, and more especially in our country, but not so much as to render it by any means insignificant.

There is a fourth, and perhaps greater objection, and it is this, that it strikes a fatal blow at trade, preventing that free and unrestricted commerce between nations which the enlightenment of modern days has demonstrated to be productive of their mutual advantage, and tending constantly to give larger and larger protection, as it is miscalled by a class of our politicians, to domestic manufactures of particular descriptions. This objection deserves a more deliberate consideration.

Free trade has been proposed by every political economist since the time of Smith, as the great desideratum in every system of legislation; its tendency is to expand the human mind, and introduce a higher standard of cultivation, and to destroy at one swoop those anti-philanthropic and anti-christian doctrines which have so long prevailed, and into which even Voltaire is said to have fallen: "that the gain of one nation can only be at the expense of another." Its first, and most instructive lesson to nations, would be to ponder well before they exchanged the blessings of peace for the horrors of war, since every one nation is necessary to every other, and no permanent injury can be inflicted upon one which will not ultimately be felt by all. With respect to "*protection*," that memorable word in our history which we have denounced as an evil of the tariff system, but little need here be said. However

involved in doubt and mystery the whole subject of its application to home industry might have been in former times, the able and lucid expositions which the whole subject received during the times which tried mens' souls in South Carolina, has probably convinced every thinking and unprejudiced mind of the gross injury which it proposes to inflict upon the whole country, for the benefit of a small section, and that benefit, too, of the most uncertain and questionable nature; but upon this point every thing like argument or illustration would be a work of supererogation at this late day.

Having considered primarily the evils of the indirect system, and incidently those which accrue from an import tariff of duties, it will be next in order to advert to that which has been called its counterbalancing advantage, by those who have been so little *ultra* in their opinions as to admit the existence of its evils. And first, it is said that "a tariff on imports has the advantage of simplicity; that the consumers, or the people, contribute their quota of governmental support with the least possible inconvenience, and that such a tax being obscure in its operation, is the more readily acquiesced in, no individual being called upon by the tax collector at the very moment when he is least able to pay, since it is at the option of every one, whether he will buy the articles taxed or not, or in other words, whether he will or will not contribute to the support of government; specious reasoning forsooth, and given too by men who maintain a grave and serious countenance, all the while, admirably calculated to make an impression upon the minds of those for whom nature has fashioned no other logic but the *dicta* of their leaders, and who ever contending with the superficies of a subject, care but little to extend their researches beneath. Now if there was indeed any weight in the argument to honor it with the title, it could only be, we may safely pronounce, when the utmost possible economy was of necessity exercised by government; but when has this period ever been, or when is it likely to be? But so far from there being weight in the argument, it would be the easiest possible task to exhibit the fallacy and absurdity of its leading features, and establish that although there be some slight advantage accruing derivable somewhere, that advantage would be but dearly purchased, when we consider the constant tendency to an extravagant disposition of the public wealth, and the facilities which such taxes afford for that purpose.

It has been urged again, that under any other system there would be constant revolution, that dissatisfaction and complaints would ever be rife among the people, that tumults, such as existed on similar questions in ancient Rome would follow, and a revenue sufficient even for the most economical admin-

best suited to their respective tastes and interests, without being subjected to or affected by a comparison with each other. But far different is the case, for while they are two distinct people, in fact, they are made one and the same politically, while their local habits and policies are as different as laws and customs can make them, they are required to conform to the same general laws; and while each has, and exercises the perfect right of enacting and enforcing such laws as they may deem best suited to their local condition, without the consent of the other, they must both conform to the same foreign policy; in view therefore of this peculiar political relationship that exists between the North and the South, this difference of progress and general prosperity becomes a very grave matter. A comparison between the two sections is inevitable, and to the casual observer it will be attributed almost certainly to their local, instead of the general policy. The Northern people institute this comparison every day, and as often point to the local institutions of the South as the cause of the difference; indeed so repeated has been this allegation that many of the Southern people have been almost, if not quite, persuaded of its truth.

Now I admit, with all frankness and candor, that the non-slave-holding States are in all or nearly all the great industrial pursuits of the age greatly in advance of the slave-holding States; but I must, with the same frankness and candor, deny the allegation that the cause is to be found in the local laws, customs, or institutions of either; but that they are to be traced, unerringly to the Constitution, laws, and policy of the General Government. Am I asked to point them out? I do so by referring to one only; there may be others, and no doubt are, but the clause in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and policy made conformable thereto, prohibiting the African slave-trade in the year 1808, is to my mind so manifestly the immediate and great cause, that I will content myself with a few reflections in regard to it.

It is an undeniable truth, that labor is at the foundation of all wealth, and hence it is that when a country has sufficient capital and intelligence to direct it, (as ours has,) its scarcity or abundance will mark with perfect certainty the progress and improvements of that country; for instance, if A has one hundred laborers, and B has but fifty, it is needless to say that A can occupy more territory, cultivate more ground, and make more money than B can; that he can do so is too plain for argument.

Well, this is just the case with the North and the South; the North has two laborers to where the South has but one,

and hence it is just as plain, as in the case of A and B, that the North can occupy more territory, do more work, make more improvements, and accumulate more wealth than the South can possibly do; and this must continue to be the case as long as the South is subjected to this constitutional restriction. The North has chosen to hire her laborers for a stated period, and to pay a given per diem price; and she is not required by the Constitution and laws of the General Government to confine herself to native laborers, but she has the right to hire this labor wherever she can obtain it on the best terms; indeed the General Government rather encourages her in the importation of foreign laborers, and it is to this foreign cheap labor that she is indebted for her rapid growth and prosperity. It has built her towns and cities, her railroads and canals, opened her quarries and her coal mines; in a word, has done, and is doing everything for her.

Go there, and see who it is that handles the spade, the shovel, and the hoe—see who it is that is carrying brick and mortar to the 6th and 7th stories of those innumerable and elegant edifices that are being reared up every where from Boston to Minnesota. Is it the yankee? no! it is foreigner; and but for the foreigner, the North to-day would have been behind the South in these improvements. The South has chosen to make a different contract with her laborers; instead of hiring for per diem wages, she saw proper to buy it; and while she had free access to the markets of the world, where it could be had in its needed abundance, her progress, in everything pertaining to advancement and civilization, was not only equal, but in many respects greatly in advance of her neighbor the North. But since the year 1808, when this prohibition went into effect, she has had to depend entirely upon native born labor, all accessions from abroad have been denied her, and ever since then she has been gradually losing her position in this great race for empire; and who dare say that the cause is not to be found in the General Government; now if they were two independent nations, this invidious comparison would loose its effect. Like two separate families, one might be all the time striving to increase its fortune, the other might say, I am rich enough, I will take my ease; and it would be nobody's business as long as they were both able take care of themselves. But the relationship that exists between these parties, forbids this quiet on the part of either. The occupation and settlement of new States and a controling influence over the policy of the General Government are prizes—a crown for which the parties must contend; which ever secures most of the former will be preminent in the latter, and the other must fly, or submit

to change the whole organism of its society, and therefore cease to exist. With the continuance of this restriction, a blind man might see who is to wear the crown.

The Kansas-Nebraska act, recently put forth as the law of the land, plainly and unequivocally recognizes the North and the South as two distinct people, as they really are in all their interests and feelings, and hoists this glittering crown prominently before the eyes of the contending parties. In this law, the General Government practically says to these parties, "now, gentlemen, both of you already have a large number of well improved plantations, to which you have undisputed titles; I have still quite a large number more, not improved, which I hold in my own right, and which are now open for settlement and occupation, you can both send to these farms such spare laborers as you may have, and, for the present, I will extend my equal protection to both of you; and, by and by, I will come along, and to which ever of you shall have the greatest number of hands on any of these farms, shall receive my titles to the same." Well, this seems all fair enough, and really is so, were it not for the clog behind—this constitutional restriction against one of the contending parties. Now, by this restriction, this same General Government, that has all at once become so remarkably fair and disinterested, practically says to the North, "you can add to the natural increase of your laborers as many others as you can obtain from all parts of the world," but to the South it says, "you must depend alone on your natural increase; you shall not go abroad for any more, to be employed either on the plantations you now have, or on those for which you are contending." Now, when you take this restriction in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska act, all the seeming fairness of the latter at once vanishes, the former destroys the very means, and the only means by which the South, the party restricted, could hope to keep pace with her sister, the North, in the settlement and occupation of these new plantations. With such a clog, and with such a competitor, who expects her, who can expect her, to keep pace with the North? It is a mockery, it is willful blindness to imagine such a thing. But then the South must keep pace with the North in this matter, or she must consent to loose all her influence in the councils of the General Government, as the latter entirely depends upon the former. Can she consent to this vassalage? Let her sons answer. Yea! they must answer, and that before another decade rolls round.

One of three things are inevitable: 1st, the South must be permitted to import her laborers, as the North does, from wherever she can obtain them on the best terms, in such numbers as she may choose; 2d, or she must submit to have the

North make her laws and write her history; or, 3d, she must dissolve her union with the North, and form a Southern Confederacy. The first can not be done; as it takes a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress to amend the Constitution, which it is hopeless to suppose could be had. And I take it, that the honor of the South alone forbids that the second will ever be submitted to. Then, a Southern Confederacy must be the only alternative; this I fully believe, and the sooner she sets about the work the less blood will be spilled, and the sooner she will accomplish her true destiny.

But that it may be more clearly seen that this is her true destiny, or else to have her history written by her enemies, I will here examine the foundation upon which the only three forms of organized society is formed, by those who speak the English language, and it is with that portion of the family, man, that we have to do. The parties to these three forms of society are Great Britain, the Southern or slaveholding States of the United States, and the Northern or non-slaveholding States of the United States. These all possess the same materials, labor, capital, and intelligence in their organization; but the nature of the contract by which these elementary materials are made operative are so essentially different in each as to entirely preclude the possibility of any two of them living together, any considerable length of time, under the same government. To make this more apparent, I will begin at the beginning of these different organizations of society, and examine into the nature and peculiarity of each contract; and in doing so, I will proceed upon the supposition that there are in these communities two poor men to one rich man; which supposition will be found to be very nearly correct; and what I mean by a poor man is, one that has to labor, day by day, for his daily bread.

I will first look at the contract that the capital and intelligence of the South has made with its laborers; and that this contract may be more readily understood, I will suppose there were but three persons, one white man and two negroes. The white man has both capital and intelligence; but is unable, or unwilling to perform the physical labor necessary to make his means for a livelihood available. The two black men have abundant physical ability to labor, but have not the means to employ it; now if these three individuals remain in this state of isolation from each other, they must all soon perish; collectively they have ample resources, but individually they have none at all; hence it becomes plain, that an association of some sort must be formed for their mutual protection and benefit—yea, for their very existence. The very necessities of the case demand it, and they accordingly organize a society

or government, under such form and contract as they think best suited to their present and future wants.

The white man who has the capital, and in whom intelligence very largely preponderates, seeing this necessity, makes the following proposition to the two black men: 1st, to furnish them with plenty of good and wholesome food; 2d, with clothing such as the season may require; 3d, with houses, fuel, and bedding to protect them against the inclemency of the weather; 4th, with such tools and implements as their labor may require; 5th, to furnish them with medical attention when sick, and to take care of them in infancy and childhood, and to see that their supply of food and raiment do not fail when old age or decrepitude come upon them, 6th; that they are to have the sabbath or seventh day for rest; 7th, that they shall be free in the exercise of their religious faith, provided the exercise of such faith does not tend to disturb the quiet and good order of the community; 8th, that he exclusively is to have the entire political management of the society, or government; 9th, that he is to have the entire control, and management of their labor; 10th, that, after he has performed all these obligations, he is to have for his own use and benefit, whatever of the proceeds of their labor may remain; 11th, that this contract shall be perpetual. This is the simple foundation upon which the whole fabric of Southern society is reared, as is plainly exemplified in their every day life.

Now let us see the contract that the capital or capitalist at the North has made with its laborers; we will again suppose there were but three persons, these however are all white, and although intelligence may be more diffused among the capital and labor, still intelligence always largely preponderates or tends towards capital, and consequently quite a different contract is the result; but as in the other case, all three of these individuals, isolated and unorganized, are equally helpless, and must also perish if they thus remain. One of these, who represents capital, and in whom intelligence preponderates, sees that something must be done for their common preservation, and so also does the other two, and hence there is more controversy about the contract, though it be much shorter; capital says "you can't do without me," and labor retorts, and says "*you* can't do without *me*." It is more and more apparent to all, that something must be done; still they wrangle, for each would feign avoid the toil; but then somebody must work, for labor and toil is one of the foundation stones. Thus they wrangle, until finally the great lever, necessity, concludes the contest—the two agree to perform the physical labor for per diem wages, and the one agrees to give the use of his capital for per diem profits. In the management

of the political affairs of the society or government the laborer and capitalist are to have an equal voice. That this is the foundation stone upon which Northern society is formed is, as in the other case, clearly exemplified in their every day life.

We will now look at the contract between these same primary elements in Great Britain, and again we see still a different contract. The two laborers agree to take per diem wages for the use of their physical powers; and the capitalist agrees to take a per diem profit for the use of his capital, but the laborer is not permitted to have any voice in the political management of the society or government. This will at once be seen to be the foundation stone upon which the English Government is reared.

It is not my purpose to bring in a bill of indictment against all, or any one of these forms of society. The thousands of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books, that are daily sent forth by the teeming press, contain ample testimony that no informer is needed for such an object; nor is it my purpose to assume the character of reformer, as these same documents afford indubitable evidence, that the name of these are, legion. If vilification and abuse on the one hand, or nostrums on the other, could have availed anything, each of these forms of society, in their turn, would have long since been utterly destroyed, or made entirely perfect; but none of these have, nor are they likely ever to avail anything; for I am persuaded that they all are organized on foundations too deep and broad ever to be essentially altered or amended by the ephemeral effusions and sickly nostrums of political quacks; my purpose is simply to show that there are differing and distinctive features contained in each of these organizations of society which renders it contrary to nature and to common sense to suppose, as before remarked, that any two of them can exist together any considerable length of time under the same government. Let us then briefly examine and compare these different contracts, and see a few of their agreements and disagreements, with each other. At the South, it will be seen that all political power is vested exclusively in capital. In this she agrees with Great Britain. Her contract with her laborers is once for all time, not to be renewed daily, monthly, or yearly, as the case may be. In this she disagrees with Great Britain; at the South capital obligates itself to take care of its laborers, and see that their supply of food and raiment fail not, in infancy and childhood, and in old age and decrepitude, when they are unable to perform their daily labor. In this, she is again unlike Great Britain, and in all she is directly the opposite of her sister, the North. At the North capital and labor agree to make a new bargain every day, month, or year, as the

case may be, for their respective profits. In this she is like Great Britain; at the North capital gives no guarantee that the laborer's supply of food and raiment shall not fail in case he becomes, from any cause, physically unable to earn his daily wages; and in this she again agrees with Great Britain; at the North, the laborer has an equal voice with the capitalist in all the political management of the society or government; in this she is unlike Great Britain; and in all of these she is in total disagreement with her sister, the South.

Now it is needless to protract this comparison. The intelligent reader, must see at a glance, that the North and the South do entirely and irreconciliably differ in all the essential points in their respective original contracts, by which they were organized into social or political commuuities. Is there a man in all the country who does not believe that the North and the South in point of fact, are two distinct people? There are some points of agreement between both, the North and Great Britain; but between the North and the South, there is not one.

Where then is the bond of union that is to make these two into one; there is no such thing in existence, that I am aware of. It is contrary to nature there should be. But I am referred to the Constitution of the United States, or rather to an instrument of writing which erroneously bears that name; but I say that instrument is no Constitution at all. It is not worthy of the name even of a respectable treaty, and certainly it can't be called a fair and honest contract between two parties; the truth is, that instrument is nothing more nor less than an injurious, complicated, and incomprehensible batch of compromises, from beginning to ending. The whole history of its adoption shows that its framers had but one idea in their minds; and that was to write something that all the States would sign, and this same one idea has pervaded the minds of all our leading statesmen ever since; compromise, compromise, compromise, has been the statesman's constant cry.

The greatest intellects of their age, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, spent their days in fruitless efforts to reconcile these two irreconcileable sections, and finally went down to their graves heart broken and disappointed.

Truly, there has been a waste of patriotism, and a waste of hope, until now; statesmen have ceased to think, and seem to possess just enough sagacity to see that the Union is a failure, and just enough of timidity to prevent them from dissolving it. Why is it, that every presidential candidate, from the time of Washington until now, has been selected on the ground that he possessed such extraordinary and remarkable peculiarities as were just fitted to reconcile all sectional controversies? and

why has the adoption of every important measure brought before Congress been urged upon the same plea, of being just the thing needed to put an end to all sectional strife? and why, I ask, have they all as signally failed? I have but the same answer to give, these sections are two distinct people, and what suits one does not, cannot, suit the other. But I am told that "if the Union be dissolved, civil war will be the result." I say that a dissolution of the Union is the only means under Heaven to prevent a civil war. Obliterate the Constitution to-day, and who believes that there are five States in the Confederacy that would again sign it with its present provisions? nobody believes it, no, nor it would not have been signed when it was but for the circumstances then existing—the exciting scenes of a successful revolution. The North and the South, in that revolution, had fought together and bled together, and had just been successful in freeing themselves from a government that both repudiated, because it was evident to both, that it was not adapted to their wants, and was a clog and a hinderance to their progress and prosperity. Thus excited, and apparently cemented, by a common danger, and a common suffering, and a common triumph, they imagined themselves to be one people; when, in fact, they were less of kin to each other than they were to the government they had just thrown off.

That Revolutionary war, and its termination, is in evidence that these two sisters would not permit even a mother to dictate constitutions and laws for their government, notwithstanding similar traits of her character are legibly marked on both of them.

Then, are not the very compromises of the Constitution itself, the numerous compromise enactments of the Federal Government, the constant, rapid, and irresistible tendency to a sectionalization of every measure coming before Congress—the rending asunder of ecclesiastical organization, upon sectional questions alone, also, in evidence, greatly more elaborate, but no less plain, palpable, and truthful, that these two sisters, in whom no likeness of character can be traced, can never make satisfactory Constitutions and laws for their joint Government? yes, indeed are they in evidence, and too plainly for the dullest comprehension not to see that the death knell has been rung to this unnatural and unjust Union, which works ill, probably to both, but certainly to one.

A *Constitution* is simply the original contract between the labor and capital of a single people. And it does not matter whether it be written or not. The history of such a people is the embodiment of their intelligence in their recorded legal enactments and decisions by which such contract is perpetuated.

yet what is more incredible, but not less true, is the undeniable fact that these outrages are not, as some pretend, the mere extravagances of a few irresponsible individuals, but on the contrary are justly chargeable to the abolition party, as the legitimate fruit of their party measures and party discipline, and as naturally resulting from the public teachings, advice, and counsel of their chief men and most distinguished leaders.

The outrages above specified were preceded, and up to the present time, have been followed by others of a like character and dictated by a like settled policy on the part of our enemies to harrass and frighten, by their deeds of horror, our friends from their homes in the territory. Undoubtedly this policy (a well settled party system) has dictated the notices lately given in all the disturbed districts by armed marauding bands of abolitionists, to the law and order men of their respective neighborhoods, immediately to leave the country on peril of death. Under such notices our friends about Hickory Point, and on Pottawattamie and Rock creeks have all been driven out of the territory, their stores have been robbed, their cattle driven off, their houses burned, their horses stolen, and in some cases they have been assassinated for daring to return; some too of these outrages have been perpetrated under the very nose of the United States troops, who all the while assert that all is peace and quietness, and that they will afford ample protection, without the necessity of our banding together in armed bodies for mutual defence. Among many others of our friends thus driven away, we might specify the cases of Messrs. Hargous, Jones, and Owens, of Hickory Point, whom two hundred United States troops stationed within two miles of their homes have been unable to inspire with a sense of security. Morton Bourn, a most exemplary, quiet and unoffending, man of our party, living within eight miles of Lecompton, the capital of the territory, where quite a number of troops are stationed, was lately driven from his home by a band of twenty-five armed men, who robbed him of all his guns, five saddles, three horses, the blankets from his beds, and over fifty dollars in money. The thieves gave him twenty-four hours to leave with his family, and threatened to kill him if he ever returned, saying, they intended to serve all the pro-slavery men in the neighborhood in the same way. Mr. Bourn is still out of the territory, and though anxious about his property and desirous to return, yet he dares not do so; although as often as he applies, the troops and the Governor assure him that all is quiet, and that he shall have ample protection; but he knows that unless they remain constantly about his house they cannot keep marauders and murderers away. This case is specified not for its peculiar enormity or hardships, but because it is a fair type of a large class of such cases, and because the undersigned have all the details from

Mr. Bourn himself, and know them to be strictly true, indeed one of us assisted his family in their flight the day after the robbery.

It is but too evident the troops cannot enable our friends to maintain their ground in any part of the territory where the abolition element is in the ascendant; notwithstanding, we assure our friends that, after the most diligent inquiry and attention to that point, we firmly believe that our party has a well established, decided, and increasing majority of actual settlers in the territory. This majority, however, we do not believe can be maintained unless something be done to give confidence to our friends, where they are few and weak in number. This can only be done by colonizing large settlements together, under one common head with absolute control; let, say from one to three hundred agriculturalists, mechanics, and laborers so settle together in some suitable point, to be indicated by the undersigned, or some other committee charged with the general interests of the party. This can be lawfully, safely, and efficiently done, and by this means law and order can be maintained in the territory; and we say this, too, notwithstanding we are in possession of very convincing evidence to the fact, that the abolitionists of the North intend during the coming month to introduce large numbers of their hired bands to put their treasonable pretended government into operation by force. These measures of mutual defence and future progress, however, require means, and demand aid from our friends abroad. The colonists should be subsisted a reasonable time, and each individual furnished with adequate agricultural or mechanical outfit, so there can be no want of settlers coming and remaining at the points where they are most needed. Funds are required, and for these we call upon our Southern friends—upon all having a common interest—nay, we call on all loving justice and wishing equal rights to each State and section of the Union—we call on the honest free State man, who, sick of the agitation and strife brewed by the abolitionists, desires the restoration of peace and quiet to the country. These can be restored only by restoring to the weaker and attacked section the means of future defence, in restoring the sectional equilibrium disturbed by the measures of 1850. Fanatical aggression cannot be quieted by *giving*, but it may be by *taking away* the power to effect its ends. All fair minds who have looked this question full in the face, know and admit that it is not merely a question of whether Kansas shall be a slave State or not, but a question of whether the entire South shall not become the victim of misguided philanthrophy. That man or State is deceived that fondly trusts these fanatics may stop at Kansas. To use that territory as

the mere "key to the future"—the mere means of ulterior operations against the whole South—is unquestionably the settled policy of the ultra abolitionists, the head and soul of the aggression, and *whose opinions in the end must leaven and control the whole body*—the whole mass that acts with them.

The most convincing proof (if proofs were needed) of this was recently given before the Congressional Investigating Committee. Judge Mathew Walker, a Wyandott, an unimpeachable witness, and most reliable man, testified before the committee, that before the abolitionists selected Lawrence as their centre of operations, their leader, Gov. Robinson, attempted to get a foothold for them in the Wyandott reserve, near the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers; that in his negotiations for that purpose, Robinson finding it necessary to communicate their plans and objects, divulged to Walker (whom he then supposed a sympathiser) that the abolitionists were determined on winning Kansas at any cost; that then having Missouri surrounded on three sides, they would begin their assaults on her; and as fast as one State gave way, attack another, till the whole South was abolitionised. That this revelation was actually made the undersigned have not the slightest doubt; and we are equally confident that in that matter the abolition party was truly represented by Robinson, who has always been their chief man and acknowledge leader in Kansas.

It is widely reported, and generally believed, that the northern abolitionists are now raising large bodies of armed men, under military organization and discipline, to be surreptitiously introduced into the territory for the objects of driving out the peaceable inhabitants, setting the laws at defiance, and overwhelming the law and order party at the decisive election for a Territorial Legislature to come off on the first Monday in October next. It is not impossible they may partially succeed in their aims; their labors to inflame the northern mind are so incessant, their faculty of misrepresentation is so extraordinary—so fatally bent on mischief. Their papers, for instance, show up the Ossawattamie massacre as an outrage of our own; according to their account, "five pro-slavery men were hanging an abolitionist, when his five friends providentially came up and shot them in the act."

All have heard, through the papers, of the killing of Stewart by Cosgrove. The facts were these: Stewart being in Lawrence, when news reached there of an abolitionist having been just killed at Blanton's bridge, in the vicinity, started off with four others toward the California road, all swearing they would kill the first pro-slavery man they met. Lieutenant Cosgrove and Dr. Bratton, two quiet and worthy men of our party, happened to be passing just as Stewart and his men reached the

road. The five halted the two at the distance of only five or six paces, and to the astonishment and horror of the weaker party, immediately after halting them began snapping and firing at them. Cosgrove seeing Bratton shot through the arm, fired and killed Stewart, and then with his wounded companion escaped under a shower of bullets. The next day a Lawrence man being taken as a spy and searched, a letter was found on his person to a friend in the North, detailing Stewart's death, in which he says, Stewart was met alone, unarmed, and without cause or excuse shot down by five border ruffians.

Indeed, it was proved before the Investigating Committee that the abolition party had travelling agents in the territory *whose duty it was to gather up, exaggerate, and report for publication*, rumors to the prejudice of the law and order party, and with the view to excite abolitionists to come to the territory; and the witness, Parrot, admitted in his examination that he, as agent, had prepared such a report, and placed it in the hands of Sherman, one of the committee, since his arrival in Kansas. Sherman was then on the committee, and did not deny it.

How can there be other than the most exasperated state of feeling between the two sections? How can civil war be avoided, when honorable committee men countenance such reckless mischief? Look the future in the face like men: if standing up to our rights, to our responsibilities, and to our trust, brings peace and security, so much the better; no other course can effect it. Send us men and means. We must have your help. Appoint agents, responsible, trusty, reliable men for every State, district, and neighborhood, whose sole business shall be to canvass for aid. Did we know suitable persons who would act, we would not hesitate to appoint them all over the country. Let our friends send their names, with details as to character and qualification, and we will duly accredit them. One gentleman, an Alabamian, Alpheus Baker, jr., Esq., of Eufaula, Alabama, whom we all know, who has been here, and has distinguished himself by the zeal, success, and signal ability with which for a while he canvassed the border counties in Missouri for aid, we take the liberty of nominating, without assurance that he will accept. We trust that he may. Friends of the cause must contribute according to their several gifts—we must not meanly abandon our birthright, and, without a struggle, yield to grasping monopoly this fairest Eden of our common domain—this land of flowing brook and fertile plain. Kansas is indeed the garden spot of America, and in every way adapted to Southern institutions; in no other part of the Union is slave labor more productive; and, in the present imperilled state of our civilization, if we do not maintain this

outpost, we cannot long defend the citadel. Then rally to the rescue.

Any communications our friends in the South may be pleased to favor the undersigned with, will reach us most safely and certainly, if directed to us, at Westport, Missouri. Funds contributed may be sent to our treasurer, A. G. Boone, Esq., directed to him at the same place.

DAVID R. ATCHISON,
WM. H. RUSSELL,
JOS. C. ANDERSON,
A. G. BOONE,
B. F. STRINGFELLOW,
J. BUFORD.

June 21st, 1856.

COTTON TRADE OF THE WORLD.

The following tables were prepared in the State Department, under the direction of Mr. Flagg. They condense material otherwise to be obtained with some labor. We give them as a useful complement to the many elaborate tables prepared or published by us during the last ten years, upon the same subject, which occupy the largest part of the first volume of our Industrial Resources of the South and West.

Tariff Duties and Custom-house Regulations applicable to American Cotton.

Countries.	Quantities.	Rates of Duty.
Great Britain		Free.
France	220 pounds	In national vessels, $3 72; in foreign vessels, $6 48.*
Spain	101 pounds	In national vessels, 79½ cents; in foreign vessels, $1 85.
Russia	36 pounds	18¾ cents.
Bremen	Ad valorem	⅛ of 1 per cent.
Sardinia		Free.
Belgium		Free.
Austria		Free.
Sweden and Norway		In Sweden, free; in Norway, nearly ¼ cent per pound.
Mexico	101 pounds	$1 50.
Hamburg	Ad valorem	⅛ of 1 per cent.
Holland		Free.
Two Sicilies	192.050 pounds	$8.
British North America		Free.
Denmark		Free.
Portugal	101 pounds	2 1-5 cents.
Tuscany		Free.
Papal States	74.86 pounds	10 cents.
Cuba	101 pounds	In national vessels, 19½; in foreign vessels, 27½ per ct. on a valuation of $5.

*By the treaty of 1822 United States vessels are equalized with French vessels in the direct importation into France of articles the growth, manufacture, or produce of the United States.

*Quantities of cotton exported from the United States, etc.**

	1853.	1854.	1855.	Annual average am't's of cotton 1851–'55	Annual average amounts of duties paid—1851–'55.†
Great Britain.....lbs.	768,596,498	696,247,047	673,498,259	712,312,141	Free.
France.....	189,226,913	144,428,360	210,113,809	173,829,584	$2,939,300 25
Spain.....	36,851,042	35,024,074	33,071,795	33,704,292	265,296 06
Hanse Towns.....	22,671,782	37,719,922	30,809,991	26,011,298	‡25,795 00
Belgium.....	15,494,442	13,980,460	12,219,553	17,037,472	Free.
Austria.....	17,968,642	14,961,144	9,761,465	16,789,767	Free.
Sardenia and Itily....	17,487,984	12,725,830	16,087,064	14,911,110	Different rates.
Russia.....	21,286,563	2,914,954	448,897	9,044,806	47,018 36
Mexico.....	7,463,851	12,146,080	7,527,079	6,936,612	§103,018 99
Holland.....	7,038,994	6,048,165	4,941,414	6,759,257	Free.
Sweeden and Norway	6,099,517	9,212,710	8,428,437	6,968,132	‖Different rates.
British N. A.....	12,295	72,790	883,204	201,679	Free.
Denmark.....	435,169	32,983	209,186	142,876	Free.
Cuba.....	196,392	250,633	9,620	178,014	2,355 42
Portugal.....	87,691	121,059	144,006	90,198	19 64
Elsewhere.....	652,395	1,946,895	270,522	746,918	
To all countries....	1,111,570,370	987,833,106	1,008,424,601	1,025,659,156	

* The data for this statement are derived from the United States treasury reports, in which the commercial year closes June 30. The year in British and French official documents corresponds with that of the calendar; hence one cause of apparent discrepancies in figures, for nominally, the same years.

† The amounts of duties paid are calculated on the customs rates given in the preceding statement, (I,) although those rates, during the five years designated, have, in some instances, undergone changes. Belgium, for example, did not admit cotton free until the passage of the law of April 12, 1854.

‡ The amount is calculated on the medium of the ad valorem duty of Bremen and Hamburg, on an assumed valuation of 17 cents per pound.

§ The amount is calculated on the rates of the existing tariff of January 31, 1856, prior to which cotton was either prohibited or subjected to a duty equivalent to prohibition.

‖ United States treasury reports do not give quantities to Norway distinct from those to Sweden. In the latter, cotton is free; in the former, the duty is nearly half a cent per pound.

*Quantities of Cotton imported into Great Britain, &c.**

Years.	United States.	Brazil.	Egypt.†	East Indies.†	W. Indies.†	All countries.
1851—lbs...	596,638,962	19,339,104	16,950,525	122,626,976	446,529	757,879,749
1852...“...	765,630,544	26,506,144	48,058,640	84,922,432	703,696	929,782,448
1853...“...	658,451,796	24,190,628	28,353,574	181,848,169	344,060	895,266,780
1854...“...	722,151,360	19,703,600	23,553,120	119,829,152	205,072	887,333,104
‡1855...“...	564,773,440	20,240,528	26,291,216	102,883,024	No data.	721,917,840
Aggregate..	3,307,646,102	109,980,004	143,007,075	612,059,744	1,699,357	4,191,679,921
Average....	661,529,220	21,996,000	28,601,415	122,411,928	§424,839	838,335,984

* Made up from British official authorities. The commercial year in England begins January 1; in the United States, July 1; hence seeming discrepancies in figures for apparently the same periods of time.

† Egypt includes Turkey, Syria, and the Mediterranean generally; the East Indies include British India generally; the West Indies, the West India islands belonging to Great Britain, and British Guiana. ‡ Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31. § Four years.

*Quantities of Cotton imported into France, &c.**

Years.	United States.	Elsewhere.	All countries.	Value.
1851—Pounds.....	127,418,053	19,083,961	146,402,014	$21,204,000
1852.....“.....	171,235,021	†17,742,078	188,977,099	27,528,000
1853.....“.....	178,608,904	19,537,722	198,146,626	28,830,000
1854.....“.....	174,929,557	15,319,242	190,248,799	27,900,000
‡1855.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aggregate.....	652,191,535	71,683,003	723,774,538	105,462,000
Average.....	163,047,884	17,920,751	180,943,635	26,365,500

* Compiled from “Tableau General du Commerce de la France.”

† Of which amount 11,978,427 pounds were from Egypt and Turkey, and 230,516 pounds from Brazil. ‡ No data.

Quantities of Cotton imported into Spain, &c.

The statistical office has no official Spanish data from which to make up the statement required.

The quantities of cotton exported from the United States to Spain, according to the United States Treasury reports, the years specified, were as follows:

	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
1851	34,272,625	1854	35,024,074
1852	29,301,928	1855	33,071,795
1853	36,851,042	Average, (5 years)	33,704,292

From Cuba, the same years, according to "Balanzas Generales" of that island, the quantities exported to Spain were as follows:

	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
1851	13,415	1854	1,489
1852	300,225	1855	No data.
1853	138,625	Average, (4 years)	113,438

From Porto Rico, according to official Balanzas of that island, as follows:

	Pounds.		*Pounds.*
1851	315,083	1854	No data.
1852	141,807	1855	No data.
1853	245,552	Average, (3 years)	234,147

From Brazil, according to the "*Proposta e Relatario*" of that empire for the years 1852–'3 and 1853–'4, the quantities of cotton exported to Spain were as follows:

1852–'53	2,291,578
1853–'54	2,351,279
Average, (2 years)	2,321,428

Spain, according to the "*Cuadro General*" of that kingdom for 1849, imported that year, from countries of production, 26,136,881 pounds of cotton; of which quantity the United States supplied 21,669,441 pounds, Cuba 3,371,830 pounds, Brazil 832,604 pounds, Porto Rico 370,881 pounds, and Venezuela 21,316 pounds.

*Quantities of Cotton exported by Great Britain.**

Years.	Exported to all countries.	United States.	Brazil.	Egypt.	East Indies.	Elsewhere.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1851	111,980,400	66,921,344	1,888,880	211,008	42,959,168	.....
1852	111,875,456	69,217,120	3,619,840	124,656	38,864,672	49,168
1853	148,569,680	82,701,472	4,786,768	948,416	60,082,064	50,960
1854	125,554,800	55,101,200	1,488,192	369,600	68,645,808	.....
1855†	102,932,480	48,647,216	714,448	363,216	53,387,600	.....
Annual average.	120,182,563	64,481,670	2,489,625	403,379	52,791,862	.....

*Compiled from the monthly "Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation," presented to the British Parliament, the only authority at hand from which the countries whence the cotton exported was imported could be ascertained. Results gathered from these monthly accounts sometimes vary from those given in the "Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom," from which latter document was made up the table that follows:

†Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31.

Countries to which exported.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	Annual average.
Russia	35,185,472	45,605,840	48,937,392	208,544	32,484,312
Sweden	2,434,656	3,591,840	4,414,368	5,866,560	4,076,856
Prussia	1,576,064	674,240	1,143,296	23,444,624	6,709,556
Hanse Towns	27,473,040	22,472,016	33,417,440	36,055,264	29,854,440
Holland	22,119,104	15,834,224	28,676,592	26,934,544	23,391,116
Belgium	12,856,480	12,657,680	18,466,672	14,040,768	14,505,400
France	1,365,504	2,225,440	2,403,968	2,759,232	2,188,536
Sardinia	2,742,320	2,238,208	3,860,864	3,821,328	3,165,680
Austria	1,366,064	1,957,088	3,830,288	4,511,856	2,991,324
Other countries	2,647,120	2,324,560	3,418,800	5,383,392	3,443,468
Total	109,765,824	109,581,136	148,569,680	128,326,112	122,810,688

NOTE.—No data for the year 1855.

*Quantities and declared Values of Cotton Manufactures and Yarns exported from Great Britain and from the United States.**

Years.	GREAT BRITAIN.				UNITED STATES.	
	Manufactures.		Yarns.		Manufactures.†	Yarns.†
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.	Values.	Values.
	Yards.		*Pounds.*			
1851	1,543,161,789	$110,246,010	143,966,106	$33,246,010	$7,208,945	$37,260
1852	1,524,256,914	108,242,290	145,478,302	33,278,275	7,637,433	34,718
1853	1,594,592,659	119,509,700	147,589,302	34,478,265	8,746,300	22,594
1854	1,692,977,476	116,884,300	147,128,498	33,456,935	5,486,201	49,315
1855‡	1,551,780,256	104,492,740	131,278,169	28,645,455	5,857,181	None.

*Made up from British and United States official documents, respectively; the commercial year of the former ending December 31, and of the latter June 30.
†Quantities not ascertained.
‡Ten months, in part, from January 6 to October 31.

THE SOUTH'S SACRIFICES IN THE REVOLUTION.

From Senator Butler's admirable and eloquent speech in the Senate, we extract the following. It is a source of regret to us that *circumstances* make it sometimes necessary to notice the attacks of scandalous calumniators. Even Ulysses, of old, won the applause of all the Greeks when he threatened to "whip with severe stripes," and actually commenced the operation, Thersites, "Musical orator as thou art," just after the conclusion of his celebrated tirade against Agamemnon. Old Homer adds, that the by-standers, "though sad, heartily laughed at the orator." Iliad, Book ii. pp. 225–278.

The Senator says, that the Southern States, in consequence of slavery, betrayed, during the revolutionary war, a "shameful imbecility." I challenge him to the truth of history. There was not a battle fought south of the Potomac which was not fought by Southern troops and slave-holders, even if you choose to exclude Pennsylvania, which was at that time a slave-holding State. Muhlenberg's continental regiment was always with them, and I love to allude to it; but not a New England

squad, company, or regiment ever passed the Potomac; and yet the Senator says but for Northern aid the Southern States could not have sustained themselves.

Sir, who fought the battle of King's Mountain? It was not fought by anybody in pay. Patriots fought it, but they never recived a dollar. That battle made an impression, perhaps, the most remarkable of any during the war. It turned the tide of events. Who fought the battle of Cowpens? There was none in that battle from the north of Maryland. The commander in that battle was Daniel Morgan; the hero of the day was, perhaps, John Eager Howard. Colonel Washington, commander of the cavalry, and Pickens, a citizen of South Carolina, and one of the heroes of the war, commanding the militia, and they never shrank from their duty. It has been said of the South Carolina militia during the revolutionary war, that they were only raw troops, who stood to their guns and position, whenever they were mustered into the service, and called upon to perform duty. Who fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill? General Greene was the commander; and he afterwards became a slave-holder, and, of his own choice, lived and died in a Southern State, among friends and comrades in arms. Who fought the battle of Eutaw? Was there any New England regiment or company or squad there? Not one. That battle, the most distinguished which has ever been fought in the southern portion of the Confederacy, was fought by Southern slave-holders from Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. They were exclusively Southern troops. In the face of these facts, the Senator said the imbecility of the South, arising from slavery, was such that they could not fight their battles without aid.

Shame! I call upon the shade of Hancock and Adams to look down and reprove a degenerate son who can thus invade the very sanctuary of the history which has given them immortality.

Do you think that, sir, by this remark I reproach the troops of New England? No, sir. When Yorktown surrenderd, there was not a New England regiment there; I have a list of the troops who were present. But because I say that Southern troops and those from Pennsylvania alone engaged in these distinguished battles, do I reproach the troops of Massachusetts? God forbid! They were under the command of Washington at the time when he went to Yorktown, and, as was his duty, he sent them to defend the vulnerable points of New York and Boston.

Now I will make a remark which I hope the Senate will remember: Notwithstanding their relative numbers compared with the pay list of New England, you may take the fighting days

—if you have a mind to compute it as you would labor—you may take the fighting days during which the troops of South Carolina were engaged, and in the computation the balance will be found greatly against Massachussetts. If you have a mind to draw some other test—if you wish test the question of sacrifice, and measure it by blood, South Carolina has poured out hogsheads of blood where gallons have been poured out by Massachusetts.

In proof of this I give a list of battles fought in South Carolina, and each was a bloody battle: battle of Fort Moultrie; battle of Stono; siege of Charleston; battle of Camden; battle of Hanging Rock; battle of Musgrove's Mill; battle of Blackstocks; battle of Georgetown, and the battle at Black Wings, by Marion; battle of King's Mountain; battle of Cowpens; battle of Fish Dam Ford, by Sumpter; battle at Ninety-six; battle at Fort Gilpin; battle at Fort Watson; battle at Fort Mott; battle at Hobkirk's Hill; battle of Granby; battle of Cedar Spring; battle of Hammond's Store; battle Quinby; battle of Eutaw; battle of Rocky Mount; battle of Port Royal; battle of Tulafinny; battle of Coosahatchie; battle of Waxham settlement, between Beaufort and Tarleton; battle of Cloud's Creek; battle at Hays' station; bloody battle of Kettle Creek, fought by General Pickens; battle of Houck's defeat; bloody battle of Twelve-mile Creek, in which Salvadore fell.

These were all fought in South Carolina, and in which South Carolinians were engaged, and were bloody battles. In addition there were almost daily skirmishes fought by Marion and Sumpter.

LOWER LOUISIANA—AN EARLY RECORD.

When or by whom this paper was written we know not. It is a venerable manuscript which came into our possession several years ago when collecting materials for a history of Louisiana, and contains much that is curious and interesting to a large portion of the people of the lower Mississippi.—EDITOR.

Perhaps in no country did a government make a more judicious purchase than did the present Administration in that of Louisiana. But, owing to want of information, respecting this interesting country, there are to be found many in the United States who deny this purchase to be a measure of sound policy, as it relates to our boundary with Spain, or that the country itself is intrinsically worth the sum contracted to be given for it. That neither of these objections are founded in truth, it would be easy for us to show; this is not, however, at present our object; we wish rather to describe a portion of Louisiana, and it is not a matter of exaggeration, when we say, that in giving a short history of the district of Atakapas, we exhibit

not only the real situation of this district, but in as much as it relates to soil, productions, climate, &c., a history of Lower Louisiana. It is necessary to state that the following account is derived from the most respectable sources, and that the greatest part of it has been collected by a person who is now a citizen of the district of Atakapas.

This district is bounded on the east by the district of La Fourche, on the north and west by the district of Opelousas, and on the south by the ocean. It forms nearly a square of ninety miles, and is throughout almost a dead level.

The district of Atakapas is admirably situated in point of navigable waters. The river Teche runs in a southeast course, through the centre of the district, to the Gulf of Mexico, it heads in the Opelousas district, is navigable to the town of Nouville l'Berie, 50 miles from its mouth, for vessels of 100 tons, and for 100 miles for vessels of 50 tons. It seldom rises or falls more than two feet, and in all seasons of the year it affords from 12 to 15 feet water. On this river, at or within a few leagues of its mouth, it is expected the future seat of government for this district will be situated. It runs through a fertile country, and its banks are from 15 to 20 feet above the level of the water. On the southwest side the land is generally prairie, affording a most luxuriant pasture for cattle; and on the opposite side there is most excellent timber, suitable for shipbuilding, cabinet work, and carpenter's use. A settler here has not to encounter the difficulties he is exposed to in the Western States; with a small portion of labor he may the first year raise a crop; for, to accomplish this, he has nothing more to do than cut out a sufficient quantity of rails to enclose the prairie land, the timber being on the opposite side of the river, and excellently adapted for this purpose.

The river Vermillion runs through the southern part of this district, it is not so large as the Teche, but affords navigation for vessels, batteaux, and boats of 80 tons, upwards of 40 miles from its mouth.

Besides the above rivers there are others of smaller note, and bayous innumerable, communicating with each other, and furnishing to the inhabitants of every part of this district a direct, safe, and easy communication with Orleans, and with the Gulf of Mexico. With the advantage of such internal navigation, we can, at all seasons of the year, convey our produce to market, at a small expense and little risk; and receive in return, such articles from Orleans, or from foreign countries, as are deemed essential to life.

The mineral, vegetable, and animal productions of this district next claim our attention.

Being a level country the mineral productions are not nume-

rous, at least it appears so at present; but this may be owing to the want of genius in the inhabitants, whose views are otherwise directed. I recollect no instance where there have been indications of the precious metals. On the north of this district, on Red river, there are mines of gold and silver.

On our southern boundary, adjoining the sea, on an elevated tract, large quantities of sulphur have been found, and I have been informed by a person residing on the spot, that the inhabitants set fire to part of this sulphuric matter, and that it required their greatest exertions afterwards to extinguish it, which they accomplished by digging ditches and throwing immense quantities of water on it.

There are in this district several medicinal springs, but their properties have never yet been ascertained by a skillful chemical analysis. One of these, a hot spring, is said to relieve rheumatism, and other complaints of different natures. It is probable, when the country becomes better known, more discoveries may be made respecting our mineral productions.

An imperfect account of our vegetable productions can only be given, the limits of the present work not admitting us to enter into a scientific description.

Our woods furnish the finest timber in the world; live oak, ash, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypress, cedar, and other valuable timber are here to be had in astonishing quantities. Whatever species of timber produced in more northern climates, are to be found here, but from the quickness of its growth it is doubted by some whether it is so durable.

The produce of our plantations exceed in value that of all other countries in North America. Our staple commodities are sugar, cotton, rice, and indigo. The soil is well adapted for Indian corn, hemp, flax, and tobacco; but of these articles it is not the interest of the planter to raise more than what is necessary for the supply of his family. To show that the produce of our farms exceeds that of others in the United States we lay before our readers the following estimate of the principal staple articles. A farm containing 40 acres of cleared land well enclosed, if planted with care, produces, on an average, at the rate of 30 hhds. of sugar and 30 hhds. of rum, and the account of the planter's gain will be as follows:

30 hhds., 10 cwt. each, at $7 per cwt., is.....	$2,100
30 hhds., 60 galls. each, at $40 per hhd., is.....	1,200
	$3,300
Deduct the work of 4 negroes in working the land, making the sugar and rum, at $150 each.....	600
Net.....	$2,700

Product of 40 acres or $67 50 per acre, every expense being included in the $600, such as maintenance of negroes, use of sugar works and rum distillery.

An acre of cotton will produce net to the planter $50, every expense deducted.

Rice will yield clear, about $40 per acre. Indigo upwards of $75 per acre; but the humanity of our planters have induced them, notwithstanding the great profit, to raise but small quantities of this article, its culture being fatal to the slaves, whose lives are thereby considerably abridged. It would indeed be a measure of sound policy were the raising of indigo altogether prohibited.

Our gardens yield us, besides the esculent plants of Europe, musk melons, water melons, pumkins, &c. Our orchards, cherries, quinces, peaches, nectarines, apricots, almonds, plumbs, prunes, figs, oranges, lemons in great abundance, but the apple and pear do not thrive so well here as in northern climates. It is worthy of notice, that owing to the mildness of our winters, our gardens plentifully supply our table with a great variety of esculents during the whole year, and green peas, beans, sallad, &c., can be raised in our severest weather.

Our quadrupeds are similar to those in Upper Louisiana; the buffalo abound in our woods; we have also the American tiger or panther, an animal remarkable for its fierceness in attacking men and horses when pressed by hunger. We have bears, wolves, deer, elks, foxes, with an infinite variety of others. Our birds are the same with those given in Catesby's designation. Our rivers afford us the greatest variety of fish. Trout about a foot in length, of a most delicious flavor, we have in abundance. Cat fish, drum, eels, perch, with many others, are to be had in plenty in our rivers, bayous, and lakes. Aligators abound in our waters—they are from 3 to 12 feet in length—they will attack men, women, and children, but are easily driven off. Their flesh is said to be good. We have but few snakes; those of the copper color are the most venomous, and instances where their bite has in a few hours proved mortal are not wanting.

This district is situated in lat. 29° 51′ N. long. 90° 3′ W. from Greenwich. From our southerly situation, it will be inferred that we are oppressed with excessive heat, but this is not the fact. Our vicinity to the sea, and the refreshing breezes from it, cool the atmosphere, and we experience less from the heat than the States of Ohio and Kentucky. The winters here are mild, and snow seldom lies on the ground more than a few hours. Last winter was the severest ever experienced, and the snow then continued near a week on the ground. It was about 6 inches deep, and the ice on the edges

of the creeks about three-quarters of an inch. On the whole, this climate is as favorable to the extension of human life as any in the United States. As a proof of this, the number of old people is greater here than in the States, and if we except bilious complaints, common to all southern climates, we may be thankful to the Almighty disposer of human events for having placed us in a country where health, the greatest blessing man can enjoy on earth, is to be found with scarcely any intermission. As a further proof of the salubrity of the climate, we need only add that we have but few physicians, and that instead of paying excessive sums to the disciples of Esculapius, we go to the sea shore, and by a change of diet, and bathing in the sea, we are soon recovered from all complaints. We have but one Doctor whose practice is valuable, and he is a black man, a slave to a French store-keeper. He contracts very fairly with his patient, always engaging to remove the disorder on payment of a certain sum, which is seldom less than $50, and often above $100. This black quack has had the address to get into considerable business, and his annual profits are worth more than the practice of all his fellow practitioners, white or black, in this district.

The inhabitants are at present chiefly French. They are honest in their dealings, friendly and hospitable to strangers; they preserve a social intercourse among their neighbors, and are remarkable for their exactness in the performance of their contracts. They are, however, oppressive to their slaves, and this forms the only bad trait in their general character.

Our military force is still in its infancy. The military ardor is nearly dead among us; want of arms and of good military laws may be ascribed as the cause of this. Placed as we are, near the Spanish frontiers, would it not be a measure of sound policy in the Government to furnish arms for the use of the militia of this and the adjoining district?

The aboriginal inhabitants are few in number, not exceeding perhaps 60 warriors. They inhabit some of the islands near the mouth of the —— river, and as their name, the Atakapas, signifies, they are man-eaters. A schooner commanded by a Captain Murphy, was lately driven on their coast, and his men seized. With nearly all his cargo, to his eternal honor, he redeemed his crew from the horrid fate which awaited them. The arms of those savages is the bow and arrow, which they throw with amazing dexterity a great distance. The arrows are barbed and poisoned, occasioning immediate death should the wound be ever so slight.

Towns we have none. The settlements on the river Teche may deserve the name of an extensive village.

Like every territorial government, our laws are very defective. In fact, where the people have no voice in the appointment of their chief magistrates, they cannot be said to enjoy that degree of freedom which so much is the boast of Americans. The colonial system which prevails in Louisiana will not continue much longer; the increase in our population will soon entitle us to the rank of one of the sister's of the American confederation. Our legislature consists of a Governor, a Council, and the House of Assembly. The House of Assembly is the choice of the people, and is generally composed of Frenchmen. It is to be regretted that the attachment of the French to the Spanish system should be so great as to induce them in framing the laws to adopt it as their model. This is an evil that cannot much longer exist, the emigration from the United States being at present considerable, and from the encouragement expected from the Government to our first settlers, we may presume the present interest will give way to the introduction of a system more congenial to the genius of the American Constitution.

Our laws are numerous, and are susceptible of much improvement. The law establishing our parish or county courts, resembles much the powers delegated by the Spanish Government to the commandants of their provinces. By that law, extensive powers, dangerous to liberty, are given to the county judge. It is, however, a happy circumstance for this district, that the gentleman now exercising that important office is not disposed to abuse his authority. Mild and unassuming, inflexibly just, a determined opposer of all impositions introduced by quibbling lawyers, Judge White on every occasion shows his beneficence and love of his country by his patriotic endeavors to assimiliate the people of this district to the General Government. This remark is the more necessary, as his conduct has been misrepresented by some individuals who have vainly opposed his measures, because he wishes to render our tribunal of justice accessible to all, and that the poor man as well as the rich, without being obliged to pay to the lawyers excessive fees, may have an equal chance of justice.

From the nature of our soil, and the advantages of our situtation, we may have excellent roads at a small expense. The country being so level, the roads are admirably adapted for carriages, but until we have an increase in population, we cannot expect much improvement. The want of a direct intercourse by land with the United States is felt by the whole of Louisiana, and will be an objection and hindrance to the future settlement of this country. A great road, similar to some in the State of New York, from the city of Washington to somewhere near the mouth of the Sabine, would greatly

accellerate the settlement of Louisiana. Such a road would be an undertaking worthy the present administration, and a lasting monument of its regard to the interest of the remotest members of the American empire. But the benefits resulting to Louisiana would form only part of the beneficial effects of such a plan. The States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Territories of the Mississippi, of New Orleans, of upper and lower Louisiana, would be particularly benefitted by it; the whole of the United States would soon feel the beneficial consequences of an undertaking like the present, it would establish a communication throughout the vast empire, it would strengthen and render formidable a frontier at present weak and exposed, it would be an advantage to the whole of the United States, inasmuch as it would occasion the immediate sale and settlement of a vast extent of country, which would not only immediately defray the expense of such a measure and the original purchase of Louisiana, but also enrich the public treasury many millions of dollars. In short let the subject be viewed with candor, and its effects must be pronounced beneficial to the country; like some of the stupendous works of antiquity, it will exhibit to ages yet unborn, to remote posterity, that an empire did once exist occupying an immense extent of country whose chief care was to unite its different members by every means which could be effected by man, and that its public treasure was not employed in exterminating, but in rendering the human race happy.

The Roman Catholic religion, while this country was under the dominion of Spain, was the established church here; happily for the American world, our Constitution recognizes no established church, but allows every man to worship God as he pleases. Whenever there is a religion established by law, it will become, in the hand of the government, an engine to enslave the people; history exhibits uniformly this to be the case. The Catholic religion prevails here.

TOBACCO AND TOBACCO STATISTICS.

BY LOUIS SCHADE.

Tobacco is next to salt, probably the article most universally consumed by men. In one form or another, but most generally in the form of fume or smoke, there is no climate in which it is not consumed, and no nationality which has not adopted it. To put down its use has equally baffled legislators and moralists; and in the words of Pope on a higher subject, it may be said to be partaken of "by saint, by savage, and by sage." The

civilized European and American nations are the smallest consumers of tobacco of any people, in consequence of its being everywhere with them an object of heavy taxation, of its being very generally a foreign commodity or high priced, because raised in uncongenial climates, and finally its being, for the most part, confined in use to the male sex.

The duty on the importation of *raw Tobacco* amounts—

In the United States to	30	per cent. ad valorem.
In Belgium	13.9	do.
In Great Britain	933.3	do.
In Hanover	9.6	do.
In Holtsein	10	do.
In Holland	3.5	do.
In Russia	161	do.
In Switzerland	8	do.
In Zollverein (German custom Union.)	45	do.

FRANCE.—In 1629 the first duties on the tobacco trade were levied. In 1674 Louis XIV. established the first monopoly in Europe. The cultivation of tobacco is prohibited except in six departments. From 1811 to 1852 there were sold by the Government 1,308,838,075 pounds, which brought a clear revenue of $432,233,434. The expenses of the administration were 24 per cent. ad valorem.

SPAIN.—The gross receipts from the tobacco monopoly in the years 1830–'4 were $4,950,121, and the net receipts $3,097,147. The sold tobacco amounted to 2.4 pounds per head of the population. The nett receipts of 1851 were $3,100,000. The expenses of the administration amounted to 40 per cent. of the total value.

AUSTRIA.—The monopoly exists since 1784. The gain of the Government amounts to 76 per cent. ad valorem. The nett receipts amounted in 1851 to $8,739,421, and in 1853 to $10,619,106. The consumption in the whole Empire was, in 1850, 34,457,513 pounds; 1851, 54,217,578 pounds; in 1852, 61,805,697 pounds; 1853, 57,926,925 lbs; in 1854, 62,020,333 pounds.

ZOLLVEREIN.—The duty on raw tobacco is $2.76 per 110 pounds, which, if re-exported, enjoys a draw back of $2.20 per 110 pounds. Tobacco grown within the limits of the Customs Union pays only 46 cents for the same quantity. The revenues which the Government herefrom derives amounts to 38 per cent. on the value.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The consumption of tobacco in the United Kingdom was—

Years.	Consumption.	Revenue.	Population.	Cons'n per head.
	Pounds.	£		*Ounces.*
1821.....	15,598,152	3,122,583	21,282,960	11.71
1831.....	19,533,841	2,964,592	24,410,439	12.80
1841.....	22,309,360*	3,580,163	27,019,672	13.21
1851.....	28,062,978*	4,485,769	27,452,262	16.86

In 1853 the duty amounted to £4,751,780, or $23,000,000. The following table will be of general interest.

	Average consumption per head of male population over 18 y'rs of age.	Nett revenue from tobacco.	Per head of the population.
	Pounds.	Dollars.	Cents.
Austria.....	6.75	6,062,650	26 1-3
Zollverein.....	9.75	1,482,800	5 1-2
Steuerverein, (Hanover and Oldenburg, now added to former).....	12.50	62,100	3 1-20
France.....	5.50	15,291,780	43
Russia.....	2.50	1,421,400	2 1-3
Portugal.....	3.50	1,520,700	46 2-3
Spain.....	4.75	6,340,410	48 2-5
Sardinia.....	2.75	1,230,960	27 1-4
Tuscany.....	2.50	424,350	24 9-10
Papal States.....	2.00	1,486,260	50 2 5
Two Sicilies.....	....	842,110	7 1-2
England.....	4.10	21,735,000	78 4-5
Holland.....	8.25	31,050	1
Belgium.....	9.00	140,070	3 1-5
Denmark.....	8.00	52,440	2 1-3
Sweden.....	4.37	73,830	2 1-3
Norwegen.....	6.40	116,610	4 1-3
United States.†.....	7.60	....	....

* With an additional 5 per cent. on the duty.
† Hypothetically.

REORGANIZATION OF SOUTHERN SOCIETY.

An intelligent planter in Alabama, whose name we are not at liberty to divulge, writes as follows to the Editor of the Review. The charges which he alleges against our society at the present day, contain, perhaps, some show of truth; but the evil is not deep seated. Night's dews and damps have been fast passing away, and morning's bright light now shines over the South. Thank God every slumberer is awake, and with armor on. Stern necessity brings us all together. The spirit of party dies. In this awakening, and in the consciousness of strength which it brings, there is for the South safety and hope—

> "Malice domestic—foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch her further."

No careful observer of Southern society can be misled in regard to its tendency to classification—agricultural, commercial,

and political; the commercial and agricultural interest undoubtedly combine the real capacity of the South—in other words, the energy of the South is employed in money-getting. Politics, State and Federal, are left to the politicians, and will be until *interest*, the great motive power to human action, compels a different result; perhaps we may be induced to loose our grasp at the almighty dollar time enough to make a *show of effort* to save the ship of state from the storm cloud of abolition that hangs so portentously about us; but really I don't know, there is an opiate in this money-getting, a charm that holds us spell-bound to the delusion; we hope for peace that we may make money; we seek it home and abroad, with friend and foe, that we may make money; give us this *privilege*, *this glorious*, *savory mess*, and I fear that the very birth-right of the South may be had in exchange.

Suppose we pass the crisis to which the free soil interest is so rapidly driving us happily—suppose the Constitution and South come off victors in this contest; does not every body see that the constitutional abiding sections of the *North* will have had as much to do in securing defeat to the freesoil object as any action taken by the South; and will this not throw us into ecstacies of joy and glory to the Union, and renew our hardly slackened grasp after the dollar? Conscious security, though indefinite, from this threatening danger, cannot fail to renew effectually the struggle for money-getting in the South, and relax our interest particularly in State legislation; and thus the struggles, which we so much deprecate, will be entailed on us and our posterity, if this contest is to be settled by politicians —for, of all the daubers, they are the poorest. The remedy for these sectional differences cannot be in the temporary and superficial settlements made by Congress; but there certainly is a remedy for the South, in her own resources, and none other can be permanent.

Our class-ship carries with it inherent difficulties, one of which is disintegration of feeling and interest, growing out of the nature of our respective pursuits; there is no people who need so much as the Southern States a homogeneous influence, a community of feeling and interest. Europe finds her's in her aristocracy, around which the whole fabric, political and social, revolve as the interest of the state directs; the Northern States of this Union find their's in the diversity of pursuits bearing directly each on the other; the South must have the same, or be subjected ever to those distracting influences which have been, and still are, our national besetment.

The railroad, the school house at home, and the State universities, may do much to effect this; direct trade with Europe, and manufacturing and mining, certainly have important func-

tions to perform in this new organization of Southern society. But how and where is all this to be done? An Augean stable presents itself, but where the Hercules? Your paper has done much for the South in this respect; urge us forward; urge us with all your might; recollect our apathy and aversion to change. Oh! how we beg to be let alone; like the freezing man, we will, if not aroused, sleep the sleep of death.

The above views of Southern interest induced me to become a subscriber to your paper. I have realized in it, and so with all earnest readers, much of what I expected; and shall be happy to remain on your list as a subscriber while we continue to sympathise with *true* Southern interest.

SENATOR BENJAMIN UPON THE PRESENT SECTIONAL STRUGGLE.

The able and eloquent Senator from Louisiana, in a speech recently made in the Senate, uses the following bold language. Mr. Cass spoke of the argument as "magnificent and patriotic, which ought to find a response in the bosom of every true American."

The object is to attain such power as shall put these parties in possession of sufficient representation, in both branches of Congress, to change the Federal Constitution, and to deprive the South of that representation which is already inadequate to protect her rights. When that shall have been done—when she is reduced to a feeble minority, utterly incompetent to move hand or foot, and bound subserviently to the will of the North—then will the last act of the drama be played; and then will the abolition sentiments which they hide now, but which they entertain in their heart of hearts, be developed to the country, and ruin and desolation spread over fifteen of the States of this Union. That is the object—disguised, concealed, but transparent through the flimsy veil by which they attempt to conceal their nefarious purposes.

Now, Mr. President, this being the sole motive for which the North is struggling—the acquisition of power—will the Senate permit me to be so far wanting in respect for its intelligence as to say a few words in comparison of the interests which the South holds in this stake? Property, safety, honor—existence itself—depend on the decision of the questions which are now pending in this Congress: property, for $2,000,000,000 cannot purchase, at a low average price, the slaves which now belong to the people of the South, whilst no human calculation can reach the estimate of the destruction of other property which would necessarily be involved in any measure which should deprive us of our slaves; safety, because our population, now kept in proper subjection, peaceful and laborious, would be converted into an idle, reckless,

criminal population, eager for rapine and murder, led on to their foul purposes by inflamed passions—passions inflamed by fanatical emissaries from another portion of a common country, who formed a common government to cherish brotherly feelings; honor, because we should be degraded from our position of free, sovereign, self-dependent States, into a servile subserviency to Northern will: existence—ay, existence itself—because the history of Hayti is written in characters so black, so dark, so prominent, that we cannot be ignorant of the fate that awaits us, if measures similar to those which have produced that result there are also to be inaugurated in our Southern States.

Now, Mr. President, when we see these two interests contrasted—the North struggling for the possession of a power to which she has no legitimate claim under the Constitution, for the sole purpose of abusing that power—the South struggling for property, honor, safety—all that is dear to man—tell me if the history of the world exhibits an example of a people occupying a more ennobling attitude than the people of the South? To vituperation they oppose calm reason. To menaces and threats of violence, and insulting assumptions of superiority, they disdain reply. To direct attacks on their rights or their honor, they appeal to the guarantees of the Constitution; and when those guarantees shall fail, and not till then, will the injured, outraged South throw her sword into the scale of her rights, and appeal to the God of battles to do her justice. I say her sword, because I am not one of those who believe in the possibility of a peaceful disruption of the Union. It cannot come until every possible means of conciliation have been exhausted; it cannot come until every angry passion shall have been roused; it cannot come until brotherly feeling shall have been converted into deadly hate; and then, sir, with feelings embittered by the consciousness of injustice, or passions high-wrought and inflamed, dreadful will be the internecine war that must ensue.

Mr. President, amongst what I consider to be the most prominent dangers that now exist is the fact that the leaders of the republican party at the North have succeeded in persuading the masses of the North that there is no danger. They have finally so wrought upon the opinion of their own people at home by the constant iteration of the same false statements and the same false principles, that the people of the North cannot be made to believe that the South is in earnest, notwithstanding its calm and resolute determination which produces the quiet so ominous of evil if ever the clouds shall burst. The people of the North are taught to laugh at the danger of dissolution. One honorable Senator is reported to have said, with

exquisite amenity, that the South could not be kicked out of the Union. The honorable Senator from New York says:

"The slaveholders, in spite of all their threats, are bound to it by the same bonds, and they are bound to it also by a bond *peculiarly their own—that of dependence on it for their own safety. Three millions of slaves are a hostile force constantly in their presence, in their very midst.* The servile war is always the most fearful form of war. *The world without sympathizes with the servile enemy.* Against that war the American Union is the only defence of the slaveholders—their *only* protection. If ever they shall, in a season of madness, recede from the Union, and provoke that war, they will—soon come back again."

The honorable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WILSON] indulges in the repetition of a figure of rhetoric that seems peculiarly to please his ear and tickle his fancy. He represents the southern mother as clasping her infant with convulsive and closer embrace because the black avenger, with uplifted dagger, would be at the door, and he tells us that is a bond of union which we dare not violate.

The South has no answer to make to these taunts—to these insults. But I tell honorable senators that they are totally mistaken if they suppose for one moment that the condition of the South, as regards its slave property, would not be vastly ameliorated by this very separation of which they speak so glibly.

Sir, it was said the other day by my friend from Missouri, [Mr. GEYER,] that there existed more comity between any two foreign nations now on the face of the earth than there exists on the part of the northern States towards the South. Why is this? It is because it does not cost the North one cent; it is because the North makes no sacrifice; it is because, disregarding the obligations of the Constitution and treading them under foot, she dares to attack the honor and the interests of the South, which are protected by the provisions of that Constitution, whilst the South, loyal to her duties and to her faith, is bound hand and foot by the same Constitution, and prevented from making reprisals or evincing resentment.

But, sir, suppose these bonds were to fail for a moment—suppose this common compact once repudiated by all—think you that the North would be found pursuing this warfare upon the South? Think you that she would not be compelled immediately to ask us to accept treaties of extradition for our fugitives slaves? Think you she would not come and tender such treaties to us, and pass laws forbidding our slaves crossing their frontiers? Let me not be misunderstood. I am not here to

pretend for a moment that the South is equal in population or military strength with the North. I do not refer to that at all. I speak of that compulsion which would be exercised upon the North by a regard to its own interests, by the necessity of avoiding the destruction of large commercial and manufacturing properties at the North.

Why, sir, if the people of New England had to pay a tax for every word they utter with a view of aggression upon the South, how many words would they utter? But that would be the case if there was a disruption. We should be compelled in self-defence to wage a continual unremitting war in which no sacrifice would be too costly, because we should be bound to it by all the bonds of which gentlemen have spoken; we never could abandon such a warfare, because our very safety and existence would be at stake. What would be the interests of the North? Would she pay tax after tax? Would she meet the expense of a dreadful war, continued through a long series of years, for the pleasure of exercising her philanthropic propensities in receiving some fugitive slaves? Not at all, sir. Those are ignorant of human nature who believe such a thing to be possible. Therefore it is idle to talk to us about the risks we run in regard to our particular institution that would result from a disruption of the Union.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Several months ago a digest appeared in our pages of the results of the Pacific Railroad surveys ordered by Congress. Lately Capt. Humphreys has addressed a supplementary paper to Col. Davis, Secretary of War, which embraces new material, and corrects in important particulars, some of the statistics already given. We extract as follows:

Among the most important changes that the revision has introduced, may be mentioned the reduction of the length of the route, which from Fort Smith to San Pedro is now 1,760 miles, and from Fort Smith to San Francisco, direct from the Mojave river by the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, avoiding the tunnel of the Cajon Pass, it is 2,025 miles. In the preliminary report the distances were measured upon the wagon trail; those now given are along the plotted railroad line. Many of the difficulties of construction previously reported may now be obviated; and there is strong probability of improving the route still further, by shortening distance and avoiding costly construction. A scrutiny of the barometrical observations though Campbell's Pass of the Sierra Madre, about twenty miles north of the Camino del Obispo, shows that that mountain chain may be crossed without a tunnel or excavation at the summit, with a maximum grade of 40 feet to the mile, at an elevation

of 6,952 feet above the sea. By the Camino del Obispo, the old route, elevation 8,250 feet, a tunnel three quarters of a mile long, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, was required.

The elevations of several of the passes have been materially reduced; and the data are now provided for an actual computation of the excavation, embankment, and cost of construction of the proposed route.

As this computation necesssarily involves much tedious labor, it has not yet been made, and in the mean time Captain Whipple has submitted an estimate similar to those of the other routes, in order to exhibit more correctly the comparative practicability of this, than was done in the preliminary report. It is based upon the facts developed by a careful study of the observations made, and the material collected in the field, and it is believed by him that the amount will be much diminished when the results of the computation are arrived at. The cost of construction, as given in the preliminary report, was greatly exaggerated, the estimates having been formed without reference to the field-notes. In the examination which, by your direction, I made of that report, the estimates were thought by me to be largely in excess. They were—

From Fort Smith to San Pedro, distance 1,892 miles.....	$169,210,265 00
From Fort Smith to San Francisco, the road leaving the Mojave river 34 miles from the east entrance of Cajon Pass, and crossing the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, (the estimate from the Mojave river to San Francisco, a distance of 406 miles, having been made by me) distance 2,174 miles.....	175,877,265 00
These would now become—	
From Fort Smith to San Pedro, distance 1,760 miles,.....	86,130,000 00
From Fort Smith to San Francisco, crossing direct from the Mojave river to the Tay-ee-chay-pah Pass, distance 2,025 miles.....	94,720,000 00

SOUTHERN RAILROAD CONVENTION.

The Richmond papers contain full reports of the proceedings of the Southern Railroad Association which assembled at Ashland, Virginia, on Tuesday. The following are the most important items:

The President, as chairman of the committee on Sunday mails, reported. He stated that the Postmaster General had

consented to permit those companies that desired it, to miss one mail on Sunday, if the other was carried regular.

A committee of three was appointed to urge upon the officers of railroads, north of Weldon, North Carolina, the re-establishment of the second Sunday trains.

The following motion was adopted:—

Resolved, That the committee be instructed to inquire into the propriety of fixing a through fast mail and passenger schedule from Montgomery to Washington, at a speed of about 20 miles per hour, with no unnecessary detentions—the second train to be run as an accommodation train, but to make as close connections as possible.

The committee on fixing the price of a through tickets between Washington and New Orleans, reduced the price to $48. The former price was $53. The report of the committee was adopted.

On motion, the Association adjourned until the Thursday after the first Monday in May next, at Augusta, Georgia.

On Tuesday evening the members of the Convention were entertained at a supper giving by the citizens of Richmond.

IMPROVEMENT IN SUGAR MACHINERY.

Mr. F. D. Richardson, of St. Mary's, Louisiana, has patented a process for drawing off Sugar from the kettles which is attracting much attention in that State. His own crop of 250 hogsheads was taken off by this means. The work is done cleaner, quicker and cheaper. It consists simply in emptying the "battery" by means of a pipe instead of using a bucket. The pipe is rivetted on to the bottom of the kettle, and penetrating the wall, inclosed by a stop valve, which, when the sugar is sufficiently cooked, is raised by hand, and the kettle emptied in a much shorter time than can be done in the old way.

EDITORIAL NOTICES—BOOKS, ETC.

Rise and Progress of the English Constitution, by E. S. Creasy, A. M.; Professor of History in University College, London; third edition. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. A popular work upon the English Constitution supplies a *deside atum*. Consecrated by time, perfected by political wisdom the English Constitution is one of the noblest fabrics ever devised. Our fathers searched it for those great principles which underlie our own institutions, and their children should preserve it as a sacred inheritance. Amid all the storms of revolution the English Constitution stands unbroken.

Philosophy of the Weather and a guide to its changes, by T. B. Butler. D. Appleton & Co. Meteorology may almost be said to be a new science, though its range is a wide one and its phenomena touch every class. Through the labors of the Smithsonian, Patent Office, and the Observatory, the Federal Government is contributing the most abundant and valuable material. The reports of the War Department, of Lieut. Maury, and Mr. Blodgett do honor to the nation—as do also the contributions of Dr. Barton, of New Orleans. The volume before us is one of popular use, in which the author proposes to unfold the subject in a manner which shall be suited to the comprehension of the masses who have an equal interest in it with the scientific.

The Modern Story Teller, or the Best Stories of the best authors; New York; E. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. The Stories are from the English classics and are such as suit the leisure of the traveller, the home circle, or the family library.

Life, explorations, and Public Services of J. Chas. Fremont, by C. W. Upham, with illustrations. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1856. By this work it seems that Mr. Fremont was born at Savannah, Georgia. The author mentions his mother, but says nothing of the father, who was a Frenchman. In the field, where Mr. Fremont's labors have been chiefly exercised, he undoubtedly earned laurels. He has been willing to sacrifice them all in turning traitor to the institutions under which he was reared, and to the people whose support and encouragement first brought him out of the depths of obscurity. Better, far better, he will yet live to find, that honorable *obscurity* than what he is likely to gain.

Lectures read before the Seniors in Harvard College, by E. T. Channing. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1856. This little volume contains a series of Essays on literary topics prepared by Mr. Channing, during his later days, out of his course of lectures on English Literature, and is well worth the attention of every scholar. Mr. Dana contributes an interesting biographical sketch.

Hertha: a new novel, by Miss Bremer, translated by Mary Howitt. New York; G. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. The volume is "dedicated to the blessed memory of A. J. Downing." The author exhibits woman in Sweden with reference to the laws and social customs, and makes a very interesting series of chapters.

Life Sketches from Common Paths: a Series of American Tales, by Mrs. J. L. Dumont. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. The author seeks to awaken whatever of higher impulse might slumber in the undeveloped nature, and to invest with their true sanctity the bonds of friendship.

Perversion: or the causes and consequences of Infidelity, by Rev. W. J. Conybeare, A. M. New York; Miles & Halstead. 1856. The causes of Infidelity are different in different characters; its consequences are nearly the the same in all In the deliberately wicked, it originates in a depraved will, eager to cast off moral restraint. In better natures, it is occasioned sometimes by the inconsistency, extravagance, or hypocrisy of those who call themselves christians; sometimes by the doubts of a sceptical understanding, and the difficulties inherent in the substance or the documents of the Christian Revelation. The consequences which result from Infidelity are moral deterioration, and the loss of happiness and peace. To illustrate these truths is the object of the work.

Memorials of his Time, by Henry Cockburn. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1856. The materials of this volume Lord Cockburn was a long time in collecting. He says (in 1840,) "it occurred to me several years ago as a pity that no private account should be preserved of the distinguished men or the important events that had marked the progress of Scotland, or at least of Edinburg, during my day. In 1821 I begun to recollect and to inquire."

Sidney Smith's Wit and Wisdom; being selections from his writings, by E. A. Duykinck. New York; Redfield. 1856. The English edition of Sidney Smith embraces eight volumes octavo: Mr. Duykinck has performed his part with much discrimination and ability in selecting from this immense accumulation. The letters on American Debts, and Table Talk, constitute an interesting chapter of the present volume.

The Prince of the house of David, or three years in the Holy City; edited by Prof. Ingraham of Mobile, Ala.; 1856. The work is from the publishing house of Pudney & Russell, New York; and is issued in the finest style of typography and binding. Many and even large editions have been rapidly sold. A writer before us says of the volume: In a series of letters, supposed to have been written by a Jewish maiden, whilst on a protracted visit to Jerusalem, to her father, resident in Alexandria, during the closing year of our Saviour's mission to the earth, the Reverend author has told a story which, I venture to say, from its force and beauty and simple pathos and eloquence must touch the hearts of all who peruse it, and arouse in them a renewed interest in the precepts and calls of Him who died and suffered such wondrous things for their sake.

The description of the last terrible events in the earthly sojourn of the blessed Saviour is wonderfully graphic, most irresistibly touching.

Margaret Maitland, of Sunnyside, by Mrs. Oliphant, author of Zaidee. New York; S. P. Putnam & Co. 1856. We have already referred to these passages in the life of Margaret Maitland.

An Essay on Liberty and Slavery, by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, of Virginia. Philadelphia; Lippencott & Co. 1856. An elaborate review of this able and admirable volume will be found in the present number of the Review.

Cyclopedia of American Literature, embracing personal and critical notices of authors and selections from their writings from the earliest periods, with portraits, autographs, etc., by E. and G. L. Duykinck. New York; Chas. Scribner. 1856. It may be truly said that no American library could be fully complete without this admirable work, which is published in two royal octavo volumes, almost exactly in the style and manner of Chambers' Encyclopedia of English Literature. Two or three months ago, we referred to the work and extracted from it the biography of Mr. Simms, and we there said what further examination proves, that no work has yet done equal justice to the writers and literature of the South. It is a noble contribution.

North British Review, May, 1856. From Leonard, Scott & Co. Republication: Articles marked with usual ability.

Honduras Inter-Oceanic Railway; Report, by E. G. Squier.

Annals of British Legislation; Edited by Prof. Leone Levi; London; Messrs. Wiley & Halstead, New York, are the agents for this work. It is a serial pamphlet, and will present in a short compass all the valuable matters brought before parliament annually. It is exactly such a work as our political economists and intelligent merchants much want. (Other books received too late for this number.)

ADVERTISING SHEETS OF THE REVIEW.

Considering the heavy circulation of the Review throughout the South and West, we have been very remiss in our attentions to the advertising department. To most other publications it is a source of large revenue, whilst to us it has brought little or nothing. Profits upon mere circulation are very small when the expenses of an office, and of collections, and the large per cent. of losses are taken into account.

Necessity, therefore, compels our attention to this department, upon which hereafter great care will be expended. The rates will be moderate, and the modes of display such as shall be neat and attractive.

In the present number will be found several pages devoted to New Orleans and to Baltimore, with a few scattering ones for other points. Will not all of the other Southern cities, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Richmond, etc., etc., respond in like spirit? It would suit us far better to confine our pages to Southern advertisers if a sufficiency can be found.

About two pages are given to New York, to which others will be added. As it is inevitable that we must trade out of our own limits, the South should know who are the men in the free States that adhere to the Compromises of the Constitution, and refuse to devote their time or their means to the unholy crusade which is waged there against our rights and institutions. No advertisement has been or will be taken except from such men, and the agents of the Review are instructed accordingly. In every case a knowledge of this fact is brought home by the agent to the party advertising.

It has always struck us as remarkable that Southern planters should not use the Review for advertising estates to be sold or purchased, as our rates are as low as they can be made, and the work is read by the interested class in every section of the South. It would not interfere with their use also of the local journals.

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1856.

POPULATION AND CAPITAL.*

QUESTION OF PROPERTY—THEORIES OF MALTHUS—THE POOR—THE POWER OF PRODUCTION AND THE MEANS OF SUPPORT, ETC., ETC.

The title of the work of Professor Rickards, which supplies a text for the ensuing observations, affords only a delusive indication of the character and contents of the book. Mr. Rickards is the successor of Mr. Senior in the chair of Political Economy at the University of Oxford, and this volume consists of a series of ten lectures delivered to his class during the academical year of 1853–'4. It might be natural to expect, under these circumstance, an elaborate and profound discussion of the reciprocal relations of capital and population; a determination of the diverse modes in which population, according as it is progressive, stagnant, or regressive, stimulates, modifies, or checks the augmentation of capital and its employment; and an examination of the manner and degree in which capital is regulated by the contemporaneous numbers and condition of the population. These two grand elements of all social manifestations are indissolubly combined; like the positive and negative states of electricity, they are inseparably associated together, and exist only by mutual attraction and mutual antagonism, despite of the attraction. They determine each other; and whatever modification or disturbance is experienced by either, superinduces at least an equivalent alteration in the phenomena of the other. As, however, they are both inconstant forces, mutually dependent,

*Population and Capital; being a Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in 1853–'4, by George R. Rickards, M. A., Professor of Political Economy. London; Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854; 1 vol. small 8vo.

but each possessing an inherent vigor of its own, it is almost impossible to discover the conditions of permanent equilibrium between them; and all that it is ordinarily desirable for science to detect, is the law of their correlation, the requisites for their harmoneous agreement, and the effects of their principal oscillations.

Such an inquiry as this would introduce us into the most profound and abstruse problems of political economy. Nay, it would lead us much further; it would require us to re-examine the data on which political economy relies, to revise its doctrines, and to test the accuracy of its precepts. It is a higher range of speculation than that science has yet contemplated, though many of its subordinate divisions have been discussed by the disciples of Adam Smith, and by Professor Rickards among the number.

The subject is not approached with any such comprehensive views in the work before us. A generalizing tendency is not the usual characteristic of English intellect. It prefers breaking up great inquiries into manageable fragments, and the treatment of these separately by a process of incessant trituration. Its practical appetencies inspire well defined conceptions, but they contract the views of those under their influence to the consideration of only a few special aspects of an extensive question. Mr. Rickards yields unsuspiciously to the national habit of mind, and to the place and occasion of his lectures; and his theme is dwarfed accordingly in his hands. It resolves itself into the much agitated but not very enlarged inquiry, whether population has a tendency to increase faster than capital, or than the multiplication of the means of subsistence. Of course the consideration of capital cannot be excluded from this discussion, but its direct consideration is limited to the smallest space compatible with the designation of the work. Of the ten lectures one only is expressly devoted to the study of capital, and that is occupied with the staple generalities of the political economists on its nature and functions, and with demonstrating that prudence and frugality are public benefits as well as private virtues. Capital bears about the same proportion to population, in the lectures of Mr. Rickards, that it does in the condition of the wretched multitudes of the contemporaneous societies of Europe; and that is about the proportion of Jack Falstaff's "half-penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack."

Nevertheless this book is both useful and acceptable. It does not constitute a great work, but a good one. It furnishes a sensible and instructive discussion of an important and still unsettled topic of economical investigation. It contains the fullest exposition with which we are acquainted of the thesis,

that the increase of population necessitates the increase of capital, and that the tendency of an augmentation of mouths and hands is to multiply the means of subsistence in an ampler degree. The scattered arguments, the incidental observations, and the special researches of others in regard to this feracious topic, are skillfully incorporated into the text, and exhibited in the most favorable light. Mr. Rickards candidly acknowledges his obligations to M. Say, M. Bastial, Mr. Senior, Mr. McCulloch, Sir Archibald Alison, Mr. Hickson, Mr. Sadler, and Archbishop Sumner. He declares that he should have abstained from entering on the subject if he had been previously acquainted with any work offering the same solution which he proposes for the difficulties that have given rise to the controversy about population and subsistence; and that it was not till he had virtually completed these lectures that he found himself anticipated by the late Alexander Everett, who was not "the distinguished diplomatist of the United States," though he was both a diplomatist, and distinguished, without being in any respect comparable to his brother, Edward, with whom he is confounded.* There is some excuse for the want of acquaintance with Alexander Everett's essay, notwithstanding its publication in London; but there is scarcely any apology for the Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, that similar doctrines had been entertained and expounded by the notorious Proudhon in his celebrated work on the "Contradictions of Political Economy."† The political economists of Great Britain and of the United States—the latter are highly complimented by Mr. Rickards—have most unwarrantably and indiscreetly ignored the writings of Proudhon, and have been considerable losers by their superciliousness. It is scarcely practicable to exhibit more glaringly the contrast between the philosophical appreciation of an interesting subject and its narrow practical treatment, than may be done by collating the chapter of the "*Contradictions Économiques*," which traverses the same ground with the present treatise on "Population and Capital." The one is brief, the other is copious; but the brevity of the one is more suggestive than the redundance of the other. The shorter sketch diffuses its illumination throughout every part of the sphere which surrounds it, while the longer investigation concentrates the light of a thousand tallow candles on a single point, which will be found on examination not to be the main issue of the question. The French outline is an original investigation of the laws regulating the numbers and condition of the population; the English

* Population and Capital. Pref. p. ix–x.

† Chap. xiii, vol. ii, pp. 299–374. 2d Ed. Garnier Frères, 1850.

Lectures are only an ingenious reply to Malthus, and this is confessed to be the object proposed.*

The thesis maintained by Professor Rickards may be found formally asseverated in the Arabian Night's Entertainments. "He therefore removed to another place, and begged his subsistence of God, (whose name be exalted!) and ceased not to do thus till the close of the day; but caught not a single minnow. And he wondered in his mind, and said, hath God created this new-born child without allotting it subsistence? This can never be; for He who hath opened the jaws hath undertaken to provide for them the necessary subsistence; and God, (whose name be exalted!) is bountiful, a liberal supplier of the necessaries of life."† In this passage of the old romances we have the substance of Mr. Rickards' Lectures; but, on the other hand, we detect the essence of Malthusianism latent in an incidental remark of Xenophon.‡ The mistake committed by those who dispute on either side of this question, lies in regarding the opposite views as separable and independent, instead of recognizing them as the concurrent but variable elements of the problem to be solved.

Proudhon habitually maintains that a work of literature or art is as much the product of the society and age in which it is produced, as of the author or artist who gives expression to the vague but general feeling. There is much truth and more suggestion in this tenet, which is also implied in the title adopted by Lord Bacon for his own contemplated labors.§ Mr. Rickards notes that the essay of Malthus, which has engendered such a flood of commentaries, and such shoals of recrimination, was inspired by the want and misery which he witnessed around him in England in consequence of the operation of the old poor laws;‖ yet, the institutions of Crete, and the ancient laws of Philolaus at Thebes, perhaps, also, the legislation of Lycurgus, show that the necessity of discouraging the increase of population was felt by the early States of Greece, without the imposition of the pauper codes of England.¶ Few, indeed, have been the happy ages or localities where this question did not present itself, in some of its forms, as a

* Population and Capital. Sect. iii, p. 65.

† The story of Abdalla of the Land and Abdalla of the Sea. Lane's Translation, vol. iii, p. 437, Lond., 1847.

‡ Hellenica, lib. v. c. ii, § 16.

§ "Temporis Partus Masculus, sive Instauratio Magna Imperii Humani in Universum." So, "Itaque hæc nostra, (ut sæpe diximus,) felicitatis cujusdam sunt potius quam facultatis, et potius temporis partus quam ingenii." Nov. Org. i, Aph. cxxii, cf. Aph. lxxviii, and the Dedication.

‖ Population and Capital. Sect. ii, p. 29–30.

¶ Aristot. Pol., lib. ii, cap. vii, § 4, cap. ix, § 7. There are numerous other indications of the adoption of a similar policy elsewhere.

nightmare to States and to statesmen. Since Joseph's brethren went down into the fertile land of Egypt in consequence of the famine in Canaan, and probably from a still earlier period, there has ever been a Sphinx to propound to human societies one or other of these harrassing enigmas, how to reduce the people to the number for which adequate provision is made, how to increase productions to the amount requisite for the support of the population, how to augment the numbers of the people for the sake of production, or to enlarge production for the sake of the people. These are different phases of substantially the same inquiry—though they have been regarded as entirely distinct problems—but the answer to one would furnish a solution to all. The question remains substantially the same, though its form changes with the changing aspects of society; but in some form it has always presented itself to the minds of men—and the mystery is yet unfathomed. But, notwithstanding it haunts every generation as pertinaciously as the shadow accompanies the body, it is exceedingly probable that the contemporary condition of the English poor pressed its special consideration on Mr. Malthus. We are more ready to endorse than to deny this allegation; but Mr. Rickards fails to recognize that the new fervor of opposition to Malthusianism is itself distinctly a birth of the time. The rents of landlords, the revenues of the territorial aristocracy, the incomes of fundholders, were menaced in the days of Malthus by the alarming expansion of pauperism, which simultaneously disclosed a hopeless pretence for the laboring classes and the poor. The Rev. Mr. Malthus, touched with compassionate philanthropy for one portion of his parishioners, with sympathetic anxiety for the other, took his pen in hand, and addressed to both an earnest expostulation, recommending great caution and self-restraint, or superior control on the delicate, dangerous, and expensive experiment of matrimony. The prescription "increase and multiply" was not a blessing intended for the poorer part of his congregation, according to his clerical reading of the scriptures and other documents. Thus Mr. Malthus uttered his tract for the times.

With the extended employment of machinery and the enlargement of competition, cheap production, and consequently low wages, have become the latest necessities of profitable industry, and Mr. Rickards, with his similars, plants himself in opposition to Malthusianism as an obstacle in theory if not yet in practice, to cheap production, without feeling any great solicitude about the prospective condition of the masses. It is enough to satisfy his conscience, if he can demonstrate on paper by the application of the multiplication table, of arith-

metical and geometrical progressions, of very long division, and analogous statistical conveniences, that the unknown quantities representing provisions may be multiplied more rapidly than the symbols which are intended to express consumers. But, though the figures may perform their part of the jugglery in the most satisfactory manner, and announce most sanguine expectations, there is no guarantee that the same trick can be performed on the realities of social existence, and the balance may appear on the wrong side, and then the answer is death, with no opportunity allowed for the correction of errors. *N'importe*, Mr. Rickards and his friends might say, with only a momentary concern, such accidents naturally occur in the employment of complicated machinery, and the sufferers crushed between the wheels are the victims required by the progressive movement of the age, and form a determinable per centage of the operation, which is readily replaced or compensated. This is very practical good sense, but we submit that it is not philosophy, it is not morals, it is not religion—it is merely the sophistical slang of the current age by which Mr. Rickards and his contemporaries are willingly or thoughtlessly beguiled.

Malthus recommended to the poor abstinence from marriage for the sake of the landlords, the capitalists, and the laborers. The poor paid no attention to his preaching, and continued to multiply in penury and rags. It was no new doctrine that was announced, though it was resented as an innovation, notwithstanding it had been promulgated and practiced among Pagan societies, and in the early associations of the Christian Church. It was no more a novelty than Communism is now. Both projects have been tried in almost all grades of civilization, and rarely with any perceptible advantage. But it is not on the strength of former experience that Mr. Rickards assails the doctrine of Malthus. He opposes him, without equal anxiety for the poor, for the sake of the capitalists, the merchants, and the manufacturers, not consciously indeed, but instinctively, but because he is under the unrecognized influence of the present popular sentiment, which is only the expression of the transient interests of these classes of society. He thus indirectly encourages improvident marriages, notwithstanding his fervent exhortations to prudence in this particular, for, by their marriages, according to his theory that the multiplication of numbers is the multiplication of products, the aggregate wealth and production will be increased, though individual misery will be aggravated, and may be ultimately rendered general. He does not, however, see far enough in advance to anticipate any such calamities. He can boast with triumph over the predictions of Malthusians which have been already

falsified by the consequences of the excessive emigration to California and Australia in recent years,* but he does not apprehend that the changing currents of time may similarly refute his own positions; nor does he perceive that an excess escaped by an accidental and extrinsic and uncontemplated turn of fortune, furnishes no refutation of the arguments applied to the formerly existing state of things. If the vent opened by extraordinary emigration was requisite to avert the dangers prognosticated by the Malthusians, then they were correct in alleging the tendency to such dangers, and their predictions, instead of having been falsified, have been verified by the unexpected relief which has prevented their fulfilment. Mr. Rickards does not suspect that he is even more under the influence of the times in which he lives, than was Malthus. whom he properly accuses on that ground. His triumphant appeal to the testimony of the passing years in vindication of his own positions is sufficient evidence of this, and does not permit him to perceive that he is himself exposed to be "blown about by every wind of doctrine."

It was once perilous, but it has again become fashionable to make war upon Malthusianism. Are we disposed to sustain its falling fortunes, from any sympathy with the unbefriended, from any desire of occupying an arduous position, from the love of paradox, from aversion to fashion and new-fangled practices in speculation, as well as in habits? By no means. We have never been among the faithful disciples of Malthus. But when the ebb tide has set in, we are not inclined to plunge into the waters with the hope that the refluent wave will certainly bear us to the truth. If any doctrine be untenable and productive of extravagant consequences, it is not probable that the contrary of that doctrine will be valid or free from excesses. If it were necessary to choose between Malthus and Rickards, we should probably espouse the side of the latter, as it is less irksome, more congenial with the appetencies of humanity, more consonant with the apparent purposes of God, and less cumbrous in its application. But there is no obligation to make the option. We may reject both, and this would be the shortest course. We may borrow from both, and combine the divergent views into an electic scheme, but we have no relish for eclecticism. We may accept both, and this is the procedure we favor, though it may seem singular, and may require abundant explanation to render it intelligible and satisfactory.

The shield which is gold on one side and silver on the other, has been approached by Mr. Rickards from the quarter opposed

* Population and Capital, sec. viii, p. 203; sec. ii, p. 51.

to Mr. Malthus' point of view, and he has leveled his lance, spurred his horse, and assailed the knight, who swears that the shield is silver in consequence. Let us endeavor to place ourselves on the ground occupied by Mr. Malthus, and we shall agree with him. Let us change our position to that maintained by Mr. Rickards, and we shall with equal confidence uphold the justice of his allegations. Mr. Malthus contemplates with dismay the extension of pauperism, the increasing burden of poor rates, the spreading wretchedness and vice of the poor. He would arrest all these evils; if the slaves of the ring and the lamp were subservient to him and awaiting his behests, his genuine benevolence would command that the hungry should be fed, the naked clothed, the houseless sheltered, the ignorant educated, the vicious withdrawn from temptation and reclaimed, and he would ordain that this varied provision for varied wants should be supplied perpetually. His piety might be alarmed at such a general correction of the ways of Providence to man, for he would perceive that all this might have been done by the operation of the divine laws, if such had been the design of God. But such slaves were not subject to his orders, he found himself powerless to relieve the miseries which he witnessed; yet his advice might be in some degree efficacious to prevent their occurrence or to mitigate their severity. It was plain to him that a laboring man or a laboring woman could earn enough to support them individually in health, and to provide some reserve for sickness and old age. But it was evident that if the man and the woman should marry each other, that the woman's efficiency as a laborer would be impaired, if not altogether destroyed, and that the man would have to support her in addition to himself by his exertions, and that there would be in all likelihood many supernumerary mouths to be fed without a corresponding increase for many years of the hands or opportunities available for production. The suggestion offered by Malthus was a very plain and sensible one, however repugnant to those addressed. "The poor heareth not rebuke." He recommended them not to marry until they had an assurance of adequate maintenance for themselves and their progeny, not to render their own labors inefficient by new and exacting demands upon their time and attention, not to burden the community or the parish with numbers incompetent to earn their own living, not to reduce the wages of themselves and their fellows by introducing new competitors for hire into the market-place of life. High wages for the laborer, reduced poor rates for the landlord, were the aims contemplated by Malthus. But he was an educated man, a reflecting man, and a clergyman, and before he limited his suggestion to this plain, prosaic, practical advice,

which every prudent parent repeats to his children, he inquired whether this self-restraint was the only relief admitted by the nature of the case, whether more effectual because less uncertain remedies might not be discovered by studying more profoundly the laws of nature and the conditions of social existence as exhibited in the history of the human race. This research afforded him no consolation, it revealed no talisman capable of operating a cure by its own magical power, it rather increased his alarm by exhibiting the constant prevalence of poverty and want, and the tendency of populations always to outrun the supplies of comfortable subsistence for all. Was this a nightmare conjured up in his dreams by his own anxieties, or was it a reality that he detected? We maintain that it was a reality; but Mr. Rickards, looking in another direction, and with his arithmetical calculations before him, says that it is a nightmare. Malthus endeavored to generalize his discoveries, to find some simple law for their expression, and the result at which he arrived was that population tended to increase in a geometrical ratio, while subsistence tendered to increase in only an arithonly an arithmetical progression. The tendency only, not the fact, was asserted—and again we think Malthus is right. Let us assume a certain family, or number of families, on a limited spot of ground, and the theoretical conditions of the problem require this, and we agree with Malthus. The absence of all prudential restraints, and of all extraordinary casualities, is also supposed. Mr. Rickards fails to meet the issue when he introduces emigration, because he violates the terms of the question; he evades the issue when he says, "happily for mankind one thing is certain, there is a loop-hole for escape somewhere."* Unquestionably, if that can be considered as either an escape or a refutation of the adverse argument which introduces new conditions into the problem. Malthus himself recognized one refuge—the grave; and Rickards acknowledges this as the ultimate issue, though incognizant of the logical effect of his admission. "As fast as numbers multiply, new channels of mortality will be opened to carry off the redundant members."† This expression is not less objectionable than the remarks of Malthus, that numbers are born for whom no place has been reserved at the banquet of life. But Malthus sought to avoid the necessity of this final and fatal escape; he investigated the laws of society to be assured of its absolute imminence, and he recommended prudence and abstinence as preventives. The tendency to ultimate ruin as the abstract consequences of certain principles was demonstrated—the tendency to actual ruin was in opera-

* Population and Capital, sec. iii, p. 61–2.

† Population and Capital, sec. ii, p. 36.

tion before his eyes, and his scheme proposed to avert or to postpone the latter by illustrating the former, and deducing from it the lessons which it suggested. How does Mr. Rickards reply to this? He shows that the tendency exhibited by the condition of England in the last century has not yet produced the complete fatality apprehended, that new occurrences have arrested its rapid career, and he infers from this that the general principles which dictated that apprehension were erroneous. To us such reasoning appears both confused and inconsequent. An accidental escape—a temporary postponement—he regards as a refutation of abstract principles; and he falls into this error because he has himself lowered the plan of speculation from a general inquiry to the level of a particular investigation. But he does not rest satisfied with this result, though he never rises to the higher elevation occupied by his opponent. Having found the immediate apprehensions of Malthus unfulfilled, according to the modern but altered idea of their fulfillment, he is convinced of the fallacy of his general principles, and attempts to disprove them, and to establish another doctrine in their place. This he does by maintaining the thesis diametrically opposed to the position of Malthus, and sustaining the new postulate, for it is only a postulate in his hands, by showing the theoretical possibility of the more rapid increase of capital than population—and the actual realization of this possibility in several instances—but under the operation of those very prudential checks which had been urged by Malthus as the sole means of avoiding the fatal effects of the unrestrained operation of these great laws which he had detected and illustrated. This can scarcely be recognized as a refutation, or as justifying the exclusive adoption of Mr. Rickards' tenets in opposition to those of Malthus.

We have said, however, that if compelled to choose between Malthus and Rickards, we should be disposed to adhere to the latter. It may be that, like others, we are unable to extricate ourselves from the current of the times, and prefer to float lazily along on the stream to attempting the arduous and perilous task of stemming the flood, and encountering the rush of stocks and stones borne down by its descending volume. We would fain hope that we have a better justification of our selection, and that the increased knowledge, the larger and more precise information, and the ampler range of speculation, due to later years, have enabled us to take a broader and less partial view of the question than was practicable before. When we pass over to the point of view occupied by Mr. Rickards, it becomes apparent that he has strong reasons for entertaining the opinions advocated by him, though his evolution of them is in many respects imperfect and unsatisfactory, and his logic usually moves with tottering steps.

Mr. Malthus, in his investigations, chiefly confines himself to, or is at least principally governed by, the contemplation of only two classes of the population—the class saddled with the poor rates, and the class for whose support they are levied. Mr. Rickards divides society on a very different principle, into capitalists engaged in production, and laborers—the instruments of production. Very important subdivisions of the community were tacitly excluded from the consideration of Mr. Malthus; very unmanageable elements of the population are disregarded, or insufficiently regarded by Mr. Rickards. The former sympathizes with the landlords and the mass of the population, and, like a faithful attendant at vestries and quarter-sessions, occupies himself with the question of pauperism; the latter sympathizes with the energetic enterprise of the capitalists, and sees little beyond the question of production. The much more vital problem of the distribution of products, is foreign to his thoughts and to his philosophy. "*Non minor laus est dispensationem probabilem facere, quam frumenta colligere.*"* In these days it is the knot to be untied before any adequate solution of the tangled question of population and subsistence can be expected. It may be very well as a provisional measure, in the mean time, to revive the oracle anciently given to the Trœzenians—do not marry young.† It may also be expedient to encourage exertion and dispel despondency, by demonstrating that the possibilities of nature permit a more rapid increase of products than will be requisite for the necessary support of the probable increase of families. But these considerations do not reach the main question. Two separate inquiries, in very different spheres of speculation, are involved, and let us add, have been almost universally confounded in the discussion of the problem. There is the purely abstract and theoretical investigation in regard to the relative progression of numbers and capital. There is also the entirely practical difficulty in regard to the actual relations of these progressions. As long as these dissimilar enigmas are not carefully distinguished, it is easy to argue on either side, or even to change hands and still dispute. Malthus and Rickards will

* Cassiodorus, Var. vi, Form xviii, tom i, p. 99, col. a, Ed. Garet, Venet. "The distribution of wealth is a question of incomparably more importance than even its production." Dove. Theory of Human Progression, ch. ii, sec. ii, p. 242, note: Vide, § 1, p. 212, note. "Que conclure de tout ceci? Que le bien-être des nations, que leur richesse n'a pas tant pour principe la puissance des instruments industriel, et leur développement gigantesque, que la bonne organization du travail, et l'équitable répartition des produits," &c., &c. Proudhon, Des Réformes à opérer dans l'exploitation des Chemins de Fer, ch. v. § 2, p. 286–7, note. Contrad Geon, ch. xiii, § ii, vol. ii, p. 316, vide Pop. and Capital, Lect., v. p. iii.

† Aristot. Pol. lib. vii, cap. xvi. Different interpretations were ascribed to the oracle.

remarks that "the checks upon production are simply the deficiency of space, of capital, and of labor," and proceeds to say that "the first is at present unfelt, for not above a tenth part of the earth's available surface is as yet cultivated for food."* This only amounts to the declaration that the conditions of the problem are not yet realized; it does not authorize the elimination of the main element of the question—the deficiency of land—from the speculative inquiry. We might with much greater propriety exclude the consideration of labor and of capital, for with the increase of population there will necessarily be a corresponding increase of the raw materials of labor, and with the increase of labor actually applied there would also be an increase of capital. But that which would absolutely restrain the employment of labor, and the formation of capital, would be the exhaustion of the supply of land.

In the actual experience of humanity, the world never has been, and probably never will be brought to the last extremity—to the ordeal of the unmitigated conditions of the speculative question. And it is in consequence of this disparity between the theoretical statement of the enigma and the forms which it assumes in the realities of social economy, that Mr. Rickards appears to reason consecutively, and that his doctrine is practically valid. But the character of the question is completely changed at this point, without his becoming cognizant of the change. Societies never entertain social principles in a purely abstract form; they are never subjected to the extreme logical consequence of any social or political doctrine. Long before reaching this point, the tendency which inclines to that extreme limit in theory becomes operative, and either prevents in time, or anticipates in effect, the result apprehended. Thus, in the case of population and subsistence, the prudence, the caution, the selfishness, or the luxurious and often the licentious habits of certain classes of the community dissuade from early marriages, or encourage celibacy, while the improvidence, the misery, the squalid habitations, the unwholesome diet, the vices and the crimes of other classes of the community, retard the increase of the people. In the former case, the recommendations of Malthus are followed by the unconscious instincts of human cupidity; in the latter the result indicated by him is experienced in advance by premature mortality. But in either event the doctrines of Malthus are verified; and the objections of Mr. Rickards, true as statements of the facts of society, fallacious as refutations, are the best demonstration of the laws of society, as expounded by Malthus, which are the objects of attack.

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* Population and Food, Lect. iv, p. 103.

It is a beneficient provision of Providence that nations and societies expire gradually; that as they increase by the separate accretion of new atoms, so they languish and die by partial and progressive extermination: "*erramus autem, qui ultimum timemus diem, cum tantumdem in mortem singuli conferant;*" "*cotidie morimur, cotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitæ, et tunc quoque, cum crescimus, vita decresit.** Languor, imbecility, disease, precede death, but they are the first stages of fate in individuals, in societies, and in nations. If extinction overtook States and communities suddenly and completely, like the day of doom, after waiting, without the utterance of any premonition, 'till the ultimate goal had been reached, no preparation would be practicable for the changing order of things, no provision would be possible for the recuperation of societies. Happily the law of humanity is very different from this, but we lose the benefit and wisdom of the law if we fail to recognize or misapprehend its character as Mr. Rickards has done.

Unquestionably the soil of the British Islands is capable of supporting abundantly all their inhabitants, if the land were entirely devoted to the production of the necessaries of life, and their labor and capital judiciously expended for the same purpose. But none of these things is done—large quantities of provision are imported from abroad, numbers are naked, and hungry, and unsheltered—multitudes pine away in want and wretchedness—many are rapidly or lingeringly starved to death. Without devoting the soil, and capital, and labor of Great Britain exclusively or even principally to the production of food and clothing, the whole population could be amply supported through the intervention of trade and the exchange of products. Much more is thus produced than is requisite for the support of the people, but the masses are nevertheless in want—not from defect of land or produce, but from the inequality and the inadequacy of the distribution of products. The conditions of Malthus are not fulfilled, yet the dangers which alarmed him have been long experienced. The capabilities proclaimed by Rickards are not exhausted, are not even strained, yet the refuge and the blessings announced by him are not obtained. The escape promised is too distant and inaccessible; the peril dreaded approaches faster than the theory calculated. The real question for the consideration of the student of the economies of society is not stated by either Malthus or Rickards; both are right, both are wrong, according to the point of view selected—neither is sufficient. The one takes too abstract a view—the other is too much and too

* Seneca Epist. Lib. xx, ep. iii, § iii; Lib. iii, ep. iii, § 20.

blindly a sophistical disputant. The inquiry of direct practical moment, is an investigation of the laws of equitable and sagacious distribution of products. Practically, the productive power of population, and of capital, labor, and land, is indefinite, if not unlimited; but the practical limits of one or the other, or of both, are reached long before the exhaustion of their capacities, in consequence of defects, evitable or inevitable, in the distribution of products. The correction or alleviation of these defects is what is required of statesmen and of philosophers.

We must forego our intention of pointing out the numerous sophisms and the blunders in history, zoology, &c., into which Mr. Rickards is betrayed, and must even renounce the hope confidently entertained of exposing some gross fallacies in regard to the relative multiplication of capital and population, which he shares with most writers on the subject. They may furnish the subject of a future essay.

HOW CAN THE UNION BE PRESERVED?

During the discussions which shook the Union to its very centre in 1850, and for the last time matched in debate the colossal intellects of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, Mr. Calhoun died. He had been the most anxious, most earnest, and many thought the most ultra among Southern statesmen, in insisting upon the strictest compliance, in every particular, with the constitutional requirements on the subject of slavery. That subject seemed to him to swallow up and absorb every other. All of his experiences, all of his thoughts, his apprehensions, and his hopes, as life's tide was fast flitting away, were condensed, with a power which he only seemed to wield, into an address it was his ardent hope to have made in the Senate. The hour came for its delivery, but the statesman and sage, worn down with disease, proved inadequate to the task, and the duty was assigned by him to another. It was the last act in an illustrious career.

We have just received Mr. Appleton's edition of Mr. Calhoun's works, in six volumes, and have turned instinctively to that closing address. Will it be considered out of time to peruse it again; and will not its insertion in the Review, side by side with the other great papers upon the South and its institutions it has been our pride and pleasure to collect, be regarded as appropriate.

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. Entertaining this opinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavored to call the attention of both the two great parties which divide the country to adopt some measure to prevent so great a disaster, but without success. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a point when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the

Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration—How can the Union be preserved?

To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and the character of the cause by which the Union is endangered. Without such knowledge it is impossible to pronounce, with any certainty, by what measure it can be saved; just as it would be impossible for a physician to pronounce, in the case of some dangerous disease, with any certainty, by what remedy the patient could be saved, without similar knowledge of the nature and character of the cause which produced it. The first question, then, presented for consideration, in the investigation I propose to make, in order to obtain such knowledge, is—What is it that has endangered the Union?

To this question there can be but one answer,—that the immediate cause is the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union. This widely-extended discontent is not of recent origin. It commenced with the agitation of the slavery question, and has been increasing ever since. The next question, going one step further back, is—What has caused this widely diffused and almost universal discontent?

It is a great mistake to suppose, as is by some, that it originated with demagogues, who excited the discontent with the intention of aiding their personal advancement, or with the disappointed ambition of certain politicians, who resorted to it as the means of retrieving their fortunes. On the contrary, all the great political influences of the section were arrayed against excitement, and exerted to the utmost to keep the people quiet. The great mass of the people of the South were divided, as in the other sections, into Whigs and Democrats. The leaders and the presses of both parties in the South were very solicitous to prevent excitement and to preserve quiet; because it was seen that the effects of the former would necessarily tend to weaken, if not destroy, the political ties which united them with their respective parties in the other section. Those who know the strength of party ties will readily appreciate the immense force which this cause exerted against agitation, and in favor of preserving quiet. But, great as it was, it was not sufficient to prevent the wide-spread discontent which now pervades the section. No; some cause, far deeper and more powerful than the one supposed, must exist, to account for discontent so wide and deep. The question the recurs—What is the cause of this discontent? It will be found in the belief of the people of the Southern States, as prevalent as the discon-

tent itself, that they cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety, in the Union. The next question to be considered is—What has caused this belief?

One of the causes is, undoubtedly, to be traced to the long-continued agitation of the slave question on the part of the North, and the many aggressions which they have made on the rights of the South during the time. I will not enumerate them at present, as it will be done hereafter in its proper place.

There is another lying back of it—with which this is intimately connected—that may be regarded as the great and primary cause. This is to be found in the fact that the equilibrium between the two sections, in the Government as it stood when the constitution was ratified and the Government put in action, has been destroyed. At that time there was nearly a perfect equilibrium between the two which afforded ample means to each to protect itself against the aggression of the other; but, as it now stands, one section has the exclusive power of controlling the Government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression. To place this subject distinctly before you, I have, Senators, prepared a brief statistical statement, showing the relative weight of the two sections in the Government under the first census of 1790 and the last census of 1840.

According to the former, the population of the United States, including Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, which then were in their incipient condition of becoming States, but were not actually admitted, amounted to 3,929,827. Of this number the Northern States had 1,997,899, and the Southern 1,952,072, making a difference of only 45,827 in favor of the former States. The number of States, including Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were sixteen; of which eight, including Vermont, belonged to the Northern section, and eight, including Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Southern,—making an equal division of the States between the two sections under the first census. There was a small preponderance in the House of Representatives, and in the electoral college, in favor of the Northern, owing to the fact that according to the provisions of the Constitution, in estimating federal numbers five slaves count but three; but it was too small to affect sensibly the perfect equilibrium which, with that exception, existed at the time. Such was the equality of the two sections when the States composing them agreed to enter into a Federal Union. Since then the equilibrium between them has been greatly disturbed.

According to the last census the aggregate population of the United States amounted to 17,063,357, of which the Northern section contained 9,728,920, and the Southern 7,334,437, making a difference, in round numbers, of 2,400,000. The number

of States had increased from sixteen to twenty-six, making an addition of ten States. In the mean time the position of Delaware had become doubtful as to which section she properly belonged. Considering her as neutral, the Northern States will have thirteen and the Southern States twelve, making a difference in the Senate of two Senators in favor of the former. According to the apportionment under the census of 1840, there were two hundred and twenty-three members of the House of Representatives, of which the Northern States had one hundred and thirty-five, and the Southern States (considering Delaware as neutral) eighty-seven, making a difference in favor of the former in the House of Representatives of forty-eight. The difference in the Senate of two members, added to this, gives to the North, in the electoral college, a majority of fifty. Since the census of 1840, four States have been added to the Union —Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, and Texas. They leave the difference in the Senate as it stood when the census was taken; but add two to the side of the North in the House, making the present majority in the House in its favor fifty, and in the electorial college fifty-two.

The result of the whole is to give the Northern section a predominance in every department of the Government, and thereby concentrate in it the two elements which constitute the Federal Government,—majority of States, and a majority of their population, estimated in federal numbers. Whatever section concentrates the two in itself possesses the control of the entire Government.

But we are just at the close of the sixth decade, and the commencement of the seventh. The census is to be taken this year, which must add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The prospect is, also, that a great increase will be added to its present preponderance in the Senate, during the period of the decade, by the addition of new States. Two territories, Oregon and Minnesota, are already in progress, and strenuous efforts are making to bring in three additional States from the territory recently conquered from Mexico; which, if successful, will add three other States in a short time to the Northern section, making five States; and increasing the present number of its States from fifteen to twenty, and of its Senators from thirty to forty. On the contrary, there is not a single territory in progress in the Southern section, and no certainty that any additional State will be added to it during the decade. The prospect then is, that the two sections in the Senate, should the efforts now made to exclude the South from the newly acquired territories succeed, will stand, before the end of the decade, twenty Northern States to fourteen Southern

(considering Delaware as neutral), and forty Northern Senators to twenty-eight Southern. This great increase of Senators, added to the great increase of members of the House of Representatives and the electoral college on the part of the North, which must take place under the next decade, will effectually and irretrievably destroy the equilibrium which existed when the Government commenced.

Had this destruction been the operation of time, without the interference of Government, the South would have had no reason to complain; but such was not the fact. It was caused by the legislation of this Government, which was appointed, as the common agent of all, and charged with the protection of the interests and security of all. The legislation by which it has been effected, may be classed under three heads. The first is, that series of acts by which the South has been excluded from the common territory belonging to all the States as members of the Federal Union—which have had the effect of extending vastly the portion allotted to the Northern section, and restricting within narrow limits the portion left the South. The next consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements, by which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North; and the last is a system of political measures, by which the original character of the Government has been radically changed. I propose to bestow upon each of these, in the order they stand, a few remarks, with the view of showing that it is owing to the action of this Government, that the equilibrium between the two sections has been destroyed, and the whole powers of the system centered in a sectional majority.

The first of the series of acts by which the South was deprived of its due share of the territories, originated with the confederacy which preceded the existence of this Government. It is to be found in the provisions of the ordinance of 1787. Its effect was to exclude the South entirely from that vast and fertile region which lies between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, now embracing five States and one territory. The next of the series is the Missouri compromise, which excluded the South from that large portion of Louisiana which lies north of 36° 30′, excepting what is included in the State of Missouri. The last of the series excluded the South from the whole of the Oregon Territory. All these, in the slang of the day, were what are called slave territories, and not free soil; that is, territories belonging to slaveholding powers and open to the emigration of masters with their slaves. By these several acts, the South was excluded from 1,238,025 square miles—an extent of country considerably exceeding the entire valley of the Mis-

sissippi. To the South was left the portion of the Territory of Louisiana lying south of 36° 30′, and the portion north of it included in the State of Missouri, with the portion lying south of 36° 30′, including the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, and the territory lying west of the latter, and south of 36° 30′, called the Indian country. These, with the Territory of Florida, now the State, make, in the whole, 283,503 square miles. To this must be added the territory acquired with Texas. If the whole should be added to the Southern section, it would make an increase of 325,520, which would make the whole left to the South, 609,023. But a large part of Texas is still in contest between the two sections, which leaves it uncertain what will be the real extent of the portion of territory that may be left to the South.

I have not included the territory recently acquired by the treaty with Mexico. The North is making the most strenuous efforts to appropriate the whole to herself, by excluding the South from every foot of it. If she should succeed, it will add to that from which the South has already been excluded, 526,078 square miles, and would increase the whole which the North has appropriated to herself, to 1,764,023, not including the portion that she may succeed in excluding us from in Texas. To sum up the whole, the United States, since they declared their independence, have acquired 2,373,046 square miles of territory, from which the North will have excluded the South, if she should succeed in monopolizing the newly acquired territories, about three-fourths of the whole, leaving to the South but about one-fourth.

Such is the first and great cause that has destroyed the equilibrium between the two sections in the Government.

The next is the system of revenue and disbursements which has been adopted by the Government. It is well known that the Government has derived its revenue mainly from duties on imports. I shall not undertake to show that such duties must necessarily fall mainly on the exporting States, and that the South as the great exporting portion of the Union, has in reality paid vastly more than her due proportion of the revenue; because I deem it unnecessary, as the subject has on so many occasions been fully discussed. Nor shall I, for the same reason, undertake to show that a far greater portion of the revenue has been disbursed at the North, than its due share; and that the joint effect of these causes has been to transfer a vast amount from South to North, which, under an equal system of revenue and disbursements, would not have been lost to her. If to this be added, that many of the duties were imposed, not for revenue, but for protection,—that is, intended to put money, not in the treasury, but directly into the pocket of the manufac-

I refer to the relation between the two races in the Southern section, which constitutes a vital portion of her social organization. Every portion of the North entertains views and feelings more or less hostile to it. Those most opposed and hostile, regard it as a sin, and consider themselves under the most sacred obligation to use every effort to destroy it. Indeed, to the extent that they conceive they have power, they regard themselves as implicated in the sin, and responsible for not suppressing it by the use of all and every means. Those less opposed and hostile, regard it as a crime—an offence against humanity, as they call it; and, although not so fanatical, feel themselves bound to use all efforts to effect the same object; while those who are least opposed and hostile, regard it as a blot and a stain on the character of what they call the Nation, and feel themselves accordingly bound to give it no countenance or support. On the contrary, the Southern section regards the relation as one which cannot be destroyed without subjecting the two races to the greatest calamity, and the section to poverty, desolation, and wretchedness; and accordingly they feel bound, by every consideration of interest and safety, to defend it.

This hostile feeling on part of the North towards the social organization of the South long lay dormant, but it only required some cause to act on those who felt most intensely that they were responsible for its continuance, to call it into action. The increasing power of this Government, and of the control of the Northern section over all its departments, furnished the cause. It was this which made an impression on the minds of many, that there was little or no restraint to prevent the Government from doing whatever it might choose to do. This was sufficient of itself to put the most fanatical portion of the North in action, for the purpose of destroying the existing relation between the two races in the South.

The first organized movement towards it commenced in 1835. Then, for the first time, societies were organized, presses established, lecturers sent forth to excite the people of the North, and incendiary publications scattered over the whole South, through the mail. The South was thoroughly aroused. Meetings were held every where, and resolutions adopted, calling upon the North to apply a remedy to arrest the threatened evil, and pledging themselves to adopt measures for their own protection, if not arrested. At the meeting of Congress, petitions poured in from the North, calling upon Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to prohibit, what they called, the internal slave trade between the States—announcing at the same time, that their ultimate object was to abolish slavery, not only in the District, but in the States and throughout the Union. At this period, the number engaged

in the agitation was small, and possessed little or no personal influence.

Neither party in Congress had, at that time, any sympathy with them or their cause. The members of each party presented their petitions with great reluctance. Nevertheless, small and contemptible as the party then was, both of the great parties of the North dreaded them. They felt, that though small, they were organized in reference to a subject which had a great and a commanding influence over the Northern mind. Each party, on that account, feared to oppose their petitions, lest the opposite party should take advantage of the one who might do so, by favoring them. The effect was, that both united in insisting that the petitions should be received, and that Congress should take jurisdiction over the subject. To justify their course, they took the extraordinary ground, that Congress was bound to receive petitions on every subject, however objectionable they might be, and whether they had, or had not, jurisdiction over the subject. These views prevailed in the House of Representatives, and partially in the Senate; and thus the party succeeded in their first movements, in gaining what they proposed—a position in Congress, from which agitation could be extended over the whole Union. This was the commencement of the agitation, which has ever since continued, and which, as is now acknowledged, has endangered the Union itself.

As for myself, I believed at that early period, if the party who got up the petitions should succeed in getting Congress to take jurisdiction, that agitation would follow, and that it would in the end, if not arrested, destroy the Union. I then so expressed myself in debate, and called upon both parties to take grounds against assuming jurisdiction; but in vain. Had my voice been heeded, and had Congress refused to take jurisdiction, by the united votes of all parties, the agitation which followed would have been prevented, and the fanatical zeal that gives impulse to the agitation, and which has brought us to our present perilous condition, would have become extinguished, from the want of fuel to feed the flame. *That* was the time for the North to have shown her devotion to the Union; but, unfortunately, both of the great parties of that section were so intent on obtaining and retaining party ascendency, that all other considerations were overlooked or forgotten.

What has since followed are but natural consequences. With the success of their first movement, this small fanatical party began to acquire strength; and with that, to become an object of courtship to both the great parties. The necessary consequence was, a further increase of power, and a gradual tainting of the opinions of both of the other parties with their doctrines, until the infection has extended over both; and the great mass of

the population of the North, who, whatever may be their opinion of the original abolition party, which still preserves its distinctive organization, hardly ever fail, when it comes to acting, to co-operate in carrying out their measures. With the increase of their influence, they extended the sphere of their action. In a short time after the commencement of their first movement, they had acquired sufficient influence to induce the legislatures of most of the Northern States to pass acts, which in effect abrogated the clause of the Constitution that provides for the delivery up of fugitive slaves. Not long after, petitions followed to abolish slavery in forts, magazines, and dock-yards, and all other places where Congress had exclusive power of legislation. This was followed by petitions and resolutions of legislatures of the Northern States, and popular meetings, to exclude the Southern States from all territories acquired, or to be acquired, and to prevent the admission of any State hereafter into the Union, which, by its constitution, does not prohibit slavery. And Congress is invoked to do all this, expressly with the view to the final abolition of slavery in the States. That has been avowed to be the ultimate object from the beginning of the agitation until the present time; and yet the great body of both parties of the North, with the full knowledge of the fact, although disavowing the abolitionists, have co-operated with them in almost all their measures.

Such is a brief history of the agitation, as far as it has yet advanced. Now I ask, Senators, what is there to prevent its further progress, until it fulfils the ultimate end proposed, unless some decisive measure should be adopted to prevent it? Has any one of the causes, which has added to its increase from its original small and contemptible beginning until it has attained its present magnitude, diminished in force? Is the original cause of the movement—that slavery is a sin, and ought to be suppressed—weaker now than at the commencement? Or is the abolition party less numerous or influential, or have they less influence with, or control over the two great parties of the North in elections? Or has the South greater means of influencing or controlling the movements of this Government now, than it had when the agitation commenced? To all these questions but one answer can be given: No—no—no. The very reverse is true. Instead of being weaker, all the elements in favor of agitation are stronger now than they were in 1835, when it first commenced, while all the elements of influence on the part of the South are weaker. Unless something decisive is done, I again ask, what is to stop this agitation, before the great and final object at which it aims—the abolition of slavery in the States—is consummated? Is it, then, not certain, that if something is not done to arrest it, the

South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession? Indeed, as events are now moving, it will not require the South to secede, in order to dissolve the Union. Agitation will of itself effect it, of which its past history furnishes abundant proof—as I shall next proceed to show.

It is a great mistake to suppose that disunion can be effected by a single blow. The cords which bound these States together in one common Union, are far too numerous and powerful for that. Disunion must be the work of time. It is only through a long process, and successively, that the cords can be snapped, until the whole fabric falls asunder. Already the agitation of the slavery question has snapped some of the most important, and has greatly weakened all the others, as I shall proceed to show.

The cords that bind the States together are not only many, but various in character. Some are spiritual or ecclesiastical; some political; others social. Some appertain to the benefit conferred by the Union, and others to the feeling of duty and obligation.

The strongest of those of a spiritual and ecclesiastical nature, consisted in the unity of the great religious denominations, all of which originally embraced the whole Union. All these denominations, with the exception, perhaps, of the Catholics, were organized very much upon the principle of our political institutions. Beginning with smaller meetings, corresponding with the political divisions of the country, their organization terminated in one great central assemblage, corresponding very much with the character of Congress. At these meetings the principal clergymen and lay members of the respective denominations, from all parts of the Union, met to transact business relating to their common concerns. It was not confined to what appertained to the doctrines and discipline of the respective denominations, but extended to plans for disseminating the Bible—establishing missions, distributing tracts—and of establishing presses for the publication of tracts, newspapers, and periodicals, with a view of diffusing religious information—and for the support of their respective doctrines and creeds. All this combined contributed greatly to strengthen the bonds of the Union. The ties which held each denomination together formed a strong cord to hold the Union together; but, powerful as they were, they have not been able to resist the explosive effect of slavery agitation.

The first of these cords which snapped, under its explosive force, was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church. The numerous and strong ties which held it together, are all broken, and its unity gone. They now form separate churches; and, instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the

intent of charging us with disunion, without uttering one word of denunciation against our assailants. If friends of the Union, their course should be to unite with us in repelling these assaults, and denouncing the authors as enemies of the Union. Why they avoid this, and pursue the course they do, it is for them to explain.

Nor can the Union be saved by invoking the name of the illustrious Southerner whose mortal remains repose on the western bank of the Potomac. He was one of us—a slaveholder and a planter. We have studied his history, and find nothing in it to justify submission to wrong. On the contrary, his great fame rests on the solid foundation, that, while he was careful to avoid doing wrong to others, he was prompt and decided in repelling wrong. I trust that, in this respect, we profited by his example.

Nor can we find any thing in his history to deter us from seceding from the Union, should it fail to fulfil the objects for which it was instituted, by being permanently and hopelessly converted into the means of oppressing instead of protecting us. On the contrary, we find much in his example to encourage us, should we be forced to the extremity of deciding between submission and disunion.

There existed then, as well as now, a union—that between the parent country and her then colonies. It was a union that had much to endear it to the people of the colonies. Under its protecting and superintending care, the colonies were planted and grew up and prospered, through a long course of years, until they became populous and wealthy. Its benefits were not limited to them. Their extensive agricultural and other productions, gave birth to a flourishing commerce, which richly rewarded the parent country for the trouble and expense of establishing and protecting them. Washington was born and grew up to manhood under that union. He acquired his early distinction in its service, and there is every reason to believe that he was devotedly attached to it. But his devotion was a rational one. He was attached to it, not as an end, but as a means to an end. When it failed to fulfil its end, and, instead of affording protection, was converted into the means of oppressing the colonies, he did not hesitate to draw his sword, and head the great movement by which that union was forever severed, and the independence of these States established. This was the great and crowning glory of his life, which has spread his fame over the whole globe. and will transmit it to the latest posterity.*

* * * * * * * *

* Several paragraphs are omitted by us, embracing the argument on the admission of California, which has no present practical application.

Having now shown what cannot save the Union, I return to the question with which I commenced, How can the Union be saved? There is but one way by which it can with any certainty; and that is, by a full and final settlement, on the principle of justice, of all the questions at issue between the two sections. The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer, but the Constitution; and no concession or surrender to make. She has already surrendered so much that she has little left to surrender. Such a settlement would go to the root of the evil, and remove all cause of discontent, by satisfying the South, she could remain honorably and safely in the Union, and thereby restore the hormony and fraternal feelings between the sections, which existed anterior to the Missouri agitation. Nothing else can, with any certainty, finally and forever settle the question at issue, terminate agitation, and save the Union.

But can this be done? Yes, easily; not by the weaker party, for it can of itself do nothing—not even protect itself—but by the stronger. The North has only to will it to accomplish it—to do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled—to cease the agitation of the slave question, and to provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South, in substance, the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government. There will be no difficulty in devising such a provision—one that will protect the South, and which, at the same time, will improve and strengthen the Government, instead of impairing and weakening it.

But will the North agree to this? It is for her to answer the question. But, I will say, she cannot refuse, if she has half the love of the Union which she professes to have, or without justly exposing herself to the charge that her love of power and aggrandizement is far greater than her love of the Union. At all events, the responsibility of saving the Union rests on the North, and not on the South. The South cannot save it by any act of hers, and the North may save it without any sacrifice whatever, unless to do justice, and to perform her duties under the Constitution, should be regarded by her as a sacrifice.

It is time, Senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides, as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether it ever can hereafter be; and we, as the representatives of the States of this Union, regarded as governments, should come to a distinct

understanding as to our respective views, in order to ascertain whether the great questions at issue can be settled or not. If you, who represent the stronger portion, cannot agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do, when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent, you will compel us to infer by your acts what you intend. In that case, California will become the test question. If you admit her, under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired territories, with the intention of destroying, irretrievably, the equilibrium between the two sections. We would be blind not to perceive in that case, that your real objects are power and aggrandizement, and infatuated not to act accordingly.

I have now, Senators, done my duty in expressing my opinions fully, freely, and candidly, on this solemn occasion. In doing so, I have been governed by the motives which have governed me in all the stages of the agitation of the slavery question since its commencement. I have exerted myself, during the whole period, to arrest it, with the intention of saving the Union, if it could be done; and if it could not, to save the section where it has pleased Providence to cast my lot, and which I sincerely believe has justice and the Constitution on its side. Having faithfully done my duty to the best of my ability, both to the Union and my section, throughout this agitation, I shall have the consolation, let what will come, that I am free from all responsibility.

THE HIRELING AND THE SLAVE.

Mr. Grayson, of South Carolina, whose poem, "The Hireling and the Slave," furnished us a few extracts on a late occasion, has been induced to issue a new edition, with illustrative notes, to which is added several other poems selected from his portfolio. It is not often that at the ripe age of three score and ten, a gentleman can be found, who, after winning laurels in the walks of almost every department of prose literature, is bold enough to risk them in a courtship of the muses, and successful enough to woo them to the highest strains of song. Yet Mr. Grayson has done this, and seemingly, too, without an effort. Like the "Sugar Cane" of Granger, and the "Maize" of Barlow, his beautiful production, with its glowing language and life-like pictures, can never cease to

give pleasure whilst rural life shall continue to have its charms, and the toils of the laborer shall have interest with his employer.

It is our present purpose to follow Mr. Grayson through the inviting field which his little volume unpretendingly opens, and the argument presents itself in two parts.

In the first part, the condition of the hireling is shown to be identical with that of the slave, freedom having proved no boon to the manumitted serfs of Europe, but only a mockery:

> In squalid hut—a kennel for the poor,
> Or noisome cellar, stretched upon the floor,
> His clothing rags, of filthy straw his bed,
> With offal from the gutter daily fed,*
> Thrust out from Nature's board, the Hireling lies—
> No place for him that common board supplies,
> No neighbor helps, no charity attends,
> No philanthropic sympathy befriends;
> None heed the needy wretch's dying groan,
> He starves unsuccor'd perishes unknown.—p. 21.

The hollow and pharisaical professions of love for the negro afar off, and the stern indifference to the woes of the laboring classes near by, which mark the career of modern philanthropists on both sides of the ocean, are finely illustrated. Mr. Grayson might have included the three thousand memorializing pulpits of New England, dealing out political anathemas and Sharpe's rifles in God's name, as the meek and lowly Savior did the sacramental crumbs. These reverend sinners feast upon the fat of the land, lavished by their votaries. Did the South contribute a tythe as much for circulating the *truth*, such bald hypocrisy could not long survive.

> There, unconcerned, the philanthropic eye
> Beholds each phase of human misery;
> Sees the worn child compelled in mines to slave
> Through narrow seams of coal, a living grave.
> Driven from the breezy hill, the sunny glade,
> By ruthless hearts, the drudge of labor made,
> Unknown the boyish sport, the hours of play,
> Stript of the common boon, the light of day,
> Harnessed like brutes, like brutes to tug and strain
> And drag, on hands and knees, the loaded wain;
> There crammed in huts, in reeking masses thrown,
> All moral sense and decency unknown,†

* "I attended the garden," (Convent Garden,) said one pauper, "for a week, and lived entirely on the offal of the market." "I walked about," said another, "two days and nights without a bit to eat, except what I picked up in the gutter and eat like a dog—orange peel, old cabbage stumps, anything I could get."—*London Labor and London Poet.*

† The wigwams of Indians are palaces compared to the dwellings of laborers in the mining country. In a room, fifteen feet by eighteen, were two rows of beds, with no opening for air. The smell to strangers is intolerable. One miner declared the rooms unfit for swine, where fifty men slept in sixteen beds; not a flag or board on the floor, where puddles of water were lying. In Lancaster-

With no restraint but what the felon knows,
With the sole joy that beer or gin bestows,
To gross excess and brutalizing strife,
The drunken Hireling dedicates his life:*
There women prostitute themselves for bread,
There tearless mothers view their infant dead,†
Childhood bestows no childish sports or toys,
Age, neither reverence nor repose enjoys,
Labor with hunger wages ceaseless strife,
And want and suffering only end with life;
In crowded huts, contagious ills prevail,
Dull typhus lurks and deadlier plagues assail,‡
Gaunt famine prowls around his pauper prey,
And daily sweeps his ghastly hosts away;
Unburied corses taint the summer air,
And crime and outrage revel with despair.§

* * * * * * *

Yet homebred misery, such as this, imparts
Nor grief, nor care, to philanthropic hearts;‖
The tear of sympathy forever flows,
Though not for Saxon or for Celtic woes;
Vainly the starving White, at every door,
Craves help or pity for the Hireling poor,
But that the distant Black may softlier fare,
Eat, sleep, and play, exempt from toil and care,
All England's meek philanthropists unite,
With frantic eagerness, harangue and write,
By purchased tools, diffuse distrust and hate,
Sow factious strife, in each dependent State,
Cheat with delusive lies the public mind,
Invent the cruelties, they fail to find,¶

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shire, Mr. Wood found forty people sleeping in the same room, all order, delicacy, decency lost in overwhelming squalor. He compares the condition of the monkey house in the Zoological gardens to that of the laboring population. In Devonshire, families of six or eight sleep in one bed—father, mother, grown up sons and daughters. "I have found," he says, "that if a number of empty casks be placed along the street in White Chapel, in a few days each would have a tenant."—*Sanitary Reports.*

In a petition from the English miners to Parliament, it is stated that one tenth of their number perish every year. It is there that young children are compelled to work.

* In the Sanitary Report, a witness says of a particular parish, "I believe this parish most fearfully demoralized. It is said that twenty years ago there was not one young female cottager of virtuous character; there was not one man who was not, or had not been a drunkard, and theft and fighting were universal.

† At an inquest in Leeds, as stated in a Leeds paper, it was asserted by the Coroner, and assented to by the Surgeon as probable, that three hundred children, in Leeds alone, were put to death yearly, to avoid the consequences of their living, and the murderers are never discovered.

‡ The Sanitary Report states that, for three years preceding it, typhus, scarlet fever, and small pox, were never absent from many hamlets and towns—the Royal town of Windsor being the worst of all.

§ During the famine in Ireland dead bodies were found lying about in the fields, and in deserted houses, and despair put an end to all moral restraints.

‖ "They (the Exeter Hall philanthropists) would save the Sarawak cut throats with their poisoned spears, but they ignore the thirty thousand needle women, the three million paupers, and the Connaught potential cannibalism."—*Carlyle.*

¶ The Abolition party hire spies or agents to report every thing in accordance with their own wishes and prejudices. They exaggerate facts, receive tales and

Slander, in pious garb, with prayer and hymn,
And blast a people's fortune for a whim.—pp. 23–4–6.

The persecutions and tyrannies of the Old World having driven the European to find refuge in the Western wilds, companioned, in the Southern States, by the "sabled multitude," unwillingly torn from Niger's banks and Conjo's shores, Mr. Grayson sketches in glowing colors the land of the Huguenot, his own loved and classic Carolina, now, in despite of her heroic past, attempted to be reviled.

These all are lost; but, smiling in the West,
Hope, still alluring, calms the anxious breast;
And dimly rising through the landward haze,
New forms of beauty court his wistful gaze—
The level line of strand that brightly shines
Between the rippling waves and dusky pines,
A shelving beach that sandy hillocks bound,
With clumps of palm and fragrant myrtle crowned;
Low shores with margins broad of marshy green,
Bright winding streams, the grassy wastes between,
Wood crested islands, that o'erlook the main,
Like dark hills rising on a verdant plain;
Trees, of new beauty climbing to the skies,
With various verdure, meets his wondering eyes—
Gigantic oaks, the monarchs of the wood,
Whose stooping branches sweep the rising flood,
And, robed in solemn draperies of moss,
To stormy winds, their proud defiance toss;
Magnolias bright with glossy leaves and flowers,
Fragrant as Eden in its happiest hours;
The gloomy cypress towering to the skies,
The maple, loveliest in autumnal dyes,
The palm armorial, with its tufted head,
Vines over all, in wild luxuriance spread,
And columned pines, a mystic wood, he sees,
That sigh and whisper to the passing breeze;
Here, with determined will and patient toil,
From wood and swamp he wins the fertile soil;
To every hardship, stern endurance brings,
And builds a fortune undisturbed by kings,
Fair fields of wealth and ease his children find,
Nor heed the homes their fathers left behind.—pp. 29–30.

Negro life in Africa, with all its horrid rites, its fettishism and barbarity, are portrayed with easy but bold touches, in contrast with which, is the relief of the present slave-life at the South:

Idolatries, more hateful than the grave
With human sacrifice, no more enslave;

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rumors for truth, describe isolated abuses as the ordinary condition of Slavery—this they must do, to be deemed trust-worthy by their employers, and to earn their living. One of these absurd stories—lately revived by the Westminster Review—asserts that, in Jamaica, on a single plantation, there had been seventy deaths from violence for six from natural causes. See what Lewis says of the same people; "I never saw people look more happy, in my life, and I believe their condition to be more comfortable than that of the laborers of Great Britain."

No savage rule, its hecatomb supplies,
Of slaves for slaughter, when a master dies:*
In sloth and error sunk for countless years,
His race has lived, but light at last appears—
Celestial light—religion undefiled
Dawns in the heart of Congo's simple child;
Her glorious truths he hears with glad surprise,
And lifts his eye with rapture to the skies:
The noblest thoughts that erring mortals know,
Waked by her influence, in his bosom glow;
His nature owns the renovating sway,
And all the old barbarian melts away.
And now, with sturdy hand and cheerful heart,
He learns to master every useful art,
To forge the axe, to mould the rugged share,
The ship's brave keel for angry waves prepare:
The rising wall obeys his plastic will,
And the loom's fabric owns his ready skill.—p. 32.

* * * * * * * * *

The negro wins, with well directed toil,
Its various treasures from the virgin soil;
Swept by his axe, the forests pass away,
The dense swamp opens to the light of day;
The deep morass of reeds and fetid mud,
Now dry now covered, by the rising flood,
In squares arranged, by lines of bank and drain,
Smiles with rich harvests of the golden grain
That, wrought from ooze by nature's curious art
To pearly whiteness, cheers the negro's heart,
Smokes on the master's board, in goodly show,
A mimic pyramid of seeming snow.
And, borne by commerce to each distant shore,
Supplies the world with one enjoyment more.—p. 33.

Here we have a beautiful picture of the Indian-corn field. The "waving green" and tall plumes reach further than our eye may scan them:

On upland slopes, with jungle lately spread,
The lordly maize uplifts its tasseled head,
Broad graceful leaves of waving green appear,
And shining threads adorn the swelling ear—
The matchless ear, whose milky stores impart
A feast that mocks the daintiest powers of art,
To every taste, whose riper bounty yields,
A grateful feast amid a thousand fields,
And sent on mercy's errand, from the slave
To starving hirelings, rescues from the grave.—p. 33.

Again, the fleecy robes of *Gossypium* cover the broad expanse, and winter's snows are mimic'd under cover of autumnal sun:

In broader limits, by the loftier maize,
The silk like cotton all its wealth displays;
Through forked leaves, in endless rows, unfold
Gay blossoms tinged with purple dyes and gold;

* See the accounts given by late missionaries of the brutal cruelties common in Ashantee and Dahomey—reviewed in the April number of the Southern Review.

To suns autumnal, bursting pods disclose
Their fleeces spotless as descending snows;
These, a rich freight, a thousand ships receive,
A thousand looms, with fairy fingers, weave;
And hireling multitudes, in other lands,*
Are blest with raiment from the negro's hands.—p. 34.

Louisiana smiles in her Cane fields, rich with sacharine juices:

Nor these alone they give; their useful toil
Lures the rich cane to its adopted soil—
The luscious cane whose genial sweets diffuse
More social joys than Hybla's honied dews;
Without whose help, no civic feast is made,
No bridal cake delights—without whose aid,
China's enchanting cup itself appears
To lose its virtue, and no longer cheers;
Arabia's fragrant berry idly wastes
Its pure aroma, on untutored tastes:
Limes of delicious scent and golden rind,
Their pungent treasures unregarded find;
Ices refresh the languid belle no more,
And their lost comfits, infant worlds deplore.—p. 34.

And Old Virginia offers her Calumet of peace—the stimulating weed—as far-famed as her mint juleps:

The weed's soft influence too, his hands prepare,
That soothes the beggar's grief, the monarch's care,
Cheers the lone scholar at his midnight work,
Subdues alike the Russian and the Turk,
The saint beguiles, the heart of toil revives,
Ennui itself of half its gloom deprives;
In fragrant clouds, involves the learned and great,
In golden boxes, helps the toils of State,
And, with strange magic and mysterious charm,
Hunger can stay, and bores and duns disarm.—p. 35.

From all of these the South draws her present opulence and power, and *may* defy, if she is true to herself in all the future, the shafts of her maligners.

These precious products, in successive years,
Trained by a master's skill, the negro rears;
New life he gives to Europe's busy marts,
To all the world, new comforts and new arts;
Loom, spinner, merchant, from his hands derive
Their wealth, and myriads by his labor thrive;
While slothful millions, hopeless of relief,
The slaves of pagan priest, and brutal chief,
Harrassed by wars, upon their native shore,
Still lead the savage life they led before.—p. 35.

* Why these multitudes should wage war on the products of negro labor, as they sometimes threaten to do, is curious enough. Is the negro as well employed in his own country for his own comfort and happiness? Does he produce, there, anything for the world's advantage? Would it benefit the negro or mankind to restore, to African barbarism, the millions employed in producing sugar, rice, and cotton? Could they be usefully employed at all, in any other way, for the world or for themselves? To buy the product of his labor is to contribute to his comfort.

The negro, at the same time, has learned great lessons, and made great advances: he has not been the muzzled ox treading out the corn, as hireling labor, alas, too often is:

Instructed thus, and in the only school
Barbarians ever know—a master's rule,
The negro learns each civilizing art
That softens and subdues the savage heart,
Assumes the tone of those with whom he lives,*
Acquires the habit that refinement gives,
And slowly learns, but surely, while a slave,
The lessons that his country never gave.
There tropic suns with fires unceasing pour
A baleful radiance on the deadly shore;
Foul vapours guard it; a remorseless host
Of frenzied fevers sentinel the coast,
Brood on the stream, the forest depths invade,
Lurk with alluring slumber in the shade,
Pursue the stranger that attempts to brave
Their fatal power and hurl him to the grave.
Science in vain her healing hand applies,
From the dread coast, refining Commerce flies,
The savage gloom, no foreign lights remove
Of arts or arms that conquer to improve;
Nor yet beneath these unpropitious skies,
Of native growth, can art or science rise;
While States and Empires—an august array,
In ruin glorious, flourish and decay,
No sable muses here, with voice divine,
Speak the charmed words that soften and refine,
No black Prometheus with heroic heart,
Wins and bestows the shining gifts of art,
Bondsman of Fetish violence and lust,
A slave of slaves, the negro licks the dust,
Unchanged since Heaven's creative word outspread
The seas, and heaved the mountains from their bed.—pp. 36–7.

The abolitionists and their crew were never better depicted nor held up to scorn so bitterly before. We cannot include them all:

Such now the maxims of the purer school†

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* That the slave acquires very decent manners from his associations, is evident enough from the way in which runaways are received into very respectable society among their Northern friends. He is imitative, and naturally acquires something of his Master's politeness. A short time since, in Charleston, a party of Northern ladies and their friends were overtaken, in a walk, by a shower of rain. As they passed the door of a gentleman's house, the servant invited them in. He introduced them into the parlor, handed them refreshments, and expressed his regrets that his Master was not at home to entertain them. "You see," said a Southern lady, "an example of the 'down-trodden, brutalized Negro slave.'" "What a pity," replied the other, "that such a man should be a slave." But what made him such a man, it may be asked, and what becomes of the brutalizing effect of slavery? Would he have acquired these manners in Ashantee or Dahomey—from Pagan priest or Chief, who cuts off a head when he would send a message to the other world? In what is his condition worse than that of a hireling waiter?

† The purer school of New England, which sets aside the Constitution and the Gospel, and substitutes Parker for St. Paul, and Beecher and Garrison for the Evangelists.

Of ethic lore, where sons of Slaves rule;*
No more allowed the negro to enslave,
They damn the Master, and for freedom rave,
Strange modes of morals and of faith unfold,
Make newer gospels supersede the old,
Prove that ungodly Paul connived at sin,
And holier rites like Mormon's priest, begin;
There, chief and teacher Gerrett Smith appears,
There Tappan mourns, like Niobe, all tears,
Carnage and fire, mad Garrison invokes,
And Hale with better temper, smirks and jokes;
There Giddings, with the negro mania bit,
Mouths and mistakes his ribaldry for wit,
His fustian speeches into market brings,
And prints and peddles all the paltry things;
The pest and scorn of legislative halls,
No rule restraints him, no disgrace appals,
Kicked from the House, the creature knows no pain,
But crawls, contented to his seat again.
Wallows with joy in slander's slough once more,
And plays Thersites, happier than before;
Prompt from his seat—when distant riots need
The Senate's aid—he flies with railway speed,
Harraugues, brags, bullies, then resumes his chair,
And wears his trophies with a hero's air;
His colleagues scourge him; but he shrewdly shows
A profitable use for whips and blows—
His friends and voters mark the increasing score,
Count every lash and honour him the more.
There supple Sumner, with the negro cause,
Wins the sly game for office and applause;
What boots it if the negro sink or swim?
He gains the Senate, 'tis enough for him.
What tho' he blast the fortune of the State
With fierce dissension and enduring hate?
He makes his speech, his rhetoric displays,
Trims the neat trope and points the sparkling phrase,
With well turned period, fosters civil strife,
And barters for a phrase a nation's life;
Sworn into office, his nice feelings loath†
The dog-like faithfulness that keeps an oath;
For rules of right, the silly crowd may bawl,
His loftier spirit scorns and spurns them all;
He heeds nor Court's decree, nor gospel light,
What Sumner thinks is right, alone is right;
On this sound maxim Sires and Sons proceed,
Changed in all else, but still in this agreed;
The Sires all slavers, the humaner Son
Curses the trade and mourns the mischief done.
For gold they made the negroes slaves, and he
For fame and office seeks to set them free;
Self still the end in which their creeds unite,
And that which serves the end is always right.—pp. 39–40–43.

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* In Rhode Island and Massachusetts, for example, where the morals of St. Paul are not sufficiently pure, and the gospel of Luke and Mark is superseded by that of Garrison and Philips.

† "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" Mr. Sumner's answer, when asked whether he would obey the Constitution as interpreted by the authorities of the country. (What would Mr. Grayson now add to this note if he had the revise.—EDITOR.)

How admirable is this closing picture of Southern life, and what a contrast is presented. We have but just reached, in our extract, the second part of Mr. Grayson's work, and regret the necessity to close here:

> And yet the Master's lighter rule ensures
> More order than the sternest code secures;
> No mobs of factious workmen gather here,
> No strikes we dread, no lawless riots fear;
> Nuns, from their convent driven, at midnight fly,
> Churches, in flames, ask vengeance from the sky,
> Seditious schemes in bloody tumults end,
> Parsons incite, and Senators defend,
> But not where Slaves their easy labors ply,
> Safe from the snare, beneath a Master's eye;
> In useful tasks engaged, employed their time,
> Untempted by the demagogue to crime,
> Secure they toil, uncursed their peaceful life,
> With labor's hungry broils and wasteful strife.*
> No want to goad, no faction to deplore,
> The Slave escapes the perils of the poor.—p. 48.

(From the State Gazette.)

DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS OF TEXAS.

HER TERRITORY—POPULATION—SUGAR CROP—COTTON FIELDS AND PROSPECTS—GENERAL RESOURCES.

1. The area of Texas.
2. The relative area of our Sugar region.

The census incorrectly places the area of Texas at 237,504 square miles, or 152,002,560 acres.

The true area of Texas, as accurately estimated at our Land Office, is 274,362 square miles, or 175,561,560 acres.

We rank the first State of the Union for territory.

Outside of our State the Southerner can look forward to few additional slave territories, and these, separately, of much less capacity than our State. Kansas and New Mexico are the only territories likely to become slaveholding States, and this event with Mexico is more remote than Kansas. But should it take place with both, we could not anticipate more than two slaveholding States in Kansas and the same in New Mexico.

When, however, we come to examine the resources of Texas, we find in her varied climate, geographical position, and convenience to the commerce of the Atlantic, the Republic of Mexico, and the great Mississippi valley, an ample and inviting field for the capital and industry of the enterprising immigrants of every State in the Union.

First, our sugar-growing region.

This may be said to extend along our whole coast, from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and reaching into the interior at

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* The late Preston strike lost to the parties—masters and workmen—over two millions of dollars, and ended where it begun.

least thirty miles. Our shore line, except islands, bays, &c., is measured at 392 miles, or within forty-four miles of the whole extent of the coasts of both Virginia and North Carolina. This area would embrace the counties of Orange, Jefferson, Liberty, Harris, Galveston, Brazoria, Fort Bend, Wharton, Matagorda, Jackson, Victoria, Calhoun, Refugio, San Patricio, Nueces, and Cameron; we might add Hidalgo and Star on account of their latitude.

Our principal sugar raising counties are at present Brazoria and Matagorda. These counties produce the great bulk of the sugar grown in the State. In 1850 our total yield of sugar was only 7,351 hogsheads of 1,000 pounds each, and 441,918 gallons of molasses. One single parish of Louisiana, say, St. Mary's, produced at the same time nearly four times this amount of sugar and double the molasses. Of the 7,351 hogsheads, Brazoria and Matagorda united produced over 5,000 hogsheads.

The following table shows the several counties in the State where sixty hogsheads and upwards were made in 1850, and the amount of molasses:

Counties producing Sugar.	Sugar, hhds. of 1,000 lbs.	Molasses, gallons.
Austin	60	4,195
Brazoria	4,811	314,164
Fort Bend	160	420
Houston	82	340
Liberty	115	4,820
Matagorda	1,394	73,000
Rusk	101	1,090
Victoria	120	6,700
Wharton	317	11,490
	7,100	416,219

The whole area of our sugar region, allowing it to cover, say, 30 by 392 miles of the interior, would be 7,526,400 square acres, with a capacity for production equal to, say one-third of its extent, or about three millions of hogsheads. Our present production is therefore less by four hundred per cent. than our capacity for making sugar. Indeed, the whole sugar crop of the United States is less by thirteen per cent. the productive capacity of Texas.

But when we thus limit the sugar area to these narrow bounds, we must say that sugar of excellent quality is made far north of this line.

We have, therefore, but just entered upon the production of sugar, and, indeed, our experiment is exceedingly limited. We need the machinery and superior improvements in the

process of sugar boiling, &c., which Louisiana possesses to so great a degree. Without this our sugar can never attain the character which the soil and climate, aided by science, are capable of giving to it. We notice in an able essay delivered before the New Orleans Academy of Sciences, by Dr. Barton, (published in De Bow's Review,) the claim asserted for the sugar of Louisiana, that it is a more nutritious and a better article, and that more of it can be made than the sugar of the West Indies or Mexico. If this position is true, Texas may rely with strong hopes of a fair prospect for the future development of her sugar region; it being true that it is only an extension of the sugar area of Louisiana.

We do not know that the northers of Texas affect the sugar cane much more injuriously than the severe winters of Louisiana, for we notice that the rattoons in Louisiana were injured to a great extent by the frost of last winter—so much so, as greatly to destroy the prospects of even a fair average yield the present season. It is also true that our rattoons were likewise injured, but we do not know that they were injured any more extensively than in Louisiana.

Sugar lands are destined to be of great value under all future circumstances, owing to their proximity to a large population of consumers of the article, and the necessarily limited area to which its production must be confined. The land actually cultivated in the United States with sugar is but 400,000 acres, probably not so great an area as the possessions of some of our large landholders in Texas. The product is 237,134 hogsheads, at a valuation of $12,478,850. This would make the product per acre average over thirty dollars, which is much below the yield of a fair average crop. At four cents per pound it is the most productive crop in the United States, but it requires a large outlay of capital, and this prevents many from entering upon its production. The field, however, is capable of being extended to at least double the present production—our imports of sugar amounting to nearly fourteen millions of dollars annually.

Our sugar region would be able to furnish a vastly larger amount than this. Supposing that only one-third of the sugar area of 7,526,400 acres should be actually cultivated in the article, the value of the products would not be less than $93,500,000 annually, while the united value of our domestic raised and foreign sugars amounts only to about $27,000,000 annually, or not one-third the amount which might be raised in the State of Texas.

At a more advanced day, this element of the wealth of Texas will, with the aid of railroads, open up a large and profitable market for the consumption of our interior products,

embracing mules, corn, wheat, and other supplies more cheaply and better raised in a higher latitude of our State.

The extent of the sugar cane region of Texas is estimated at 7,529,400 square acres, or about *one twenty-fifth* part of the whole State. This is but an insignificant field to Texians, who are accustomed to the wide ranges of so large a State. It is, however, a field of land larger than the whole State of Maryland, or the three States of Delaware, Connecticut, and Rhode Island united. It is larger than the whole island of Jamaica, which has produced an annual product of 143,000 hogsheads per year, and exceeding 18,000,000 pounds coffee, with large amounts of pimento, arrow root, ginger, indigo, &c. In fact the sugar field of Texas has more land actually capable of cultivation than the whole of the British West Indies.

It was, doubtless, our proximity to the West Indies, and our finer cotton, as well as fair sugar field, which induced England to make liberal overtures to us, while the question of annexation to the United States was pending in Congress.

We intend, in the present number, to examine the cotton field of Texas. It is indeed a gigantic one, far surpassing the known limits of any of our sister cotton producing States.

The area of the cotton field of Texas is dependent upon the superior elevation of the State, as well as its extent. For illustration, Austin is in the latitude of Bayou Sara. The latter place lies in a parish producing two-thirds as much sugar as the whole product of Texas. The former (Austin) is in Travis county of this State, and is upwards of eighty miles from our sugar region. This is owing to the difference in the face of the earth. The altitude of Bayou Sara above the Gulf is about 120 feet, while the altitude of Austin is nearly 600 feet.

This will be more clearly seen by the following table of altitudes carefully compiled by Commissioner Crosby, of the Land Office.

Elevation above the level of the ocean in feet.

	Feet.
Trespalacios (corner of the stone warehouse)	6½
Lavacca	24
Guadaloupe at the mouth of Sandies	50
Cibolo	350
San Antonio	635
Castroville	767
Fort Inge	845
Leona mountain, near Fort Inge	950
Rio San Pedro, first crossing	859
Do. last do	1,827
Table lands of Texas	2,091

Howard's spring	2,075
High table land beyond	3,008
Live oak creek	2,338
Rio Pecos valley	from 2,330 to 2,658
Rio Escondido, first crossing	2,660
Leon Spring	4,240
Limpia, first crossing	3,950
Painted camp	5,020
Highest point of the road to El Paso	5,765
Providence Creek	5,492
Eagle Spring	4,842
First point on the Rio Grande	3,700
El Paso	3,750
Mouth of Little Wichita	750
Do. Big do	900
Junction of the south and north forks of Red River	1,100
Head of the main or south fork of Red River	2,450
Llano Estacado (Staked Plain)	from 2,300 to 2,500

The cotton field of Texas, therefore, extends naturally much further south than the Mississippi valley. It extends over the whole State, west of the Guadaloupe, from as low as 29° north latitude, and varying from that line on the south, to about 30° north latitude, on the Sabine, according to the depression of the surface. In the valleys of every river, it is cultivated to some extent, even on the Rio Grande; but on this stream, and on the Nueces, the experiments have as yet been limited. North and west of San Antonio is a large field of country, which future years will, doubtless, find cultivated by the cotton planter. As far, however, as experiments have been made in the valley of the San Antonio, the Cibolo, the Guadaloupe, and the Colorado, they have proved eminently successful. This whole country is a fine cotton-growing region, and demands only the aid of railroads to develope its resources.

On the other hand, the Brazos, the Trinity, the Neches, the Sabine and Red River, to near their sources, afford immense fields for the cotton planter, and are gradually filling up with that class. Settlers in Texas are necessarily compelled to establish themselves near where they can have facilities for transportation to market; and whoever has travelled over our valleys will be struck with the fact that immense bodies of land, of a fertily undoubted, have not yet, or will be settled for years to come, unless some artificial means of communication, such as railroads, can be constructed. Fine cotton lands are found in our prairies far distant from rivers, and these, as in Illinois, will be cultivated as far as twenty and thirty miles from timber, when the facilities of railroads shall be obtained. On the San Saba, the Llano, and Pecan Bayou, the time will come when

we shall find a large amount of cotton produced. At present we cannot expect, nor but for railroad communication, could we ever hope for it.

In 1850 the principal cotton-producing counties were Colorado, Washington, Brazoria, and Austin, in the west, and Harrison and Rusk, in the east. Such, however, have been the changes in the amount produced by the great increase of immigration, that a much different state of things at present exists. We find in the census, the number of slaves and amount of cotton in each county of our State. Taking this and the number of slaves for 1855, reported by the Comptroller, as our data, we are able to make the following estimate of cotton produced in the past year. There are, no doubt, some errors in the census, and the amount of bales is much under the actual facts.

Counties.	1850. Slaves.	1850. Bales.	1855. Slaves.	1855. Bales.
Anderson	600	734	1,917	2,345
Angelina	196	174	291	260
Austin	1,549	3,205	2,353	4,868
Bell	—	—	406	3
Bastrop	919	1,478	1,748	2,811
Bosque	—	—	34	—
Bexar	389	—	979	—
Bowie	1,641	1,113	1,866	2,500
Burnet	—	—	150	31
Brazoria	3,507	3,581	4,292	4,300
Brazos	148	142	427	420
Burleston	500	1,010	1,047	2,115
Caldwell	274	122	1,171	519
Coryell	—	—	139	28
Calhoun	234	109	310	144
Cameron*	53	—	15	—
Cass	1,902	1,573	3,518	2,912
Cherokee	1,283	1,088	2,286	1,778
Collin	134	1	432	3
Colorado	723	4,771	1,580	9,480
Comal	61	10	126	20
Cook	1	—	123	—
Dallas	207	44	481	100
Denton	10	—	74	—
De Witt	568	547	963	1,000
Ellis	77	—	517	—
Fannin	528	374	1,019	708
Freestone	—	—	2,167	4,517
Fayette	1,016	1,194	2,072	2,473
Fort Bend	1,554	2,465	1,746	2,869
Falls	—	—	851	633
Galveston	714	—	761	—
Guadaloupe	333	182	1,637	900
Gillespie	5	—	63	—
Goliad	213	—	416	—
Gonzales	601	1,271	2,186	4,517
Grayson	186	5	602	16
Grimes	1,680	2,282	3,124	4,455
Harris	905	11	1,084	—
Hill	—	—	254	13
Harrison	6,213	4,581	7,013	5,170
Hays	128	2	517	7
Henderson	81	31	411	157
Hopkins	154	8	352	23
Houston	673	750	1,595	1,450
Hunt	41	5	198	24
Johnson	—	—	120	19
Jackson	339	290	717	580
Jasper	541	359	991	650
Jefferson	269	2	216	2
Kaufman	65	6	329	30
Lamar	1,085	1,055	1,296	1,300
Lavacca	432	526	1,004	1,217
Leon	621	913	1,455	2,047
Liberty	892	253	922	263
Limestone	618	603	680	670
Matagorda	1,208	1,613	1,529	1,932
McLennan	—	—	1,048	1,217
Medina	28	—	25	—
Milam	436	—	713	—
Madison	—	—	429	3
Montgomery	945	1,109	1,448	1,688
Nacogdoches	1,404	835	1,702	1,026
Navarro	246	2	1,135	9
Newton	426	152	602	214
Nueces	47	—	89	—
Orange	—	—	185	174
Panola	1,193	887	1,990	1,560
Polk	805	582	1,427	1,100
Red River	1,406	579	1,807	826
Refugio	19	—	148	—
Robinson	264	429	1,239	201
Rusk	2,136	2,659	3,620	4,508
Sabine	942	702	800	596
San Augustine	1,561	1,020	1,382	989
San Patricio	3	—	21	—
Shelby	961	790	775	637
Smith	717	415	2,414	1,397
Star†	—	—	—	—
Tarrant	65	—	280	—
Titus	467	292	1,208	755
Trinity	—	—	260	122
Travis	791	234	2,068	611
Tyler	418	184	752	331
Upshur	682	673	1,784	1,760
Van Zant	40	57	125	179
Victoria	571	270	850	401
Walker	1,301	873	2,758	1,852
Washington	2,817	4,008	4,399	6,246
Webb†	—	—	—	—
Wood	—	—	354	290
Wharton	1,242	2,892	1,798	4,187
Williamson	155	—	757	—
Sum total	58,161	58,072	105,974	105,111

* Including Star and Webb. † See Cameron.

In 1850 we had 58,161 slaves, and produced 58,072 bales of cotton. In 1855, our number of slaves had increased to 105,974, and in the same ratio we might estimate our present product at a total of, say 105,111 bales. This, we are afraid, does not net more than $25 per bale of 400 pounds. With proper facilities, it ought to net $30. At $25, the annual product might be put at $2,627,775, and our annual loss upon this crop, for want of railroad facilities, at $525,555, which sum, if annually put out at interest, would, in a few years itself build a railroad from the northern extremity of the State to the gulf.

We now stand next to Louisiana in the product of cotton for 1850. In that year the comparative crops of cotton were as follows:

States.	Cotton bales, 400 lbs. each.	States.	Cotton bales, 400 lbs. each.
Alabama	564,629	North Carolina	50,545
Arkansas	65,344	South Carolina	300,901
Florida	45,131	Tennessee	194,532
Georgia	499,091	Texas	58,072
Indiana	14	(now) 105,111	
Kentucky	758	Virginia	3,947
Louisiana	178,737		
Mississippi	484,292	Sum total	2,445,893

Since the taking of the census there have been considerable additions of cotton lands in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, consequent upon the completion and projection of railroads, and the appropriation by the Federal Government to some of the States, of lands for railroad and other purposes. Many thousands of acres of land are now being put into cultivation in those States, which had been passed over, first on account of their apparent poorness of soil or overflow, and second, their remoteness from market. In Mississippi and Louisiana, there have been also large amounts of land reclaimed from inundation by the building of levees and drainage, and nearly all of those lands, when cultivated, are appropriated to cotton plantations.

In view of these facts, the next census will show a heavy increase of bales in our sister States.

But, while for some years these States may continue to produce more cotton than Texas, it is in the nature of things impossible for any one State of the South to maintain long its ascendancy over us. This will be at once self-evident, when we come to survey our cotton-producing area.

Andrews, in his Report on the Colonial and Lake Trade, published in 1853 by order of the United States Senate, estimated the area of Texas susceptible of cultivation in cotton, at ten millions of acres, requiring 1,200,000 hands to cultivate it, and producing 5,000,000 of bales of cotton. He estimates

the annual product of Texas at 2,000,000 bales beyond all other States.

STATES.	Area susceptible of cultivation in cotton.	No. of hands necessary therefor.	Probable product in bales of 400 pounds.
Florida	6,000,000	750,000	3,000,000
Texas	10,000,000	1,250,000	5,000,000
Arkansas	3,000,000	375,000	1,500,000
Louisiana	3,000,000	375,000	1,500,000
Tennessee	2,000,000	250,000	1,000,000
South Carolina	200,000	25,000	100,000
Mississippi	6,000,000	750,000	3,000,000
Georgia	3,000,000	375,000	1,500,000
Alabama	6,000,000	750,000	3,000,000
Total	39,200,000	4,900,000	19,600,000

But Mr. Andrews has fallen into many errors, and the above is one of them, so far as it relates to Texas. Our cotton area may be put down at one-third of the whole State, or 58,520,520 acres. Those who know the character of our country, its level plains, and the several degrees of latitude in which cotton may be cultivated, will regard this estimate as a low one. Now we will take, say only one-third of this area, as capable of being exclusively appropriated to cotton. This would be 19,506,840 acres, which at the low average of say 700 pounds seed cotton to the acre, would make a total of 13,654,788,000 pounds seed cotton, or 9,032,705 bales of ginned cotton at 1,400 pounds of seed cotton to the bale. A bale to the acre is a very frequent average in Texas.

From a paper transmitted to the House of Representatives on the 10th inst., by the Secretary of State, we estimate the average number of bales (400 pounds per bale) imported into Great Britain from all countries, at 2,095,839 bales; to France do. 65,913 bales; to Spain, 84,260 bales; to all other countries, from the United States, 264,532 bales. The total is 2,510,544 bales. This amount includes nearly all the cotton now shipped abroad from the place where it is raised, and from which it appears that it is but about one-fourth of the amount of bales which the State of Texas itself is capable of producing, at the lowest basis of calculation.

A State with resources so formidable must command capital and population in a rapid ratio, with her scale of internal improvements. It is also inevitable that with a proper direction to our railroads, an element of capital like this will build up a cotton market in our own State. It is a matter of time; the causes already exist.

It is estimated by Mr. J. N. Cardoza, of Charleston, in a very able commercial paper, and which we have read with

great pleasure, that from 1855 to 1865 there will be an average annual deficit in our product of cotton, amounting to 476,500 bales. This is nearly as much as the whole cotton crop of the State of Mississippi in 1850. The truth of this calculation, therefore, involves the settlement of the cotton lands of Texas to a great extent, seeing that we have so large a field yet entirely unoccupied. Our crop, say of 116,000 bales, at the highest average of acres to produce it, would not occupy an area of more than 232,000 acres, leaving cotton land to cultivate to the amount of 16,836,485 acres.

As to the fairness of Mr. Cardoza's calculation, his premises are doubtless correct. From 1845 to 1855, cotton increased in production 9¾ per cent. per annum, while consumption increased at 16¾ per cent. At a mere continuance of the same rate, his prediction must be realized. But in the present attitude of affairs we go further. The election of Mr. Buchanan involves the acquisition of Cuba, while the revolution in Central America cannot stop in Nicaragua; it must sweep the whole country. Again, Russia is rapidly becoming an American buyer, and she has tens of millions who have not a cotton shirt to their backs. In the whole face of our foreign relations we have the strongest reason to believe that the consumption of cotton will be increased at a higher rate than at present.

Our limits are already exhausted, but we must advert to the fertility of the soil. A bale of cotton to the acre, in the Brazos bottoms, is a fair average crop. Many planters have produced one and a half, and some as high as two bales. These lands have been more tried than others, but it is unquestionably true that on the Trinity and Red river, as well as the Colorado, the Guadaloupe, and the Cibolo, planters have been highly successful. In several letters from reliable friends residing in these valleys, we have statements of cotton crops, which would seem incredible to the ears of Alabama or Georgia planters. We do not believe that any money put out at interest at the highest rates, is as good an investment at the present time, as the cotton lands of Texas. These will double the average product of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee; while with a railroad system, such as we must have in a few years, the cost of getting the cotton to market will not be more than is now the case in the interior of those States.

There is another important fact known to planters in Texas, especially in the western part. It requires less labor to cultivate a crop, than in the States. One hand can tend to a third more land, in consequence of the nature of the season and fecundity of the soil. Where land may not produce a bale to the acre, still it is very usual to make a crop of ten bales to

the hand. It requires, therefore, less capital for a plantation in Texas, than in the States; and a cotton planter may live a hundred miles in the interior, and yet make as much money as a planter near the Mississippi river, with all its superior facilities of transportation.

Our circulation extends to our surrounding sister States, and numbers some of their influential public men, but we do trust that our cotemporaries of the press in Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina, will do us the favor to extend the circulation of these facts through their excellent journals. We have certainly underrated the facts, in our estimate of the cotton area of Texas. Time will prove this.

PROSPECTIVE EMANCIPATION EXAMINED.

The author of the following able argument signs himself a "Presbyterian in the Far South," and addresses himself to the writer in the Princeton Review of an article on Negro Emancipation.

The subject was treated so fully in the last volume of the Review that many may think further discussion unnecessary. The Colonization Society has, however, strong and ardent friends in the South, whose convictions are all honest and patriotic, and who we know are always glad to weigh and consider everything that may be said upon matters of such cardinal consequence.

If the discussion, in every possible point of view, by the ablest intellects among us during the last twenty years, has not reached in any influential manner the masses in the free States, let it be remembered, and this for our consolation, they have removed every doubt, strengthened the most vascillating, and united the whole Southern public in the one sentiment, that slavery is morally, socially, industrially, and politically *right*—the best for the master and the slave, *and necessarily to be maintained at any and all hazards.* It is thus, in disseminating such documents, we claim some service to the State.—EDITOR.

The slave population of the United States, embracing that of Texas, not heretofore included, at the census about to be taken, will probably exceed 3,200,000. But we will take that number for the present estimates. That population having more than doubled itself every thirty years, the annual increase must be over 106,000. If then, we would keep its numbers stationary, provision must be made for the removal of that number every year, from the United States to Africa. But the plan of the Kentucky emancipationists endorsed by the Reviewer, goes beyond an effort to keep the slave population from increasing. Their design is to extinguish it altogether, going to work prospectively, that is, to manumit all children born in slavery after this time. Let us look at this a little in detail.

If we take *thirty-three years*, as the period of a generation, the present number of slaves, viz: 3,200,000, will be replaced by an equal number in that time, exclusive of the annual increase. Accordingly the existing slave population requires

the birth of 94,000 children every year to keep up the present number. This added to the probable annual increase, makes an aggregate of 200,000, for the annual births. The actual number of children born must exceed this, because so many die in infancy and youth. But this will be the number to be sent to Africa every year, under this scheme of "prospective emancipation."

Its authors, however, do not propose to send off these infants as fast as they are born. They propose: 1st—To have them fed and clothed, nursed and physick'd, during infancy. 2d. To have them properly brought up and educated during youth, to fit them for freedom. 3d.—To have them taught such trades, arts and professions, as will enable them to support themselves and families, to make useful citizens, and to sustain their part in the affairs of government; and all this at the expense of the commonwealth. It would be unreasonable to expect, therefore, if the work commenced with the present year, (1850,) that those first born would be fitted for colonization in less than twenty years—postponing the work of emigration to any material extent until the year 1870. But in these twenty years we should have accumulated on our hands four millions of these black denizens, restless under existing needful restraints; ambitious of entering upon their new sphere of life—perhaps opposed to emigrate at all, considering it far pleasanter to stay where they are, and occupy this land, the land of their birth! Our Reviewer concedes that those blacks amongst us, already free, have as much right to this country as the whites have! May we not expect some dusky moralist to arise, prepared in due time to push this claim a step further? We indeed propose removal as a condition upon which freedom is conferred, but he will ask what right have we to impose or enforce any such condition?

Let it be borne in mind also that, besides these four millions of freed blacks, there will still remain more than *a million of adult slaves*, the fathers, mothers, and relatives of these denizens. Will these slaves continue the contented and happy people they are now, under the constant excitement, which the removal and emigration of child after child, year after year must produce? And if our slaves are the ignorant debased immoral beings they are represented to be, will there be no danger of insurrection and revolt, even if their emigrating children are wholly passive and reconciled to leave them behind? Is the Reviewer bold enough to predict the consequences? Dr. Breckinridge, we believe to be a man of great moral and physical courage, but we venture to say that he would recoil from the thought of rearing a young family in a society passing through this transition state. He would be

apt to find it to be his duty to pass over from his beloved Kentucky, to the north bank of the Ohio, until this revolution was effected. Yet in Kentucky, with only one-fourth of her population slaves, the trial and risk would be trifling, compared with those States where the slaves equal or outnumber the whites. Our Reviewer, however, with admirable self-complacency, sets it down that all opposition to this scheme of "progressive emancipation," arises solely from "*self-interest, ignorance, and prejudice!*"

Again: the great excellence claimed for the Kentucky plan of emancipation, over that of abolition, is, that it is to be applied to the offspring hereafter born of slaves, to be duly educated and fitted for freedom before they are permitted to enjoy it, and then to be sent off and colonized in Africa, while their owners are to be paid a fair price for them. It becomes therefore very important, that we examine carefully into the cost or expense of carrying this plan into execution, lest we be hereafter mocked and derided as fools, who "*began to build and were not able to finish!*"

The different items of expense may be arranged under the following heads:

First.—*Remuneration to owner.* We presume it is intended to pay the value of freed children as infants. This, by common consent, is fixed at one hundred dollars a piece.

Second.—*Board, clothing, &c., of each child until six years old, twenty dollars a year.* This is considered to be the expense, upon the plainest and cheapest plan that prevails in rearing such children in slavery.

Third.—*Board, clothing, tuition and books, for each child, from six to twelve years old, forty dollars a year.* We assume that after twelve years old, the labor of each child is adequate to its own support, and to the expense of acquiring any further education, trade, or profession between *twelve and twenty years old*,—the latter being the age fixed on for removal or emigration; and

Fourth.—*Removal and colonization, fifty dollars a-piece;* and we adopt this sum upon the statement of the Reviewer, that it has been found sufficient.

We next proceed to arrange these items of expenditure in a tabular form, in order that the Reviewer and other advocates of "prospective emancipation," may see at a glance the sums of money required every year to carry through their enterprise, and may cast about them to ascertain to the entire satisfaction, as well of themselves as of others, whence the ways and means are to be derived.

now we have 3,200,000; while in all that time there have been colonized, *not one eighth of the number born in a single year*,* and notwithstanding this great increase of numbers, the condition of the slave is greatly improved, in the religious instruction, patriarchal government, and physical comforts he now enjoys, above what he did thirty years ago, although this improvement has been retarded by the mad interference of fanatics.

Within these thirty years, the two great staples of the planting States, cotton and sugar, which cannot be successfully cultivated by white labor, have increased; sugar from 20,000 to 250,000 hogsheads, and cotton from 500,000 to 2,700,000 bales per annum. In spite of this deadly upas, the South is full of colleges and schools—has her railroads and factories, and is steadily marching onward in every valuable improvement; and in a moral and religious point of view, does not shrink from a comparison of progress with her elder sisters, according to age and opportunity. Do these things furnish the evidence of that moral pestilence, those "stagnant pools and malarious swamps," so poetically sung and prophecied by our Northern seer?

The colonization of freed blacks in Africa deserves the patronage and support of Christians here, not because it opens a door for "prospective emancipation," but as a powerful auxiliary in sending the Gospel there to the descendants of Canaan. And so long as the colonists feel their need of such support, and look to the whites for guidance and direction, they will grow and prosper. But whenever the time shall come that they consider themselves strong enough to act independently of their white patrons, ambitious men will arise among them, jealous of foreign influence, and tempted by lust of power, and the weakness of their savage neighbors, to extend their dominions by other means than the peaceful sway of the Gospel. And the sure consequence will be, that intead of diffusing the blessings of civilization and christianity, they will gradually relapse and assimilate to the state whence they were taken. As a colony in fact, if not in name, Liberia will continue to be a blessing to Africa. As a powerful, independent nation, it would soon prove a curse to the world.

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* By the report of the Colonization Society, made in 1852, it seems that in 32 years, 7,592 persons have been sent to that colony, including 800 to the colony of Maryland, and 1,044 liberated Africans. The "present emigrant population of the colony," is stated at "about six or seven thousand." The emigrants were from Massachusetts 10, Rhode Island 32, Connecticut 30, New York 126, New Jersey 1, Delaware 4, Maryland 489, District of Columbia 101, Virginia 2,409, North Carolina 872, South Carolina 372, Georgia 756, Alabama 49, Mississippi 505, Louisiana 234, Tennessee 287, Kentucky 297, Ohio 45, Indiana 30, Illinois 34, Michigan 1, Iowa 3. Slaveholding States, 6,972; non-slaveholding, 457: Born free, 2,720; purchased, 204; emancipated for Liberia, 3,868.—Ed. De Bow's *Review*.

THE WAR AGAINST THE SOUTH.

It is almost impossible to believe the accounts that are given, from day to day, of the immense accretions of strength which the anti-slavery and abolition parties of the North are bringing to bear against the institutions of the South, and the bulwarks of the Federal Constitution. We may not believe that the power is *yet* in their hands to consummate the incendiary and revolutionary purposes they have so dearly at heart; but there is enough indicated in their triumphs upon the floors of Congress, in the hosts of influential and widely circulated journals devoted to their cause, embracing the ablest and formerly the most conservate, and including even the periodical press; in the power of their pulpit, in the lectures of their colleges—even those the South so long has cherished—in the writings and speakings of their men of education and talent, to satisfy us that the danger is none the less imminent because it is not exactly at the door. The question is but one of time. *If not an issue of to day—expect it to-morrow, or perhaps the day after.*

"A preacher to the pulpit comes,
And calls upon the crowd,
For Southern creeds and Southern hopes,
To weave a bloody shroud.
Beside the prayer-book on his desk
The bullet-mould is seen,
And near the Bible's golden clasp,
The dagger's steely sheen;
The simple tale of Bethlehem
No more is fondly told," &c.*

We have collected for some time past whatever papers, speeches, etc., have come within our reach, going to show the kind of feeling entertained by the men who are sweeping everything before them in the free States, and are coming nearer and nearer to the possession of the Federal power.

Mr. WILSON, *Senator from Massachusetts:* "Freemen of the North have a right to govern this country, for they are the party of the Union, law, and liberty."

Mr. SUMNER, *another Massachusetts Senator, of whom more hereafter:* "The good citizen as he reads the requirements of this act—the fugitive slave—is filled with horror. * * Here the path of duty is clear. I AM BOUND TO DISOBEY THIS ACT."

"Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims and of the Revolution by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here."

Mr. BURLINGAME, *member from Massachusetts*: "The times demand, and we must have, an anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

Mr. BANKS, *Speaker of the Congress*: "Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union, though I am willing in a certain state of circumstances to let it slide, I have no fear for its perpetuation.

* New Orleans Delta.

But let me say, if the chief object of the people of this country be to maintain and propagate chattel property in man—in other words, human slavery—this Union cannot and ought not to stand."

Mr. SEWARD: "There is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain. * * It (slavery) can be and must be *abolished, and you and I must do it.*"

Mr. WADE: "There is really no union now between the North and the South, and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other than these two nations of the Republic."

Mr. HORACE MANN: "In conclusion, I have only to add, that such is my solemn and abiding conviction of the character of slavery, that, under a full sense of my responsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, better disunion—better a civil or a servile war—better anything that God in his Providence shall send—than an extension of the bonds of slavery."

Mr. GIDDINGS: "I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South; when the black man, armed with British bayonets, and led on by British officers, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet, I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium."

Referring to this state of things, the New Orleans Bulletin, one of the most devoted Union papers, remarks, and we make this quotation for the sake of the extract it furnishes from the Courier and Enquirer, as well as for the strong language it adopts:

"Secession is a foul and rank weed which finds no culture or sustenance in this uncongenial soil. Such being the universal sentiment predominant in this community, our people have always been slow to credit the fact of the existence of an opposite feeling in any part of the country. The wild and irrational ravings of the abolition press proper was supposed to be confined to a few fanatics, small in number and despicable in character, and by no means representing the opinions of the Northern people in the aggregate. Most unfortunately, different impressions begin to prevail. We cannot beguile ourselves any longer with such delusive hopes. The fact cannot be disguised or circumvented that this feeling of hostility to the institution of slavery, and to the section of country where it exists, is getting to be wide-spread, bitter and insatiable. The most discreet, conservative and patriotic men of the North are openly taking sides on a sectional issue, which if it be their design to agitate until it is disposed of, can be terminated in no other way than by a dissolution of the Union. This is the only *finality* of this vexatious and embarrassing question, which the factious disputants who persist in agitating it expect or hope for. Another unfavorable symptom of this condition of general disaffection on this subject is the tone of what has been heretofore denominated the 'conservative press.' We have at hand a most flagrant example of the degree and malevolence of this fraticidal feeling, as exhibited by a journal

which, until a few months past, has been signalized for the national and friendly spirit which characterized it. The paper we instance is the New York Courier and Enquirer, and its editor is Gen. Jas. Watson Webb, who, from the zealous champion of peace and good will among the people of the States, as members of a common family, has been transmogrified into a bitter and relentless foe, the open and avowed advocate of internecine war.

In the Courier and Enquirer of the 26th ult. appeared an elaborate editorial article on the 'Presidency.' The following two paragraphs contain the essence of the article, and reflect the diabolical spirit we have been speaking of. A parallel to this malignant expression of remorseless hate has never appeared in a Southern journal, during the most excited period of sectional strife and discord.

'*The Presidency.*—Whoever is capable of reasoning upon national affairs is compelled to admit that we have approached a crisis in the national history such as has never occurred before. We are in the midst of a revolution, the origin of which is *sectional*, and its avowed object to gratify the grasping ambition of the slave power; and a civil war waged in behalf of freedom and in resistance of slavery extension is a fitting accompaniment of an attempt on the part of the South and their co-laborers of the North to trample on the principles and guarantees of the Constitution by the extension of slavery into free territory through the direct legislation of the General Government.

'That such is precisely the state of the country no honest and intelligent man will deny; and this admitted, the remedy is simple and the duty of every patriot perfectly apparent. The remedy is to go to the polls, and through the ballot box repudiate the infamous platform put forth at Cincinnati, and over which the black flag of *slavery* waves with characteristic impudence; and failing in this, do as our fathers did before us—stand by our inaleniable rights and drive back with arms those who dare to trample upon our inheritance. There is no boasting and no threat in this. It is the calm language of honest, conscientious, and determined freemen, wafted to us by every breeze from the West; and they are already acting in strict conformity with their avowed determination."

Another extract, from the Boston Chronicle, is much more to the point. The asterisks supply the place of a sentence too infamous to be repeated:

"The attempt that was made to assassinate Mr. Sumner, while sitting in his seat in the Senate, has excited a feeling of indignation that is proportioned to the offence, which is the greatest ever committed against law and freedom in this country. We must say, however, that we are not at all surprised at what has happened. The act has all the characteristics of the slaveholding chivalry, is in perfect keeping with their past history, and followed legitimately from their principles. It is a cowardly act, and cowardice is the chief trait of Southern chivalry. Is it at all likely that animals * * * who tear little children from the arms of their mothers, in order that they may be sold into everlasting bondage, is it at all likely, we ask, that such brutes would hesitate to murder the man who, in the discharge of his

duty, has occasion to remind them of their crimes? Murder, violence of all kinds, is the natural consequence of such a state of society as that which exists in the South. That society is founded on a principle utterly at war with the rights of man, and can be maintained only by having resort to action that is subversive of all security. A reign of terror constantly prevails wherever slavery exists. It cannot allow liberty of speech to exist anywhere; and this attack on Mr. Sumner is intended to ascertain how far the same influences that have destroyed liberty in Virginia and South Carolina can be made useful to the same end at the seat of the National Government. Freedom of speech there subverted, then the free States can be made togag their citizens and their presses; and then the ascendency of the most odious and profligate of oligarchies will be made complete over America."

Francis L. Capen, of Bay Point, Boston, of the date May 26, 1856, thus writes:

"Before the doctrine of '*No interference with slavery in the old States*,' can be true, we must not only abolish the Constitution, but repeal the moral law, abolish Christianity, and reconstruct human nature. It may be a question worthy the serious consideration of the convention, whether an absolute, thorough, and effectual non-extension of slavery would not prove a death-blow struck at the most *vital* point, since extension opens new markets, increases the demands, keeps up the price, enhances the value of the slave, and so feeds the pockets and stimulates the money motive, that strongest passion of the human heart, and one of the two great inducements of the slaveholder to hug the institution. The other great motive is *political control*, and this is fed by extension, choked to death by non-extension."

Lest it be said that we are quoting from a class of agitators who do not receive the sympathy, but are denounced by the public opinion of the best men of the North, we proceed a little further.

All of our readers know the character of the speech delivered by Mr. Sumner in the Senate, in reply to Judge Butler, and in denunciation of the South, and know the atrociousness of his sentiments on that occasion, as well as on all others. Since his "martyrdom," an address has been presented to him, signed, among others, by the following persons: Josiah Quincy, Sr., *H. W. Longfellow*, *Jared Sparks*, R. H. Dana, *J. E. Goodrich*, EDWARD EVERETT! We have not seen the address in full, but that our readers may not think the charge a libel, will state that the extract is from an article in *Littell's Living Age*, 637. From the course pursued by the "Living

Age,"* in the last few numbers, we are disposed to rely upon its authority implicitly. In No. 635, it tells us editorially, "as we perceive that the nullifiers have obtained possession of the machinery of the Democratic party," etc., (meaning by "nullifiers" the men who adhere to the Compromises of the Constitution, North and South.) But to the address and the extract:

"Being desirous of expressing to the Hon. Charles Summer, in some permanent and appropriate form, our admiration of his spotless public and private character, our lively gratitude for his dauntless courage in the defence of freedom on the floor of Congress, and especially our unqualified approbation of his speech in behalf of free Kansas, delivered in the Senate on the 20th of May last—*a speech characterized by comprehensive knowledge of the subject, by logical acuteness, and Spartan intrepidity in its chastisement of iniquity*—for which he has well nigh lost his life, *at the brutal and cowardly hands of a creature* for which, thanks to the rarity of their appearance, the English tongue has, as yet, no appropriate name, we deem it alike a privilege and an honor to participate in offering him some suitable token of our sentiments. For this purpose we subscribe the several sums set opposite our names."

In the same No. of the *Living Age*, the following is given as the language of Ralph Waldo Emmerson, in a speech delivered at Concord:

"The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I do not see how a barbarous community and a more civilized community can constitute one state. I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom. Life has no parity of value in the free state and in the slave state. In one it is adorned with education, with skilful labor, with arts, with long prospective interests, with sacred family ties, with honor and justice. In the other, life is a fever; man is an animal, given to pleasure, frivolous, irritable, spending his days in hunting and practising with deadly weapons to defend himself against his slaves and his companions brought up in the same idle and dangerous way. Such people live for the moment, they have properly no future, and readily risk on every passion a life which is of small value to themselves or to others." He then bestowed a fine eulogy upon Mr. Sum-

* We always valued very highly the Living Age, and recommended it to Southern support. On one page of the cover of No. 636, there are the highest testimonials paid to it from the Charleston Evening News and Washington Union; but on the outside of the same cover, and in the most conspicuous type, appears the following from the abolition house of Jewett & Co., Boston. Thus is the leaven working. Can we not have foreign literature and science, as was customary in Littell, and be spared the nauseating doses? But to the card:

"WE'LL GIVE 'EM JESSIE."—CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT FOR THE MILLION.—FREMONT AND DAYTON! We have in press, and shall publish in a few days, a pocket volume for every voter to read, and one to be scattered broadcast by all Fremont Clubs, and by every friend of Freedom. The abominable dynasty, which has cursed and well nigh ruined this country during the past four years, is fast crumbling away. The Ides of November will see it ground to powder by the spontaneous uprising of an abused and insulted people. Let every lover of his country do his duty, and victory is sure. Tyrants and vagabond Demagogues will then get their deserts. *Friends of Free Territory, Free Men and Fremont!* Will you see that every man in your town has this document? Be assured it will make thousands of the right kind of voters. One thousand agents are wanted for the campaign, to circulate the above, and Sumner's and Burlingame's Speeches; also, the Map of Kansas, and the interesting book, by a Boston lady, "Six Months in Kansas." Men and Women! *You can make money*, and do good by engaging in this work.

ner, and in conclusion said, "I think I may borrow the language which Bishop Burnet applied to Sir Isaac Newton, and say that Charles Sumner 'has the whitest soul I ever knew.' Well, sir, this noble head, so comely and so wise, must be the target for a bully to beat with a club! The murderer's brand shall stamp his forehead wherever he may wander in the earth."

Well is it for the people of the South that they are now beginning to put one thing with another, and to consider calmly but with determination. They will hold their public servants to the strictest accountability, and in the presence of all these perils, know how to deal with the first evidences of treason in the camp. Nothing, therefore, could give us more pleasure than to find the following in a late number of the Galveston News. We omit the name of the party, a northern man by birth, who, as a member of the Legislature of Texas, asserted certain doctrines upon the subject of slavery deemed at the present time little less than incendiary:

SIR: At a public meeting of the citizens of Galveston, convened this morning at the Court House in consequence of your public notice that you would make an address this evening, in defence of your course in the last Legislature, it was unanimously resolved to notify you of the well considered sentiments and resolute determination of the people of Galveston, as follows:

That your right in common with every other citizen, to free opinion, free discussion, and the largest liberty of self-defence, is fully recognized, and will be respected.

But there is one subject connected with your course in the Legislature—that of slavery—on which neither you nor any one entertaining your views, will be permitted to appear before the community, in a public manner. That your views on that subject are unsound and dangerous, is the fixed belief of this community, caused by your own speeches, writings, and acts.

We are aware that, either actually or seemingly, you wholly misapprehend the real views of the people of Texas, and suppose that by explanation and argument, you can make your anti-slavery theories and plans inoffensive and acceptable. How far this should be attributed, on your part, to delusion, and how far to design, is not material. The slavery subject is not one which is open to you before us.

You are, therefore, explicitly and peremptorily notified that, in your speech you will not be permitted to touch in any manner on the subject of slavery, or your opinions thereon, either directly or indirectly, or by way of explanation, or otherwise. Under the pretext of the personal right of self-defence, you will not be tolerated in any attempt to defend your course in the Legislature on this subject, which was an aggression on the rights, and an outrage on the feelings of the State of Texas, and much more on those of the people of Galveston, whom you misrepresented, than any other.

The entire subject of slavery, in all its connections, is forbidden ground, which you shall not invade.

Your introduction of it in any manner will be the prompt signal for consequences to which we need not allude.

It has been asserted that you have some supporters in this community upon that subject. We trust not. But if so, and if they have sufficient presumption to undertake to sustain you in any further discussion of this subject, before the people, they will make this evening the occasion for the definite and final settlement of that issue, both as to you and to them.

We trust, however, that you will confine yourself to matters of legitimate public interest and discussion, and will not, hereafter, either in public or private, further abuse the patience of a people with whom, on that question, you have no congeniality, and whom you wholly misunderstand.

This communication will be read to the assembled public before you proceed

with your speech; and you will clearly understand, is not to be the subject of any animadversion by you.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Wm. P. Ballinger, P. R. Edwards, Hamilton Stuart, Thomas M. Joseph, B. C. Franklin, Samuel M. Williams, F. H. Merriman, Oscar Farish, M. B. Menard, Noah John and Joseph J. Hendley.

Colonel Samuel M. Williams, Judge B. C. Franklin, Wm. P. Ballinger, Esq, and Colonel E. McLean, were appointed a committee to deliver a copy of the letter.

OVERSEERS AT THE SOUTH.*

In managing negroes, the first aim of an overseer should be to obey the master's orders in respect to them: the second, to satisfy them that he is doing so. Acknowledging no allegiance as of right, except to his master, and naturally jealous of his superiors, as men of a lower rank, whether black or white, always will be, the negro cannot be expected to yield that willing obedience which is necessary to his own happiness and the overseer's comfort, unless he is certain that he is not oppressed or imposed upon. If the overseer's first order to the negro were that on all occasions he should go openly to his master just when he pleased, and tell him how he was treated, we are sure it would be the firmest basis of discipline, and the avoidance of much unwelcome responsibility. That it is not done proceeds either from bad temper, mistaken ideas of dignity or duty, or from a confusion of ideas which lead to the conclusion that because the negro has no independence he has no rights, and that it is dangerous to allow him the privilege of complaint. But is evident to all who know negro character that the slave, when satisfied that he is treated as his master prescribes, is in better temper and more submissive. Let him go then when he pleases. If the master be fit to own slaves, as some "*good masters*" are NOT, and the overseer be a man of good character, as we presume he is, it can do no harm. Nor should penalty attach to a false complaint. If every man were punished who could not prove his accusation, there would be no use in a criminal code. The failure to prove would carry in its own punishment in the discomfiture of the effort; the permission to complain would be a measure of justice which the negro would be the first to recognize, and which could not fail to act beneficially on his temper and submissiveness.

But this privilege cannot extend to accusations against the overseer's character. For the reasons that the negro cannot testify against a white man, and that the master has no power to try the overseer for legal offences, the negro cannot accuse

* Concluded from August number.

him of such offences. The master is very apt to hear all such through the negro, directly or indirectly, but he can take no official cognizance of them, and must investigate them or not, as discretion shall dictate. The best way to avoid all trouble on this head, is to give no cause for it.

We have known overseers to declare that a negro should not complain of them to the master, and that they would whip him in spite of the master if he did. This is simply brutal; and no man of spirit will permit it. We have known others to agree that they would never punish a negro for whatever offence until they had first obtained permission of the master; and this is far wrong the other way. If an overseer is fit for his business he must have some discretion; and there is none more appropriate or necessary than the punishment of slaves within the prescribed terms and limits.

When the slave therefore comes within the general rule which prescribes his punishment, let him be punished, and appeal to the master afterwards, if he chooses.

The manners of an overseer to negroes should be kind. Kindness, and even gentleness, is not inconsistent with firmness and inexorable discipline. If they require whipping, whip them, and be done with it. If they require a reprimand, give it privately, and in a *low tone of voice*. Whether it be "mesmeric" we cannot say, but those who have been habitually in command, if at all observant, will have noticed that a loud and angry tone, whether addressed to man or beast, excites corresponding emotions, or scares away the wits. The best ox driver we ever saw only said, "come boys go it." The best wagoner never scolds his team: the best rider never frets his horse: the best seaman never storms at his men: the best overseer we ever had never lost his temper. A mild expostulation is better than a fierce rebuke, a deliberate warning more effective than a hasty threat.

Nor should an overseer ever fret at negroes. It injures their capacity for work. If they are working wrong, show them how to work right; have patience and they will soon learn; or if they are too stupid, put them at something else. We have seen negroes injured in value by being fretted at and terrified when young.

This exhibition of anger or petulance towards the negro is an injury to the overseer also. He should always have his wits about him, and be prepared to "take advantage of his work," as the phraze is. But let a man who is angry or irritated try to think, and he will see that he cannot do it. The habit then once acquired is always in a man's way, and he gets bothered and confused about his business. The habit of

swearing either at or before negroes an overseer should never indulge in. If the negro is not allowed to swear because it is disrespectful to the overseer, the latter should not swear because it is disrespectful to his Maker. Besides it shocks some pious negroes, and sets a bad example to all, and is provocative of the very habit of anger and petulance we have been arguing against.

Judicious discrimination of character is a faculty that overseers, and masters too, should cultivate more than they do, for much success in management depends upon it. A word of encouragement is better in many cases than a flogging, and a suitable reward will often accomplish more than a week's hard driving.

The overseer should also aid in promoting cleanliness in the negro cabins, by occasional visits to them; and he should see that their clothes are washed and patched, and their shoes kept in order. And on Sundays they should be required to come out cleanly clad. If they dress themselves in the ridiculous finery which they sometimes display, and which will often provoke a smile, it should never be made a subject of derision or scornful remark. Rather encourage than repress their taste in dress. It aids very materially in giving them self-respect.

Both the master and overseer will often be benefited by consulting with the negroes in regard to their work. A very excellent overseer once told us, that he had learned a great deal from old negroes. We have known many of them who were very intelligent about their work. Nearly every large plantation further South has a driver, who is a negro advanced to the post from his good character and intelligence. Others have more or less of the same intelligence, and a great deal of useful experience may be gained by conference with them. At the same time it gains their confidence and esteem.

Nothing more reconciles the negro to his work than the overseer's sharing it with him. If they shuck corn at night, let him be present till the last moment; if the sun shines hot, let him stand it as much as they do; if it rains, let him take his share of it; if it is cold, let him not go to the fire oftener than they do; *in a word, in whatever work is undertaken, involving anything unusual in hardship or exposure, let the overseer take all of his share that constant superintendence may impose.* It is a principle in all men that are commanded to shrink from difficulties in which the leaders do not take their proper share: the work will thereby be better done; more of it will be accomplished; fellows that are inclined to shirk can be kept up to the bit, and there will be a head to direct operations in case of emergencies.

RED RIVER RAFT AGAIN.

In the October Review, 1855, appears a very interesting and well written communication on the great Raft of Red river, which seems to me, on account of its great importance, deserves further notice. Your correspondent writes to show the great advantages resulting from the entire removal of the Raft; I, to show the probable, yes, very probable danger of its removal, and injury to lower part or all of Red river and N. Orleans. As certain as the same cause will produce the same effect, so certain will a new Raft commence about or below Alexandria, when the present raft is removed. Your correspondent reasons well about the origin of the Raft, except a small error, which does not affect his main argument; this error was no doubt an oversight, or for the want of a little deeper thought, of which he was fully capable. He says the Raft was formed by the waters of the Mississippi being high from a freshet when Red river was low, its waters backed up and made still water at its mouth. The rafts of trees, logs, and drifts that came down the Red river was stopped by the ceasing of the current in this still water, and spread over the surface from bank to bank, and there accumulated. Your correspondent knows very well that there is no drift rafts or logs floating down the river when it is low. The raft, no doubt, was formed by the waters of the Red river during a flood running across from, below Alexandria, over a very low swamp, to Atchafalaya, when the Mississippi was high; backing up the water in Red river and forcing it across the low lands as stated above. Still water then, as he states, was the cause of the beginning of the raft. His reasoning upon the age of the Raft, (400 years,) is very good; if it accumulates 1½ miles annually, and has ascended 600 miles, it is pretty clear that it has been about 400 years since it first begun. If the same cause will produce the same effect, as I have said, and all philosophers agree, why did not the Raft begin at an earlier date? This question may never be solved to the full satisfaction of people generally, but I will venture to give an opinion. Look upon a large map of North America, trace Red river to its junction with the Father of Waters, you will discover just below an outlet from the Mississippi about the same size in appearance of Red river, does it not look like the time may have been when Red river pursued its course down Atchafalaya to the Gulf, without being tributary to the great river? But the restless, mighty river, wallowing in its bed, broke through the banks of Red river and has since held it tributary. But it may be asked, what has this to do

with it? My answer is, that the Mississippi runs on a ridge 12 or 15 feet above the common swamps, consequently when it first broke into Red river below, then the water of the Mississippi was forced back and across the lowlands below Alexandria, which would form an eddie or slack water between where the Red river waters escaped and the Mississippi. The drift of Red river not being able to follow its waters through the low timbered bottom to Atchafalaya, sloped with the first timber on the bank, and continued to increase until the Raft was formed, as your correspondent has stated. Now if the two rivers are as they were when the Raft was first formed, why would it not form again when both rivers are high? Twenty-five years ago I came up Red river on a steamboat, both rivers were high, there was then 25 or 30 miles of still or dead water between the mouth and first hills; I thought upon this subject, then came to the same conclusions as above, that if the Raft was removed it would of necessity begin again at its first beginning the very first high rise in both rivers at the same time. There is one remedy however that would prevent a new Raft forming below when the upper part should be removed, that is, make a levee from the high lands on the south side of the river to the mouth; this levee would force the water with a current sufficient to carry all the drift and logs to the Mississippi.

I wrote a piece about two years since which was published in the Delta, wishing to call the attention of the engineers of the State of Louisiana to the subject, but they failed to notice it as far as I know. They may have discovered all my notions erroneous. But further, your correspondent tells of Caddô lake, and he might have added all the other lakes on Red river were formed by the wearing of the banks of the Red river during the stay of the Raft at one point; this I believe is all correct, but they, though formed by the Raft, will remain lakes as long as time lasts; though the Raft rots away, the part of logs and drift that lie under water and mud, excluded from air, can never rot. There is no doubt, from the nature of things, a substratum of the Raft, some 8 or 10 feet thick, form the shoals at Alexandria to the head of the Raft. That the river bed is elevated to that height by the substratum. There may be a chain of rocks which form the shoals at Alexandria, as there seems to be chains over several rivers, and the shoals at Alexandria being in the line of this chain. But I would not be astonished to yet learn that the shoals are formed by logs on the foot of the Raft; at least if there had been no rocks there, there would necessarily be a shoal at the foot of the substratum of the original Raft. J. S.

THE PEOPLE OF VICKSBURG AND THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The people of Vicksburg have memorialized Congress upon the subject of their Western Road, through a committee, consisting of A. M. Paxton, N. D. Coleman, T. A. Marshall, etc. We learn from the Report that—

From Charleston to Vicksburg the main trunk (except the section between Montgomery and Brandon,) is in operation. Vicksburg, destined to become the great "mid-way station" of the route, connects by a distance of 750 miles with Savannah; 770 miles with Charleston; 1650 miles with New York. Every district of country north to the Ohio and south to the Gulf will also be connected by railroad with Vicksburg. Thence westward, the Shreveport road is in process of construction, under the management of a company of contractors whose position and experience give assurance of the speedy completion of the road, if the stockholders *and those who should become stockholders*, will do their duty.

From the Texas line westward a company is organized, and their contractors at work, under a charter granting 10,240 acres of State land for each mile of road. The disposition throughout Texas to liberally aid this road, evinced by the loan and other bills before her late Legislature, shows the great importance there attached to the enterprise. As far as the Plano Estacado, the road will be built under the Texas charter, which offers abundant security to the capitalist. The route thus far promises a rapidly increasing and remunerative local business. But from this point the extension is distinctively the Pacific Road aiming for the magnificent results to be obtained from the vast commerce of the south and east that will roll to us an ever increasing tide of opulence and power. How long shall we delay its construction? Have we not among our commercial communities enterprise anough, and means enough, to furnish the support and aid which is due the Vicksburg and Shreveport, and the Texas Western roads, and to lay the rails over the contiguous 1050 miles of road bed, already prepared by nature for this great highway? The amount of "unfinished work" on this division, may be estimated; 1052 miles three-fourths constructed, equivalent to 263 miles of road entire, the remainder of the distance to San Diego 150 miles, making a total of 413 miles of road to be built. Is not this 413 miles of Pacific road at least as important as our eastern roads to the Atlantic seaports?

The answer comes to us coupled with the assertion that the importance of the work should render it an object of especial protection and aid from the Government, which we admit; but the only method by which this aid and protection can be obtained, is by united and effective action, guaranteeing the

assumption of such responsibility and the performance of duties which necessarily must receive corporate control. No objection can then be urged against a liberal donation of public lands, and arrangements whereby the company may be relieved of the burden of interests which would prove so serious a drain of its resources during the construction of the road. Let the popular will resolve that this road shall be built, come forward with a subscription sufficient to reach the Plano Estacado, and no constitutional objections remain to prevent Government from assuming the payment of the coupons of constructive bonds issued by the company, under an agreement that the sum thus disbursed shall be credited in the transportation account for mails, munitions of war, &c. With a proper support from our people, and this aid from Government, or better still, such as is provided for by the Hon. John B. Weller's bill, now before Congress, *the Pacific railroad can be built in six years.*

FLORIDA—THE KEY OF THE GULF.

There is not a State in the whole Union that feels the want of internal improvements more than Florida. In every section of the State—east, west, middle or south—it is a constant theme of conversation with the whole population. Such a feeling would not pervade so universally, but for the simple fact, that nature, with her tremendous carving knife, has cut out Florida in such a peculiar, convenient, and accessible shape, whilst old Neptune has surrounded her, and, not content with that, has placed a number of his children inside of her domain as a hostage for the fulfillment of her destiny, which places before the people facilities too important for them to pass over unheeded. Nature has here contributed a large share of her favors, and has lavished her gifts most abundantly upon her favorite; but, like the beautiful of the fairer sex, artificial means are essential to her attractions, as well as to her utility and success.

Amongst the many proposed improvements brought to our notice, the Ship Canal across the St. John's river, in the vicinity of Palatka, to Tampa Bay, is looked upon as one of the most important.

The Government has recently surveyed this line of canal, and we are now favored with Lieut. M. L. Smith's (Topographical Engineers) report, which will fully satisfy every unprejudiced mind of the feasibility of the route, the undisputed necessity of the canal, and the magnitude of its influence upon the commerce of the country.

It is certainly no ordinary scheme; it is no light project,

neither is it conceived by gassy or bombastic political intrigue, like many improvements we often read of, but never realize.

After making a very able and scientific investigation of this line of canal, in which a minute attention is given to all the disadvantages and obstacles that may arise in its construction, Lieut. Smith makes the following estimate of the whole expense of the project, viz:

Excavation and embankment	$2,567,301,80
Locks	775,000,00
Aqueducts	55,000,00
Waste weirs	23,050,00
Feeders	9,073,00
Retaining walls	51,606,00
Clearing and grubbing	32,199,00
Hillsboro' river	30,500,00
Total	$3,624,729,80
Add two per cent. for wear of tools	72,474,58
Grand total	$3,697,204,38

These figures may look large, and perhaps enormous, to those who are unadvised as to the great national benefit that would result from such an expenditure; but we feel more fully satisfied on that point from the remarks of Lieut. Smith, in the report referred to, which are as follows:

The subject may be briefly stated thus: Florida projects south beyond the general line of coast more than 400 miles, and so nearly approaches the West India Islands, and the reefs and shoals skirting them, that a comparatively narrow channel, leading from the Atlantic into the Gulf, is left for the passage of vessels. This passage, known as the Straits of Florida, is the great thoroughfare for an important portion of our commerce, which, from the fact already mentioned, is compelled to take a circuitous and dangerous course in going into or out of the Gulf. The following extract from House Document, No. 136, giving somewhat in detail the sources making up the total value of the Gulf commerce in 1852, is inserted as the most recent information officially published:

* * * * * The statement of the merchandize entering and leaving the American ports of the Gulf will be as follows:

Foreign imports	$20,000,000
Coastwise imports	50,000,000
Exports	115,000,000

The shipping engaged in carrying on this trade and arriving at various Gulf ports, is estimated as amounting to 900,000 tons, which, valued at $75 per ton, would be $67,500,000; and

as these vessels make the voyage in and out, the entire value of the tonnage which annually passes Cape Florida would be $135,000,000, which, added to the preceding amount of merchandize, would make a grand aggregate of $325,000,000 of property which annually passes to and from the American ports of the Gulf of Mexico. With the increased value of imports, exports, coasting trade, and tonnage, and the valuable California trade, added to the specie exports now passing through these straits, the value of the property at present passing the Straits of Florida may be safely assumed at $450,000,000. The insurance on this property, say at three-eights of one per cent., shows a yearly tax of $1,687,500 arising from a dangerous navigation. It may be asked what proportion of the shipping employed in the Gulf could avail itself of the short passage across the peninsula offered by a twelve foot canal?

In reply to this, it is assumed that all engaged in the coasting trade flowing out of the various ports of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, leaving out those of New Orleans and Mobile, for, with the exception of the two last named, twelve feet is equal to and in general exceeds the capacity of every port on the Gulf between the Tortugas and Vera Cruz—Pensacola being considered a purely naval port. The canal once constructed, why should not light draught vessels loaded on the Upper Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, Arkansas, Red, or, in fact, on any of the rivers of the Mississippi Valley or Gulf States, proceed at once without breaking bulk to any desirable Atlantic seaport?

Place a boat in either of the great Northern Lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, or Ontario, and start it towards the Western waters, it can pass by three different routes into the Mississippi, and commence a most remarkable voyage; descending the Mississippi it passes into Lake Pontchartrain, and keeping inside the various islands and reefs, reaches the western terminus of the Florida Canal, crosses the peninsula and again takes the inland navigation along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina to Savannah or Charleston; with the exception of a short break on the coast of North Carolina, this interior communication continues to New York, up the Hudson river, thence by the Erie canal into the lake from whence she started.

Independent of all other advantages, this project may be looked upon as one of the greatest safeguards to our commerce in time of war, and should it be our misfortune to have a war with Great Britain or France, their fleets could intercept nearly all the vessels that pass through the straits, unless our own fleet should be strong enough to guard the coast of Flori-

da. For more than thirty years this canal has been in contemplation; yet, from year to year, there have been heavy losses on the Florida coast, which seem to have been regarded by the Government with great indifference and neglect. The Government has given away millions of acres of land for purposes far less important than this, and while the proceeds of these lands are applied to political railroads and other schemes to serve political purposes, why should this important project be overlooked.

In the present disturbed condition of our country, which may be attributed to years of misgovernment, bad management, and political profligacy, internal improvements and commercial necessities must lapse into that gorge of listless decay, the natural result of retrogression created by that pestilential black hole of Northern fanaticism. But when that restless spirit of confusion and discord is suppressed—when a wise Providence shall have administered a due chastisement upon those enemies of peace and concord, and when our country is governed by the bone and sinew, instead of the chaff of America, we may look forward to the extension of commercial facilities far excelling that of any other country.

PINE KNOT.

THE PRESENT PROSPERITY OF MINNESOTA.

Minnesota has enjoyed during the present season, and is now enjoying, a degree of prosperity not only unparalleled in the history of our Territory, but in that of any State or Territory in the Union, if we except California, during the height of the "gold fever" in 1849 and 1850. The tide of emigration flowing into California, at that time, was of entirely a different character from that now pouring into Minnesota. Men went to California to make money, not to make a home; and whether they succeeded in the accomplishment of that purpose, or signally failed, the result was the same; many of the emigrants returned to the East, either to enjoy their fortunes or commence the world anew. In every community in the country, scores of returned Californians are found; but, notwithstanding the tens of thousands of emigrants that have come to Minnesota, it will require the utmost efforts of the most enterprising explorer, to discover in any of the old States, from whence our emigration is mainly derived, a "returned Minnesotian."

The emigration to Minnesota thus far during 1856, consists in a great degree of American citizens. The meagre foreign emigration of 1855, from Europe to the Atlantic cities, has principally remained in the East, the demand for labor there being fully equal to the supply. From the New England

States, New York, and Pennsylvania, the bulk of this year's emigration is coming. It consists, too, as a whole, of a better class of men than usually find their way West, in the early period of the settlement of a new territory. For instance, we find numerous associations of farmers and mechanics, in this year's emigration, possessing sufficient capital to prosecute their several callings with energy and success; and in the cities and villages, many eastern capitalists are locating, whose money will materially aid the communities in which they reside, in the development of those sources of wealth and prosperity which have been useless heretofore, owing to the want of the "money power" necessary to their development.

We think the emigration and prosperity of the Territory, this year, is more general in its character than has been the case in former years. Every section of the Territory, notwithstanding the spirited competition prevailing, appears to be receiving its quota of the emigration and capital. Last year, southern Minnesota outstripped every other portion of the Territory. The rush to Fillmore, Houston, Winona, Olmsted, and other southern counties in 1855 was extraordinary; villages sprung up by magic, hamlets increased to thriving towns, and farms were opened out in localities where no one dreamed settlement would reach for years to come. What was true of southern Minnesota last year, is applicable to the entire Territory this year. The rush to the Minnesota valley is tremendous; the boats running in that trade are crowded with passengers and freight, to their utmost capacity. On the Upper Mississippi, between St. Anthony and Sauk Rapids, two steamers are running, and the efforts of both, are scarcely equal to the demands of trade. In the St. Croix valley, the extraordinary success which has attended the lumbermen, has had its effects upon every branch of business, and the towns and villages on that river are rapidly increasing in population and wealth.

One of the most reliable indications of the increase of the Territory in population, is to be found in the great increase of business in St. Paul. The supplies for the country northwest, and a considerable distance southwest of this point, are received by river at our wharf from the east and south. Since the opening of navigation in April, but a month since, the arrivals of steamers at this port, have amounted to upwards of 200. Few, very few of this number, but have brought large cargoes of merchandize and produce, consigned to St. Paul merchants, and designed either for their trade, or for the country trade. Our levee since the opening of navigation has resembled in point of business transacted, the wharves of St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Pittsburg. The river business of the first two months of the present year, will very nearly equal, we think, the business of last year, and exceed that of any previous year.

RICE CULTURE IN LOUISIANA.

For the last two or three years, and particularly since January last, numerous orders have been sent from this State to Charleston for seed rice—some thousands of bushels. These orders have excited an interest, and of late, various inquiries have been made from Carolina as to the mode of cultivating the grain here, the adaptation of the soil and climate, the general yield, quality of product, price of land, &c.

The subjoined remarks have been written with reference to these, and if you deem the information they contain of any interest to your readers, you will please publish it. Any other, or more particular information upon the subject, may be had, if desired, by addressing "the Secretary of the Southern Agricultural Society of Louisiana, New Orleans."

Rice is produced in every parish of this State. On some of the high lands and in the pine wood region, the small grain white husk variety, grows well. In the swamps, two kinds of white husk, one a large broad grain, with a long beard, and the other a smaller rounder grain, without a beard, are cultivated. The latter is supposed to be the same kind that formerly constituted the main crop of South Carolina, but a little improved in size. The "gold seed" has only recently claimed particular attention, and owing to its superiority, is now being preferred for low land culture. In the parish of Plaquemines, which lies on both sides of the Mississippi river, and extends from the Gulf to within a few miles of New Orleans, the most extensive rice fields are found. Many thousands of acres of the best rice lands in the world are there, all perfectly level, free from every obstruction, and as rich as alluvial lands can be. During the ordinary stage of the river, from March 'till July, they can be flooded to a depth of from several inches to several feet, by merely cutting the levee and letting the water run in, and when the river is lowest, they may be effectually flooded by machines, such as are in use on most all of the large sugar estates.* They are drained by ditches in the rear cut to some bayou or lake open to the Gulf. The plantations, as yet, are mostly small, no one having in rice culture more than two hundred acres, and many not fifty.

* The river never falls more than two or three feet below the surface of the best rice lands in the southern part of the State. Machines of sufficient capacity to flood five hundred acres would consume not over two cords of wood per day, for four days in a week, during a period, according to the season, of from forty to sixty days. Not more than one negro would be necessary to run the engine and do the firing. The annual rains which come on and last several weeks after the rice crop is laid by, are considered by some planters as quite sufficient in ordinary seasons, and that no other flooding is really necessary. The machines, however, are not very costly, and the steam power could be used for threshing.

The planting season, in the southern part of the State, commences in the last week in February and continues 'till the middle of June. From the February and March planting a second crop, well matured, can always be obtained by proper flooding. The seed is mostly sown broadcast and harrowed in, but this year several of the river planters commenced the system of drilling, and on one plantation the drill plough, planting and covering four rows twelve inches apart at a time at the rate of nearly an acre per hour, was successfully used. The yield with water culture varies from five to eleven barrels, of two hundred pounds each, of clean rice to the square acre, and more than this when two crops are made; and from five to ten or eleven acres are cultivated to the hand. But what appears most astonishing to those familiar with the culture in the Atlantic States is the almost perfect immunity which both the whites and blacks in the rice district here enjoy from any general sickness or disease. The fevers prevalent on the tide lands of Carolina and Georgia are not known in Louisiana. The reason of this is found, it is said, in the purifying qualities of the Mississippi water, which never stagnates, and throws off deleterious miasms. The river is always muddy, and when in its flood carries a heavy amount of sediment with it. This sediment is exceedingly rich in the component parts of the rice plant, and the belief is that the river lands can never become worn or impoverished, for the water supplies to the soil all that the plant extracts; certain it is that many years of successive cropping has made no difference in the heavy average yield. The quality of the grain is variable, some of it inferior and some quite equal to the seed brought from Charleston.

It is thought by most of the intelligent growers here that if the same care was bestowed by them year after year in the selection of seed, and in the culture, that is done in Carolina and Georgia, Louisiana would eventually produce the best rice in the world, owing to the abundant richness of her soil and geniality of her climate. There is more humidity in the atmosphere of this region than in that of perhaps any other part of the Union, and some of the "gold seed," after several years acclimation, is found to be unusually tough and hard and of fine size. The *Ortolan*, or Rice Bunting, so destructive in the rice fields of the Eastern States, is rarely seen here, but the black birds, if not driven off, do considerable damage after the grain has left its milky state. Lands suitable for rice culture in the parish of Plaquemines can be bought for from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars for each arpent (French measure) fronting the river and reaching forty deep, but the improvements are generally of little value. Beyond the depth of forty arpents the land is public, and may be entered at a

dollar and a quarter per square acre—all of it is prairie, too low for sugar, but peculiarly adapted for rice, requiring only to be ditched and embanked, the coarse grass to be burned off, and plowed, to produce enormous crops. If some of the Carolina and Georgia planters, now struggling along in sickly neighborhoods and on worn-out lands, should bring their negroes and go to work properly here, they no doubt would receive more than two or three-fold return for their labor and capital, and their families would enjoy better health. If not possessed of sufficient means to purchase the land, they could readily form partnerships with the owners, and obtain reasonable assistance from the merchants of New Orleans.

THE COTTON TRADE OF THE WORLD.*

HANSE TOWNS.

The States of Germany are supplied with the cotton consumed in their factories chiefly through the Hanseatic cities, Hamburg, and Bremen. Bremen sent to the Zollverein, in 1853, cotton imported direct from the United States to the value of $984,772 14; and to Austria to the value of $156,153 21. The factories of Prussia and Saxony are numerous, and import, not only the raw material from these cities, but also large quantities of yarns. The number of spindles in operation in the States composing the Zollverein is estimated at upwards of 1,000,000. This is, doubtless, an under estimate, as the industrial enterprise of the Zollverein has made rapid progress since the date of the official document from which these figures are derived. The export of cotton tissues from the Zollverein, in 1853, amounted in value to $2,394,497 34, of which amount $2,075,299 68 in value came from the factories of Saxony.

The Hanse towns, from geographical position, are, and must always continue to be, the great marts from which raw material of all descriptions will be supplied to the States of the Germanic commercial union. Hence, exports of American cotton and tobacco to these points are heavy, and constantly increasing. These commercial cities receive their supplies of raw cotton, not only from the United States, in direct trade, as well as from Brazil and other countries of South America, but also in the indirect trade from English ports and other *entrepots* of Europe. In 1855, the Zollverein sent through the Hanse ports to the United States cotton fabrics to the value of more than a million and a half of dollars, in return for the raw material.

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* From a report of the State Department.

SWITZERLAND.

Four-fifths of all the cotton consumed by the factories of Switzerland is estimated to be imported at Havre, whence it passes through France by railway, being burdened with heavy charges in the transit. In 1833, the quantity thus received amounted to nearly 6,000,000 pounds. In 1843, it had reached nearly 17,000,000 pounds. The entire receipt of cotton in 1843 was 22,000,000 pounds. In 1851, it amounted to 27,035,725 pounds, of which 13,729,320 pounds were from the United States. In 1852, Switzerland received through France 15,816,775 pounds; in 1853, 15,815,473 pounds, and in 1854, 14,978,257 pounds according to the "*Tableau General*" of France for those years.

Imports from the United States into Switzerland are made, for the most part, through the customs frontiers of Berne, Basle, Soleure, and Argovie, bordering on France and the southern part of Germany.

A severe restriction on the importation of cotton, and also of tobacco to Switzerland, as well as on the reception by the United States of Swiss wares and manufactures in return, is the vexatious and expensive transitage, especially through France. The oppression of this system may be inferred from the fact that the annual average aggregate value of merchandize on which transit tolls are paid, proceeding from Switzerland, is (1853) nearly thirty millions dollars; and the value of that proceeding to that republic more than half as much.

Switzerland sent, in transitu to France, cotton tissues to the value of nearly three millions dollars in 1852; and to the value of nearly four millions in 1853. By the French tariff, such fabrics are excluded from France for consumption. Since 1845, Switzerland is stated, officially, to have quite superseded in the markets of Germany and Austria the yarns of Great Britain. In 1830, that republic had in operation 400,000 spindles; in 1840, 750,000, and in 1850, 950,000; the number having more than doubled in twenty years.

According to Swiss official custom-house reports, that republic received cotton from the United States as follows, the years specified:

	Pounds.
1850	15,942,740
1851	13,729,320
1852	19,065,200
1853	18,441,830

In return, cotton stuffs, as follows, were sent to the United States:

1850.....3,226,300
1851.....3,509,660
1852.....4,077,920
1853.....5,265,150

In 1855 Switzerland returned to the United States, in exchange for raw cotton, the same article manufactured, to the value of $212,700.

BRAZIL.

The exportation of cotton from Brazil in 1843–'44 and 1853–'54 are stated, by Brazilian official authorities, as follows:

1853–'54.....28,420,320 pounds.
1843–'44.....26,056,160 "

Increase in ten years..... 2,364,160 "

In 1852–'53, the exportation amounted to 31,933,050 pounds, of which quantity Great Britain received 26,881,201 pounds, Spain 2,291,578 pounds, Portugal 1,896,286 pounds, and France 889,048 pounds.

Of the total exportations in 1853–'54, Great Britain received 22,575,122 pounds, Spain 2,351,279 pounds, Portugal 2,673,766 pounds, and France 543,611 pounds.

There are insuperable drawbacks to the extension of the cotton culture in Brazil, among which may be reckoned the ravages of insects, the peculiarites of the climate, and the expense and difficulties attendant upon its transmission from the interior to the coast. It has long since been ascertained in Brazil that the cotton plant will not flourish near to the sea, and the plantations have, in consequence, receded further inland, as well to avoid this difficulty as to seek new and fresh lands. Pernambuco is the principal cotton growing province of Brazil. The exports from that province were, according to Brazilian authorities, in—

1828.....70,785 bales, (of 160 pounds each.)
1830.....61,151 "
1835.....52,142 "
1840.....35,849 "
1842.....21,357 "
1845.....26,562 "

EGYPT.

The cotton culture in Egypt commenced in 1818. The comparative tabular statement subjoined, derived from Egyptian sources, showing the quantities exported at the port of Alexandria, and the countries to which exported, respectively, for a

period of three years, from 1853 to 1855, both inclusive, would indicate an increase in the culture by no means rapid in successive years:

Years.	Pounds of cotton exported to—				
	Great Britain.	France.	Austria.	Elsewhere.	All countries.
1853..	26,439,900	10,726,500	6,321,000	397,800	43,885,200
1854..	24,938,700	7,454,100	10,165,200	988,500	43,546,500
1855..	33,980,100	9,451,200	12,774,900	668,100	56,874,300
Aggregate	85,358,700	27,631,800	29,261,100	2,054,400	144,306,000
Average.	28,452,900	9,210,600	9,753,700	684,800	48,102,000

If to the aggregate exported be added from five to six million pounds worked up in the country, a liberal estimate of the annual amount of the cotton crops of Egypt will have been made. The factories established by Mehemet Ali are, it is stated, going rapidly to ruin. The cotton goods manufactured are coarse "caftas," or soldiers "nizam" uniform. Much cotton is used, also, in making up divans, the usual furniture in Egypt. The Egyptian bale is estimated at Alexandria at 300 pounds. The United States Consul General at that port, in a despatch, dated the 1st instant, from which are derived the above facts, says: "The new crop is now coming in, and is supposed to be a little above the average."

The relative average weights and cubical contents of bales of cotton imported into Liverpool in 1852 are thus given:

Description of bales.	Average weight in pounds	Contents in cubic feet.
Mobile.....	504	33
New Orleans.....	455	32
Upland.....	390	27
Sea Island.....	333	35
East Indian.....	383	15
Egpytian.....	245	27
West Indian.....	212	25
Brazilian.....	182	17

These figures show not only the great variety of bales that enter Liverpool, but that the most eligible form of bale is that of the East Indies—double the weight being packed within the same compass as in any other description of bale.

STEAM COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BOSTON AND NEW ORLEANS.

The attempts to establish communication *between Southern ports* by steamships have up to this time signally failed. It is otherwise, however, when the purpose is to bring the Northern and Southern cities into direct communication, as for example, witness the New York and Charleston, the New York and New Orleans, the Savannah and Philadelphia connections.

The people of Boston, noticing this fact, are now actively projecting a line of steamers from that city to New Orleans, and the Boston Board of Trade thus handles the subject:

New Orleans, from its immense and growing back country, its central situation, on the Gulf, and at the mouth of the Mississippi river, and as the headquarters of the cotton region, first presented itself to the minds of your committee, and from a cursory examination they were so far satisfied of the practicability of a line to that port, that certain gentlemen were induced to apply to the Legislature before its adjournment for an act of incorporation, which has been obtained.

Your committee have gathered such information as was within their reach, and the result they will now communicate.

Has New Orleans business enough with us at this time, to justify a line of steamers of a suitable size for such a trade? What are the probabilities in regard to the increase of the business already existing?

The clearances at the Boston Customhouse for New Orleans during the year 1855, were as follows:

First quarter	40	vessels,	29,039	tons.
Second	"	38	"	22,024	"
Third	"	33	"	21,950	"
Fourth	"	64	"	33,263	"
Total.....	175	vessels,	106,276	tons.

The entries from New Orleans for the same time were:

First quarter	34	vessels,	18,733	tons.
Second	"	59	"	34,031	"
Third	"	25	"	14,383	"
Fourth	"	55	"	20,417	"
Total.....	173	vessels,	87,564	tons register.

Making liberal allowance for vessels going out in ballast or carrying ice, it will still be evident by the above figures, that there was in 1855 a very sufficient business for a line of steamers, leaving a large amount to be done by sailing vessels; and that the business is pretty fairly divided through the different portions of the year.

As persons are not obliged to enter and clear goods coastwise, those clearing vessels put on their manifests only such

articles as convenience dictates. There are, therefore, no means of ascertaining with entire accuracy what goods are carried between the two cities. From a careful examination of the arrivals, as reported in the Boston *Shipping List*, and at the Merchant's Reading room, (to the proprietors of each of which your committee are indebted for polite attention,) it is estimated that goods to the value of from 8 to 10 millions of dollars arrived here from New Orleans during 1855, which were divided nearly as follows:

Cotton, hemp, and wool	54	per cent.
Beef, pork, lard, and other animal produce	19⅔	"
Flour, corn, wheat, and other grain and seeds	15½	"
Sugar and molasses	3⅓	"
Hides, skins, and leather	2½	"
Other articles	5	"

Of goods sent from Boston to New Orleans your committee can obtain no reliable account.

It would appear to your committee that argument is not necessary to show that there is, at the present time, sufficient trade to justify such a line as is proposed. When we cast our eyes to the future; when we consider the promised growth of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi; we must be satisfied that the trade already large, is destined to an immense increase.

While applying to persons in different branches of business, for statistical information, we were frequently told that the year 1855 made a peculiar unfavorable show for the business between this port and New Orleans; and, furthermore, that a large portion of the merchandize which formerly came from the west, via New Orleans, has of late come across the country by railroad. To the question whether a line of first class steamers, would not bring much of that trade back, the answer has been that undoubtedly it would.

After a very careful, and as your committee believe, thorough calculation of all the items of disbursements connected with building, equipping and running a line of first class steamers, say of 1500 tons register, and a liberal allowance for depreciation and other contingencies, they have come to the conclusion, that by judicious management the business may be made remunerative to the stockholders.

But it is not in the light of a directly profitable speculation, that they are disposed to regard this line. This, although an important point, should, in their estimation, be considered secondary in comparison with the very important and decided advantages which are sure to result to all the business interests of the City of Boston as the commercial and industrial metropolis of New England, and these they have no hesitation in saying, cannot easily be over estimated.

But if we have shown the advantages and the necessity of this line to Boston, what shall we say of the business interests of New Orleans? However much or little the various roads between the Mississippi and the seaboard may benefit the country, or only limited localities, almost every such benefit is gained, more or less, at the expense of that city whose very life blood they are drawing away.

It is surely not counting too much on the intelligence of our citizens to consider that they are keenly alive to this fact, and fully aware that it is only by giving a prompt response to our efforts here, and a cordial and energetic support to such undertakings as this, that they can hope to retain for their city the high commercial position she has so long enjoyed.

Indeed, since writing the above, your committee have learned that assurances have been received already, from highly responsible parties in New Orleans, that her citizens are fully aroused on this subject, and stand ready to give an efficient support to our action here.

In conclusion, while nearly seventy millions of dollars, as appears by the annual railroad report, have been expended, and perhaps not unwisely, (so far as the general interests of the community are concerned,) on railroads in this State alone, it should be borne in mind that an enterprise like this proposed would require an investment considerably inside of a million; and while they would, by no word of theirs, do ought to disparage the efforts that have been, are being, or may hereafter be made, to facilitate communication with the west and northwest by means of railroads, they would ask, if it does not seem wise and judicious to extend those facilities still further by steam navigation, especially when so small a portion of capital is required.*

Your committee regard the present time as presenting many circumstances particularly favorable to the immediate establishment of this enterprise; such as the easy state of the finances of the country; and the fact that an immense amount of capital is at present uninvested. Moreover, a diminished activity in ship building exists, which must necessarily afford a favorable time for entering into contracts for the construction of steamers.

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* Those who are disposed to look upon the great expense of running steam vessels as a serious obstacle to the success of such a line, may be reminded of one or two facts in this connection. One is, that carrying their own power, steamers would save the expense of towage in the Mississippi river, which, up and down, would not, for such vessels, be less than $1,500 each trip.

It should be remembered too, that while insurance on goods to New Orleans would be something like 33⅓ per cent. less than on sailing vessels, numerous contingent risks of the land routes, which cannot be insured against, would be avoided.

In view of the foregoing considerations, your committee recommend that a special committee be appointed by the Board of Trade, to take prompt and efficient measures to bring the merits of this question to the more direct and personal attention of capitalists, merchants, and all others who are interested in the prosperity of Boston and of New England, and to endeavor to obtain the requisite subscription to the capital stock, with the understanding that no subscription shall be binding until an amount shall be subscribed fully adequate to pay for the vessels proposed to be built.

To sustain a semi-monthly line between this port and New Orleans, four steamers will be required, and we believe that they should not be less than of 1,500 tons burden, but as there are obviously some advantages in the construction of two steamers first, to be placed on the route before contracts are made for the others, they would further recommend, as soon as a sufficient amount has been subscribed for *and collected*, that contracts be made for two first class sea-going steamers adapted to the business.

LIFE INSURANCE.*

Dr. Heiner has given us in the pamphlet under notice, a full and candid examination and defence of the system of Life Insurance, as adopted in this country, with an able refutation of the objections sometimes urged against it. As this subject appears to come properly within the range of topics embraced in this department of the Review, we propose to furnish a brief summary of the author's views, and further to enforce the truth of his theories with a few practical comments and illustrations.

The origin of Life Insurance has been traced to the early Christians, who sold their earthly possessions and held everything in common, "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostle's feet, and distribution was made unto every man, according as he had need." In this generous equalization, our author finds an analogy upon which to base his supposition that the mutual principle of Life Insurance is grafted, was, in effect, recognized and practised by the apostles and their followers. And though the agrarianism of those good old primitive times, would shock the consciences and greatly disturb the equanimity of our own man-loving generation, there is in the gradual development of this incipient scheme of associated benevolence sufficient to justify the par-

* An Examination and Defence of Life Insurance, by Elias Heiner, D. D., Pastor of the First Reformed Church, Baltimore.

allel here drawn. By the addition of a new feature in its operations, suitable provision was subsequently made for all the *widows* in the church, and it was the business of those who conducted its affairs to see that no one, whether a Grecian or Hebrew widow, was "neglected in the daily ministration." The precept that "he that provideth not for his own, *and especially for his own house*, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel," was fully recognized, and it is strictly in accordance with the spirit which dictated it, that men now-a-days who are husbands and fathers feel the importance and propriety of laying up a few hundred or thousand dollars by the payment of a small annual premium for the future benefit of the widows and orphans of their own households.

Life Insurance was recognized in the commercial systems of France, Italy, Spain, and Holland, in the 16th century. It was first introduced into England in 1661. In 1706 the Queen granted her Royal charter to the Bishop of Oxford and certain noblemen and gentlemen of England, incorporating them under the title of the "Amicable Society for a perpetual Insurance office." This association was established on the mutual principle, and is yet in successful operation. At first members were admitted from 12 to 40 years of age, on the payment of £7 10 shillings per share, and £5 annual premium, all ages being charged alike. In 1782, these rates were materially reduced. At the commencement of the present century there were seven Life offices—there are now between 150 and 200.

The introduction of Life Insurance into the United States, dates further back than the era of the Revolution. In 1769, an association, substantially the same as a Life Company, was organized in Pennsylvania. Up to 1840, there were not more than five or six life offices in this country; at the present time there are about fifty companies in existence, chiefly in the large cities, with agencies throughout the South and West.

The principles upon which life insurance is based are very simple and equitable. It is a contract between an individual and a company—that in consideration of an annual or gross sum paid by the former, and which is proportioned to his age, health, profession, and other circumstances, the company will assure, at his death, to his family or assigns, a much larger sum. A small payment now, secures hereafter, a large investment. The contract may be for a year, or term of years, or for life, and the consideration may all be paid at once, or in yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly instalments. If the insurance has been effected in a *mutual* office, a portion of the profits is added. The obligations imposed and the advantages gained by a contract of this nature are mutual. Both the insurer and insured derive certain benefits from its fulfilment. The gain-

ful operations of a company compensate for its losses. The laws and rates of mortality in different countries have been accurately ascertained, and observation has determined how many out of a large number of persons of every age will die this year, how many the next, and so on. So long as the parties insured are blessed with life and health, their annual premiums add to the common stock, and the company is accumulating a fund from which to pay future losses. The more extended the business, the greater the chances both of gain and loss. As a general rule, the excess must be largely on the side of the former. It must require some very extraordinary contingency to turn the scale in the opposite direction. The measure of the risk involved can be determined with almost mathematical certainty. Milne, in his Treatise on the Valuation of Annuities, and Assurance on Lives and Survivorships, published in 1815, gives a series of tables, "showing the expectations of life" at various ages. One of these tables, founded on observations made at Carlisle, England, has acquired considerable reputation. The Carlisle table, which we give below, is rather too high an estimate of life for the United States, where the average rate of pulse has been ascertained from comparisons of medical examinations to be fifteen beats per minute higher than the English, but it will answer for an approximative estimate.

Carlisle Tables of Mortality.

Age.	Expectation in years.	Age.	Expectation in years.	Age.	Expectation in years.	Age.	Expectation in years.	Age.	Expectation in years.
At Birth	38.72	21	40.75	42	26.34	63	12.81	84	4.39
1	44.68	22	40.04	43	25.71	64	12.30	85	4.12
2	47.55	23	39.31	44	25.09	65	11.79	86	3.90
3	49.82	24	38.59	45	24.46	66	11.27	87	3.71
4	50.76	25	37.86	46	23.82	67	10.75	88	3.59
5	51.25	26	37.14	47	23.17	68	10.23	89	3.47
6	51.17	27	36.41	48	22.51	69	9.70	90	3.28
7	50.80	28	35.69	49	21.81	70	9.18	91	3.26
8	50.24	29	35.00	50	21.11	71	8.65	92	3.37
9	49.57	30	34.34	51	20.30	72	8.16	93	3.48
10	48.82	31	33.68	52	19.68	73	7.72	94	3.53
11	48.04	32	33.03	53	18.97	74	7.33	95	3.53
12	47.27	33	32.36	54	18.28	75	7.01	96	3.46
13	46.51	34	31.68	55	17.58	76	6.69	97	3.28
14	45.75	35	31.00	56	16.89	77	6.40	98	3.07
15	45.00	36	30.32	57	16.21	78	6.12	99	2.77
16	44.27	37	29.64	58	15.55	79	5.80	100	2.28
17	43.57	38	28.96	59	14.92	80	5.51	101	1.79
18	42.87	39	28.28	60	14.34	81	5.21	102	1.30
19	42.17	40	27.61	61	13.82	82	4.93	103	0.83
20	41.46	41	26.97	62	13.31	83	4.65	104	0.50

On the other hand, the insured party, during life, pays annually his contribution or premium. As an offset to this tax, he has the consolation of knowing that he is laying up a fund for the future benefit of his family while they continue to enjoy his protection and maintenance. At his death, they receive the amount, on which he has been paying premiums.

Dr. Heiner enters into an elaborate defence of Life Insurance on the grounds of its general utility and universal applicability—the resemblance which it bears in its most prominent features to the benevolence of the Gospel, and the great moral benefits which arise from it; and then proceeds to answer some of the most important objections frequently urged against the system. The first and most plausible is *the risk incurred.* Risk is inseparable from almost all lawful and proper undertakings; and if it is wrong to insure one's life on this account, all mercantile pursuits, travelling on railroad and in stages, and even the preaching of the gospel where there is no *certain* provision for ministerial labors, all come under the same category. But the description of risk, which we are now contemplating, is the least to be apprehended. For, in the event of the failure or dissolution of any second rate company with which a contract has been made, it is only necessary to transfer it to some other of higher standing and better established in public confidence, to which a little necessary caution would properly have entrusted it in the first instance. The objection, therefore, as to *the risk*, appears scarcely tenable.

Others object on the ground, that to avail themselves of this system of insurance, argues a want of confidence in the Providence of God. This is also shown to be an erroneous view of the subject. The duty of making provision for the protection of one's property, and the maintenance of a family, by the right use of all those means which Providence has placed in our power, is imperative. And this mode of discharging it is strictly consistent with morality and justice, and founded upon the same principles of laying up in store for future necessities, which regulates the operations of all the Beneficial and Relief Orders and Associations, which have accomplished so much good in this country.

There is still another popular objection which has not been specially noticed in the Treatise before us, but which is equally susceptible of refutation. We allude to the plea commonly urged by over-sensitive wives against the insurance of the lives of their husbands, viz: that they will thus derive benefit from the death of their husbands, or, as somebody has expressed it, "what is fun to one is death to the other." This is altogether a delusion. A man who finds it necessary to resort to this mode of providing a support for his family will not be

likely to leave them richer or in any way better off by his death. His life will always be of more consequence to them than the comparatively small contingent fund which a series of savings might accumulate. His room can never be "more desirable than his company" to them in a pecuniary sense. The vagabond who might constitute an exception to this rule, and whose death may be considered a blessing, would be incapable of making such a provision for the support of a family. In no supposable case can the death of the insured party benefit those who come after him of his own flesh and blood. Where a creditor insures the life of an insolvent debtor, in order to secure payment hereafter, the death of the latter is the contingency to which he looks for his security. But under all other circumstances the case is reversed. We may illustrate this point by a very plain statement. A merchant, doing a small business, upon which he is totally dependent for his support, insures his life to the amount of five thousand dollars. The interest on this sum at 7 per cent. will be $350. In order to be able to afford the premium on the $5,000, which will be from $50 to $100, according to age, he must make by his business at least double or treble this interest. Consequently, during the lifetime of the parent, the family must have a larger annual sum to live upon than he can possibly leave them at his death. Life insurance proposes only a system of partial relief, which is certain and permanent, not a lottery scheme for the aggrandizement of one and the ruin of thousands.

If the views we have thus far presented will suffice to disabuse the minds of those who have not looked deeply into the subject, of any prejudices or objections which they may have entertained, a brief sketch of the mode of operation, and the advantages of life insurance, will not be out of place here, and we shall therefore proceed to illustrate these points by a few examples.

A policy of insurance is taken out for one year, a term of years, or for life. The amount of the annual premium varies according to age, health, and other circumstances. If the insurance is effected in a mutual office, a portion of the profits is added.

Blank forms of application are furnished, which consist of a number of questions respecting the health of the party, &c. The applicant is then referred to the medical examiner of the company, who gives his opinion in writing as to the character of the risk. If favorable, a policy is at once made out according to the nature of the application, the premium paid for which depends upon the age of the applicant, the amount for which the insurance is intended, and the period of time which the insurance is intended to embrace. The following table,

A creditor, anxious about the life of his debtor, may insure the debtor's life. In that case the creditor receives the full amount of his debt in the event of the debtor's death before payment.

An individual sees a fair prospect of improving his circumstances by entering upon a hazardous enterprise, but it requires his personal skill and attention; should he die, his family may not be able successfully to conclude it. By Life Insurance, he secures, by a small part of his annual gains, a support to his family, should his enterprise fail in consequence of his death.

A farmer rents land for his own life. Should he die, the support of his family would be gone. A small part of his gains applied to insuring his life will secure to his family the means of buying another farm.

An individual has a wife, an aged parent, an infant child, or old domestic depending on him for support. A small sum paid annually for the insurance of his own life, will secure such wife, parent, child or domestic from want after his death.

A mechanic, earning by his industry two or three hundred dollars a year, may leave a comfortable provision for his family in the event of his death, if he will invest a small sum annually in an insurance on his life. He can leave them $2,000 by paying $35 40 a year, half in cash and half in note, for life, if he be twenty years of age—or $40 80 if he be twenty-five years of age, &c., &c. The same remarks apply to every clerk, school-teacher, lawyer, doctor, farmer, jeweller, and in short, to every man whose family depends upon his labor for their support.

From the multitude of examples which have been recorded, we glean a few striking illustrations of the good effects of Life Insurance in the family circle where but for its timely interposition the evils of poverty must have been severely felt.

A merchant in Brooklyn insured his life for $5,000, payable to his wife and children. He died of cholera, and his wife followed him about a month after, leaving three orphan children, with nothing but the $5,000 to feed, clothe, and educate them. This sum judiciously expended, will sustain them in comfort and respectability, and enable them to acquire such an education as shall maintain for them their position in society, instead of having to depend on the cold hand of charity, perhaps extended from an alms-house, as might have been the case, had not this precaution been adopted.

A farmer, owning two productive but partially encumbered farms, was advised by the agent of a Life Insurance Company, to insure his life for enough to meet the incumbrances in case of his death. He objected, stating that at his present rate of accumulation, he would be enabled to discharge the mortagages

in a few years. He was convinced, however, of the possibility of sudden decease, and took a policy sufficient to cover the mortgages on his farms. In course of a few months, a fever suddenly prostrated him, and he died. The condition of his affairs was such, that had it not been for the sum insured, which was promptly paid, the mortgages would have been foreclosed, the farms sacrificed, and a widow and young children thrown homeless upon the world. The expenditure that secured this result was trifling.

A broker in Wall-street took a policy on his life, in favor of his wife, for $3,500. He made one payment of the first quarter, $8 09, and died after a few hours illness of cholera. This timely provision secured to his family a comfortable addition to an otherwise scanty support.

A clerk, dependent upon his salary for the support of his family, took a policy in the summer of 1849, (during the prevalence of the epedemic.) About one month from that time he was attacked by cholera, and reduced to the point of death, but recovered. Later in the season he was attacked with dysentary, which again brought him to the brink of death, but he again recovered. The result might have been otherwise had not the calmness of mind induced by the knowledge that his family were secured from want, aided his physician's efforts. In this way, Life Insurance not only provides a competency in case of the death of the insured, but may be absolutely productive of longevity. In the case related, the individual considered it worth ten times what he paid, for the calmness and fearlessness which it engendered in times of peril.

We have thus hurriedly and imperfectly sketched from the limited resources in possession, the origin and progress, advantages and workings of a system, which has of late years attained increasing popularity in this country, and will continue to find favor with the industrial portion of our people, in proportion as its merits become known and recognized. For a full and comprehensive view of the whole subject we would refer the reader to the works of Beaumont, Eagle, Jones, and others on Life Assurance, Farren's Historical Essay on Life Contingencies, Gray's Assurance and Annuity Tables, Francis' Chronicles of Life Assurance, &c., published by the Layton's of London—all of which with many other similar valuable treatises, are on sale in most of our commercial cities.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

The following article was prepared several years ago at our request by Thomas Prentice Kettell, of New York, a writer whose familiarity with great economical and statistical questions is well recognized in every part of the Union.

It would be an easy task to bring down to date the figures upon which Mr. Kettell's reasonings are based, but as they may be found interspersed through the volumes of the Review, and if reproduced can do no more than support the conclusions of the author, as true for this period as for that, they are omitted.

The position which the Southern United States hold to the commercial and industrial world, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern times. When we reflect upon the origin of black servitude in America; its comparatively valueless results as long as Great Britain derived direct profit from the African trade; its sudden and wonderful change when, coeval with our national independence, it began to weave that thread of cotton which has gradually enveloped the commercial world, and bound the fortunes of American slaves so firmly to human progress, that civilization itself may also be said to depend upon the continual servitude of the blacks in America. With the independence of America ceased the profits which Liverpool and London had derived from the African slavetrade. Simultaneous with that loss of profit, the philanthropy of Wilberforce was awakened; and continued and preserving efforts were from that moment, through the space of half a century, made to bring about the enfranchisement of all *black* slaves. These efforts have been measurably successful with all countries where the number and importance of the blacks were inconsiderable. France and England afford notable examples of the folly of emancipating a race incapable of freedom; and the mind of the devout person who contemplates the condition of the *ci-devant* slave colonies of those two powers, must become impressed with the fact that Providence must have raised up those two examples of human folly for the express purpose of a lesson to these States, to save which from human errors it has, on more than one occasion, manifestly and directly interposed. It was doubtless the fact that, at the era of the Revolution, many of the Southern States began to feel the burden of unproductive slaves, and that a growing disposition to be clear of them manifested itself simultaneously with the mammon-prompted philanthropy of England. A great danger was thus springing up, when the inventions of the cotton-gin, the carding machine, the spinning-jenny, and the steam-engine, combined to weave that network of cotton which formed an indissoluble cord, binding the black, who was threatened to be cast off, to human progress. It may be well, in this connection, to make a hasty sketch of the progress which black emanci-

pation, under English tutelage, has made. The forcing of Africans upon these colonies by the English government, against the earnest remonstrances of the colonies, Virginia in particular, was a main reason in the list of grievances, why the authority of the crown should be thrown off. When this was accomplished, the discontinuance of the slave-trade was decreed, and the traffic declared piracy by the United States. The English government followed this example, and the republican government of France emancipated suddenly the blacks of St. Domingo, giving over that fine island to the horrors of black civil war and plunder. From that time up to 1823, but little progress was made. In that year Mr. Buxton introduced a bill into Parliament for the abolition of slavery. Mr. Canning amended it on its passage, so as to prepare for gradual emancipation. Lord Balthurst notified the colonial legislature of the fact. This induced lively remonstrances on the part of the colonists, but these did not deter the government from taking those preliminary steps in 1831, which resulted in the bill presented by Lord Stanley in 1833, and which was adopted June 18, and sanctioned by the Crown August 28, 1833. The principles of the bill were briefly these: After the 1st August, 1834, slavery ceased; all blacks above the age of six years became apprentices, under three heads—1st. Rural Apprentices, attached to the soil. 2d. Rural Apprentices unattached. 3d. Non-Rural apprentices. The two first classes were to work six years for their masters without pay, and the third class four years. The labor was limited to 45 hours per week. The blacks could *buy their time* of their apprenticeship of their masters, if they had the means. The power of punishment was transferred to the magistrates.

The compensation of the blacks was to be at the rate of their average value in each island, between the years 1822 to 1830. Thus the whole number of slaves was 780,993, and their value, £45,281,738. This sum was paid full in cash and work. Thus three-fourths in money, amounting to £20,000,000, and the remaining four-sevenths in the right to the work of the prædials six years without pay, and non-prædials four years. The number of claims was, for prædials attached, 5,562; do. unattached, 1,708; non-prædials, 9,075. The average valuation was £44 15 shillings; the average money paid for each slave, £19 15s. 4¼d. The work of a slave generation in the West Indies was valued at 7¼th years, and the years of apprenticeship assigned were considered four-sevenths of the pay.

Although the British government, with its usual self-sufficient insolence, laid claim to the full merit of paying for the slaves, these had to contribute a large share of the remuneration for themselves. This arrangement, however, dissatisfied

everybody. The slaves, who had hoped for immediate emancipation, were very impatient under this regulation, while the government agents so harrassed the planters that they were glad to sell out the time of the apprentices.

In Jamaica, from August, 1834, to August, 1839, $300,000 were paid by apprentices to masters for unexpired time; and finally, when the four years of non-prædial service had expired, the planters abandoned the remaining two years of the prædials, and August, 1838, was a day of Jubilee.

The valuators then reported the number of prædials at 218,669; non-prædials, 37,144—total apprentices, 255,813. Free children, under six years, 38,899: aged, 15,656—total, 310,368, against 309,167 apprentices and 38,754 free children, returned in 1834; showing an increase of 145 children, and a decrease of 53,354 apprentices.

The first use of freedom was a prompt refusal to work at all; some demanded $1, $2, and $3 per day, and the best authorities show that the islands are fast sinking back to a state of savage nature.

The productions of the island are yearly diminishing notwithstanding an increased consumption of, and advance in the price of sugar in England. As the exports of the West Indies fall, the markets they afford for the sale of British goods become circumscribed. In 1836 they took £3,786,458 of British goods; in 1848, £1,434,477 only.

Simultaneously with their West India experiment, the British government exerted all its influence with the small nations of Europe to procure the nominal emancipation of such black slaves as were of no material importance, either to the several States, or to any considerable interests in any of them. Those efforts which have been made by the English ministry to manufacture in Europe freedom for slaves, as they manufactured a claim against Greece, and a king for the Mosquitoes, by means of new clothes and old rum, serve only as a severe sarcasm upon the whole system of European governments.

All the nations of Europe, including England, contain absolute and miserable slaves, deluded with the name of freemen. Not the most advanced of these races has reached the degree of improvement, politically and physically, that marks the black race in the southern United States. From the nature of their geographical position, it results, that although most of the nations of Europe contain races whose life, liberty, and property are at the mercy of masters without appeal from their caprice, yet none of these are black. In the United States, none but black hold a subordinate position; hence no kind of slavery in Europe is bad except black.

In this view, the English government, after it set rum Sambo astride of a cask of Jamaica, with the style and title of King of the Musquitoes, used its influence to induce the little piratical nations of Europe which possessed black slaves, to free them, and get their pay out of the skins of the white slaves. The Danish government followed the English example of turning slaves into apprentices without wages.

In 1846 the Swedish government paid $50,000 to free the few blacks in the island of Saint Bartholomew, which amounted simply to turning adrift a few useless negroes. The most brilliant triumphs of this nature were, however, in Tunis, Egypt, and Bohemian Wallachia. In the last-named country, there is a population of 1,747,815 souls, including Goths, Gepidæ, Huns, Lombards, Tartars, Turks, and Gipsies. These are all slaves, most abject and miserable, hardly above the savage condition—the women being compelled to do the labor, living in under-ground caverns, and using dry dung as fuel to cook a scanty meal. These poor creatures are owned by a nobility and clergy, who are exempted from taxes and the payment of private debts.

The most inconsiderable in numbers and lowest in the social scale, are the Gipsies, of whom there are about 150,000 owned by individuals and the government, the latter holding about 60,000. They pay 30 piastres, or $2 10 per annum, per head, for the privilege of being at large, upon binding themselves not to quit the country. In 1846 the government was induced to waive its ownership of these poor creatures, who are but strolling vagabonds, this "triumph of philanthropy" was proclaimed throughout Europe as a long stride towards universal freedom, and an example to the United States, although the slavery of all those not belonging directly to the government remains as before.

The next "grand triumph" of freedom was a successful negotiation, in 1847, with the Pacha of Egypt, for the release of his *black* slaves. The population of Egypt numbers 2,500,000; the larger proportion being Arab Egyptians, and are all the property of the Pacha. There is in Egypt no personal liberty whatever. The government claims and enforces its right to the labor of every man, willing or not willing; and no labor is performed unless under the immediate direction of the government officers, from whom alone the individual can procure supplies. Amidst this community of slaves, there are Caucasian men and women, white slaves to the rich, and a few negro slaves brought from Numidia.

The English philanthropy had such an effect upon the Pacha as to induce him, March, 1847, to free the last named, allowing the rest to remain as before!

Soon after, similar influences began to work in the Barbary States, where the absolute dependence of all persons, in life, liberty, and property, upon the nod of the Bey, makes life valueless to a man. The trade of these poor creatures, who send three caravans a year into the interior, involves the bringing back occasionally a few negro slaves. As these were no particular benefit to the Bey, who owns the whole 2,500,000 people, he was induced by the English agent, for a small consideration, to follow the illustrious example of the ultra-democrat, the Pacha of Egypt, and alter the style of the servitude of those blacks, and Exeter Hall had another "triumph," and again the United States were bade to imitate the glorious example of the Mediterranean pirates.

The experience of the French government in its dealings with the black race, has been even more unfortunate than has been that of the English. The bloody disasters which overtook the once magnificent possession of St. Domingo, have, for more than half a century, remained a monument of black brutality. Taught somewhat by that lesson, the French government, in 1831, by a law of that year, provided for gradual emancipation in its remaining colonies.

Under the operation of that law, the number of slaves diminished from 294,481 to 258,956, in 1835. The productions of the islands were not, however, materially checked, and the system seemed to work well. The revolution of February, 1848, repeated the error towards the blacks committed by that of 1791, and slavery was suddenly abolished. That the same bloody results have not followed, is because the home government promptly laid the islands under martial law, as the only means of preserving the whites from massacre. The presence of a sufficient force is all that stays for the moment a war of races.

In relation to labor, the consequences are the same as in Jamaica, viz., a prompt abandonment of work at any price. In 1836, 4,932 hands produced in Martinique 6,056,990 pounds of sugar, or one hogshead each; in 1849, the proceeds averaged one hogshead to 34 hands. The official returns of the French government for 1849, are not yet received; those, however, for 1847 and 1848, the last being the year of abolition, are as follows:

Imports from and Exports to the West India Colonies from France.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1847.....	73,347,168	39,954,084	113,301,252
1848.....	35,992,153	19,239,604	55,231,757
Decrease.....frs.	37,355,015	20,714,480	58,079,495

This shows a decline of more than one-half in the first year, and for 1849 it is greater, as indicated by customs returns.

The sugar imported into France fell off one-half, and was made up by receipts of foreign slave sugar. The experience in relation to St. Domingo will be confirmed in the other islands.

We have thus stated roughly the course of abolitionism, in order to understand the lesson which it conveys. It is this. The black race has inhabited the African continent as long at least as the whites have occupied Europe, and the yellow and red races of Asia. All these have more or less advanced from the rudest savage state, in manner and degree, according to their inherent intellectuality. The black race, however, has made no progress whatever. They were without invention, almost without language, and destitute of the faculties or the wish to advance. These beings, or such of them as had, by the fortune of internal wars, become the victims of their cannibal captors, were rescued from that fate to become the forced cultivators of the soil in the newly discovered countries of America.

A few years of that compulsory labor was supposed by the English government so to have changed their natures, that, made free, they would not resume the indolent and savage habits which had marked the race since the creation, but would become so perseveringly industrious for wages, to enable their employers to compete with the slave owners of Cuba and Brazil, in supplying Europe with sugar, coffee, and cotton; keep in employ one-fourth the people of Great Britain; maintain her merchant marine, and enable her to continue her commercial and manufacturing supremacy. The erroneousness of this view has, by experiment, now been proved to all the world.

The experiment has been sufficiently tested by emancipation, in the manner we have sketched, in the colonies of France and England, and by increase of free blacks among the whites of the United States; and it has been proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the black race cannot even maintain the position to which they are raised by a few years of servitude, without continued coertion. Left to themselves, they will not work, no matter how great may be the inducements or facilities, but sink back mentally to the dark superstitions of their cannibal natures. This truth has not only been demonstrated, but admitted by the best English authorities, even those which formerly were the most hopeful advocates of black equality. The policy of the English was, and continues to be, in relation to its West Indies, to cause them to be abandoned by the whites, and become entirely black colonies, in the sole possession of the descendants of slaves.

Already, however, the rapidly sinking condition of the colonies has convinced the thinking men of England, that the

pended at the North among all those who live by that manufacturing, lumber-men who float the monarchs of the forests to the seaboard for the shiprights to fashion, architects, shipwrights, blacksmiths, sheathers, caulkers, riggers, cordage, and sailmakers, with their backers, the hemp and flax growers, and canvass weavers. Thus affording immense employment to busy ship-yards, until the ship "a taunto" has passed the hands of cabinet makers and upholsterers, and is ready for her cargo, which employs gangs of stevedores, cartmen, shopmen, and clerks, with premiums to insurance offices, until her shipping articles complete, under the command of a thriving pilot, 20 stout seamen, whose families are provided with "draw bills" for their wages, sheet home her canvass to the breeze, and she seeks in foreign climes a profit upon her southern cargo, to remunerate the outlay of capital that has created her and given activity to so many interests.

The privilege which the Northern States have thus enjoyed in being free carriers for southern produce to Europe, as well as of bringing it to their own water-courses for conversion into goods to be re-carried to the South, and sold at a profit above the cost of the raw material, with freights, insurance, exchange, commissions, and wages superadded, has formed the marked distinction which is manifested between the present condition of New England and Canada. Why is it that the latter, possessed of English enterprise and capital, and endowed with large expenditures on such public works as the Welland and Rideau canals, are impoverished, idle, and retrograding, while New England is advancing with rapid strides to wealth and power? Clearly because the latter enjoys freely the right to carry and manufacture the products of slave-labor, from which Canada is excluded. This fact, and the fear of being deprived of the privilege involved, has excited much interest of late in New England; and C. Haskett Derby, Esq., a well-known factory and railroad speculator, undertook, in the last October number of Hunt's Magazine, to reply to the able pamphlet entitled, the "Union, and how to save it," and published in Charleston. Mr. Derby's reply had very little force, and we refer to it here merely as an illustration of a single point. The pamphlet showed, that as the exports of the country are mostly from the South, the proceeds returning in shape of goods belong to the section whence emanated the means of paying for them, and the duties exacted from these goods were therefore taken from the South. Mr. Derby remarks:

"Let us examine his theories as to duties. It is a very simple one. Not that the South has directly paid such duties, for they have been paid principally at the North; but the whole theory rests upon the fact that the duties are paid on imports; that the South supplies nearly two-thirds the exports of the Union;

and the duty being levied on the proceeds, are paid *not by the consumer*, but by the South."

This is slightly misstated; the South is both the consumer of the goods and producer of the means of paying for them. Again, says Mr. Derby:

"Take a case in point. A New England ship sails for Charleston with a cargo of granite, ice, fish, and manufactures. She exchanges them for lumber, rice, and cotton. She then sails for Liverpool, makes freight and profit; then to Cardiff, where the proceeds are invested in slate or iron, and returns to Boston. What has the South to do with these imports? They have been bought by the North and paid for—how do 'they belong to,' and how are they 'to be divided among the producers of the exports?'"

The question is not of a few stones, a little ice, and a few fish, but of that large amount combined in the last enumerated word, "manufactures," and which Mr. Derby slurs over so glibly. Now the robbery consists precisely in that operation. The "manufactures" which this New England ship carries to Charleston, as the means of buying cotton, are raised in value 30 per cent. by the present tariff, and by the old tariff 80 per cent.; that is to say, Liverpool being the largest market, regulates the price of cotton. Fair cotton is now fourteen cents, and certain Lowell sheetings 7 cents per yard; that is to say, two yards of the latter are given for one pound of cotton. But the English will give three yards for one pound. The tariff says, no; and the government, for every three yards imported, takes one. It is not only the duties upon the articles actually imported, of which the South pays so large a share, but upon a corresponding advance caused by the duty upon all Northern manufactured articles; that is to say, one-third of all the produce sold by the South to the North, and paid for in manufactured goods, is confiscated to the use of the manufacturers. Mr. Derby makes the following very strange assertion:

"But does the slave use the costly linens, silks, woolens, liquors, coffee, sugar, tea, and other valuables from abroad? Clad in coarse attire, eating his coarser fare, he little knows of such luxuries. Our imports now average at least ninety dollars per head for our white population. The slave cannot average one-third of this amount. The great consumers are the whites, both Southern and Northern.

"Let us allow for this difference, and the consumption of foreign imports in the slave States will fall below three-tenths of the entire importation. The slave States will consequently be found to pay less than three-tenths of the entire duties,—less than their ratio under the Constitution."

The white population of the Union, by the present census, will be about 17,000,000. "Ninety dollars per head" would give for imports $1,530,000,000, say one thousand five hundred and thirty millions. The actual imports are $163,000,000. So much for his accuracy of calculation. But, says he, the imports are luxuries which slaves don't use. We cannot see how that alters the fact. If by means of a high tariff the Northern manufacturer obtains one-third of the Southern pro-

duce for nothing, he may, of course, buy luxuries, or, as we have lately seen done, buy the office of Minister to England, and become the toady of dukes, or indulge his taste in any way. Let us take an illustration from the Massachusetts census.

Number of Cotton and Woolen Factories, Spindles and Looms in Massachusetts.

	COTTON.		WOOLEN.	
	Factories.	Spindles.	Factories.	Spindles.
1840	278	624,540	144	113,457
1850	337	1,220,752	191	208,848

It appears that the number of spindles has doubled, consequently the consumption of cotton has doubled, and of wool the increase has been 80 per cent. The capital invested in cotton has risen from $17,414,079 to $35,000,000, and the persons employed from 21,000 to 35,000. The South has had to pay the North 30 per cent. more for woolen as for other goods, than they would have been furnished for by the other customers for rice, cotton and tobacco; and it is the operation of this tribute which has caused the factories to double in ten years. Of the chief staples of the South, the productions, exports and home consumption of the year have been nearly as follows:

	Exported.	Home Consumption.	Total Production.
Cotton	71,984,616	33,615,386	105,600,000
Tobacco	9,951,223	5,048,777	15,000,000
Rice	2,631,887	400,000	3,031,557
Naval stores	1,142,713	800,000	1,942,713
Sugar	23,037	12,396,150	12,419,147
Hemp	5,633	690,207	695,840
Total	$85,738,779	52,950,520	138,689,297

The largest portion of this home consumption has been exchanged with the North and West; with the latter on equal terms, receiving breadstuffs, provisions, &c., in exchange. With the North there has been received merchandise, enhanced one-third in value by the operation of the tariff, or, as Mr. Derby expresses it, that produce has been purchased by the North in exchange for manufactures. The Southern produce was given at its cash value in the markets of the world, while the manufactures of the North were taken at a fictitious value, created by the operation of the tariff. If, after purchasing on such terms, the Northern merchant chooses to export that produce, Mr. Derby asserts the South has not been fleeced, because the identical articles brought back do not go to the individual planters. To illustrate: Suppose fair cotton is twelve cents per lb., regulated by the cash price in Liverpool, and that for one lb. of such cotton the Manchester man will

give three yards of a certain description of cloth, valued at eight cents. A New England manufacturer asks twelve cents for the same cloth, and gets it, because Congress imposes four cents per yard on the Manchester cloth. The Northern merchant then sends two yards of cloth, and obtains one lb. of cotton; he then sends abroad the cotton and buys silk with it. Mr. Derby says the South has nothing to do with this luxury! Yet the trade is based upon the Southern product, which has been obtained by the North, under the operation of the tariff, cheaper than it otherwise could have been. In the same manner, a vast Northern capital operates upon the same bases. We have seen that the shipping is mostly owned at the North, and draws it revenue from the Southern freights at an average of $40 per ton. The Northern shipping is worth $111,665,960. The capital invested in commercial houses is $81,000,000, including dry goods and tobacco-shops; in cotton factories, $105,000,000; in machine-making and other trades incident to factories, $2,000,000; in railroads dependent upon factory prosperity, $30,000,000. These items make together $329,665,960 of capital employed at the North, which depends altogether upon slave labor, and which would be annihilated and valueless in the event of emancipation, as was the property of the West Indies. Large as is this Northern interest in the United States dependent upon slave labor, it is far inferior to the British interest, also dependent upon slaves. One-half of the whole external trade of Great Britain is dependent upon cotton. Thus, the declared value of cotton goods exported in 1849, was £26,890,794, say $130,000,000; and the whole export was £58,848,042, say $290,000,000. The cotton goods manufactured constituting so large a portion of the exports, of course the imports of which, raw cotton, was £12,838,850, or $54,000,000, purchased with those goods, are dependent upon the same basis. The immense shipping interest also derives its support from the same source. The amount of British capital directly invested in cotton is, by the best authorities, given as follows:

Capital employed in—	
The purchase of raw material	£12,838,850
Wages of operatives	12,000,000
Hand-loom weavers	7,000,000
Mills, looms, &c.	35,000,000
Total	£66,838,850
Or in United States money	$320,826,480

The number of factory operatives and hand-loom weavers and bleachers, 1,300,000, and the number of persons depen-

dent on the manufacture, 2,200,000. If we add to the capital directly invested in cotton the property which depends upon it in a collateral manner, the result is not far from 700,000,000, and on the continent, 200,000,000, making, probably, 1,230,000,000 of property, with 7,000,000 of people, which depend for their existence upon keeping employed the 3,000,000 negroes in the Southern States. When we reflect upon the vastness of this industrial fabric, reared upon the frail foundation of black labor, and find persons rashly meddling with the only incentive to that labor, the most stupendous example of human folly presents itself.

The time is, however, rapidly approaching, when the South and West will manufacture the greatest proportion of their own raw products; and that large shipping interest in Europe and the North which depends upon the transport of the raw products, will find itself confined to the carrying of goods; while the markets of the world will come to depend upon the Mississippi valley for wrought fabrics, as they have hitherto done for the raw material. New Orleans may become the Liverpool of America, communicating by the father of waters with that vast region which is to be the Manchester of the world.

The essential difference between the position of the cotton manufactures in the United States and Great Britain may be illustrated by a few figures. The consumption in the United States last year was given at 595,269 bales, say 238,107,600 lbs., which is very nearly the quantity which Great Britain manufactured in 1827, that was 249,804,396 lbs. The difference is in the quantities consumed at home, and this is indicated in the value exported as follows:

Consumption of Cotton and value of Fabrics exported in United States and Great Britain.

	Cotton, lbs.	Value.	Value of Cotton goods exported.
G. B., 1827	249,804,396	$34,972,615	$84,658,382
U. S., 1850	238,107,600	26,787,105	4,734,424

Thus it appears that the consumption of cotton goods in England was very small, almost the whole of the manufacture was exported. In the United States, last year, an equal quantity was manufactured, and more than the whole of it consumed, because a considerable quantity was imported in addition. This is an important difference. The English manufacture had grown up during a war, and when there were no manufactures in any other nation; she had the supply of the world, but not the means of consuming herself. Since then, manufactures all over the world have sprung up, and the United States have built up and supplied a market at home

equal to the whole English manufacture for the world in 1827. The American market has, however, become glutted by home competition. The following figures give the cotton consumed in the United States at three periods:

Consumption of Cotton per head in the United States.

	Cotton, lbs.	Population.	Cotton, per head, equal to yards.
1830	50,804,800	12,866,020	4 lbs. 12
1840	118,357,200	17,069,453	7 " 21
1850	238,107,600	22,000,000	10¼ " 32½

Such has been the progress of cotton manufacture and consumption in this country for twenty years! It has increased from 12 to 32½ yards each for a population that has increased 10,000,000, or nearly doubled. In a late English return, the weight of cotton spun in 1849, in England, is given at 626,710,660 pounds; net weight of yarn, 558,163,700 pounds; weight of yarn exported in goods and yarn, 421,742,935 pounds; weight consumed at home, 136,420,765. This, among a population of 31,000,000, gives an average of 4¾ pounds each, or 13¼ yards, being over 19 yards per head less than the United States consumption. These figures show, in a most remarkable degree, not only the superior condition of the people of the United States, but the over-wrought state of the cotton manufacture, which is now in a depressed state, yet cannot compete with England by exporting to neutral markets, because the scale of production has been under a system of protection which forbids sales on a fair footing with English goods.

It is evident, from the primary fact that a large portion of the industrial prosperity of both Old and New England depends upon a staple drawn from the Southern States of America, that the seat of manufactures has occupied a wrong locality—that is to say, it has, in relation to facility of production, occupied a position disadvantageously situated when purely economical principles are taken into account. For the most ready productions of manufactured goods, it is necessary that all the materials of which they are composed should be found, together with the motive power, in neighborhoods capable of producing the best and cheapest food for the support of the operatives, and that all these circumstances should exist, and be easily accessible. It has, however, hitherto never been the case that all these means have been combined in any one locality. England has possessed the most of them, and, in the earlier years of her progress, sufficient to supply her demands. Her geographical positihn is such, surrounded by the ocean, that no wind can blow from any quarter of the compass without favoring her commerce. From which point soever the breeze proceeds, it is fair for the arrival of some of her ships, and for the departure of others. This facility of communica-

tion before the age of steam, gave her immense advantages, as it made her ports the depot for the raw produce of all countries, and the source whence, after being wrought up by English industry, goods were derived by all nations. With such advantages, the business of England could not but increase, until the demands of her operatives for food and raw materials exceeded the capacity of her own soil to supply them. The cost of these things to consumers would then naturally be enhanced by the cost of transportation and duties on the additional quantities imported, and thus an enhanced cost was occasioned at a moment when the competition of foreigners reduced the price of the fabrics. The mere fact of a larger transportation of raw produce was regarded as a good, in a political view, inasmuch as that by employing more shipping, it fostered that navy on which England depended; but if that cost carried prices beyond the point at which foreigners could compete, it defeated its own object. The government, therefore, removed duties on raw produce, on food, and finally abolished the navigation laws, in order that all those things might be supplied in England at cheaper rates.

It is now very apparent, that England cannot continue to increase her demands for food and materials brought from a distance, and compete with those countries which have all these things within themselves, and with which the freight amount is nothing. What a strange absurdity it is to see silk going from China and France; cotton from the southern United States; wool from Australia; coffee and sugar from Brazils; wheat from New-York, Michigan, Odessa, and Poland; hemp and flax from St. Petersburg; pork and lard from Ohio and Illinois, all concentrating in Lancashire, to be returned in the shape of goods to the localities whence they came! Such a state of things never could have been brought about but for the geographical position of England giving her control of the ocean. The progress of internal improvements making land carriage equally favorable with that by water, has developed regions like the valley of the Mississippi, where all those articles which the marine of England seeks in every section of the world, exist together, of the best qualities and in limitless abundance; land and its produce, raw materials and motive power, lie in juxtaposition, and goods can there be turned out in such a manner that England's freight alone will be a prodigious profit to the manufacturer.

The position of New-England is very similar to that of old England. We find coal and iron going thither from Pennsylvania; sugar, cotton, pork, and flour, from New-Orleans; wool and food, from Illinois and Wisconsin, to be sent back in shape of goods. It was the water-power and industry of New-England

that made the cost of transportation light; but improvements in steam machinery has made power "locomotive," and motive power is now existent in the midst of those materials which nature has with such prodigality bestowed upon the South, and the blacks are equally serviceable in factories as in fields. There are conditions which shadow forth the greatness and power of the South, and as she rises in power and wealth she will elevate the black race with her. She will have, however, to encounter the jealous hatred of rivals whose philanthropy will be developed as her prosperity increases. It is, however, through the long lesson of industry taught by white surveillance, that the great work of regenerating the black race can be accomplished.

SOUTHERN TRAVEL AND TRAVELLERS.

We are reaching a new epoch in the life of the South. Incensed by the abuse which is heaped upon them, insulted by the creeds and platforms of powerful parties, outraged by attacks upon their individual property, all coming from the North, the Southern people are awakening at last from their dreams of security and repose, and from their fixed confidence in the conservative classes of that section of the Union. Despite of all their predilections for Saratoga, Newport, and Cape May, and for the fashion and excitement supposed only to be found there, rudely have come these shocks, faster and faster. Will the knights and dames of St. James indulge their pastimes at St. Petersburgh, whilst yet the cannon of the Inkerman and of Sebastopol shake the shores of the Bosphorus? There exists, it was said a few days ago on the floor of the Senate, more comity between any two nations on the face of the earth than there exists on the part of the Northern States towards the South. (Mr. Geyer.)

Let those who are responsible reap the whirlwind. It is sufficient for us at present to know, that the lines of Southern travel to the North are intercepted, and that we are succeeding in finding, the present Summer, on our own coasts, in our own mountains, health, pleasure, intellectual pastime, and fashion, when it was vainly imagined they existed only afar off. Welcome reaction—welcome revolution. People of the South, stand by your Lares and Penates, and taught by dear experience, wander off no more after the strange gods, on whose altars your willing sacrifices have burned with no sweet incense. Stand by them in all the future!

Therefore are we disposed to speak of the South the present Summer.

The fourth of August found us on the Alexandria steamer, wending our way to the Springs of Virginia, from the hot air and dusty squares of the Federal Metropolis.

Every one knows how Alexandria has progressed since it passed from under the wing of Congress, and went back to share the fortunes of the Old Dominion. Population, independence, wealth, and prosperity, are crowning the labors of the enterprising men of Alexandria.

By the Orange railroad and the Warrenton Branch road, in about two hours, we are at Warrenton, and by a comfortable stage route, in an hour more, are at the *Fauquier Springs.*

Fauquier has never before known a season of prosperity like this, and well does this admirable and most accessible retreat merit it. Here are convenient and comfortable accommodations, with excellent company, and just enough fashion. These Springs are but fifty-six miles from Washington, and were known from a very early period. The water is impregnated with sulphate of magnesia, phosphate of soda, and sulphuretted hydrogen, and are not so strong as the other Springs of Virginia. They constitute an admirable alterative, and are said to have cured of dropsy the Hon. B. Watkins Lea.

"The Spring establishment consists of an elegant brick pavilion, which, including the wings, is one hundred and eighty-eight feet in length, by forty-four in width. It is four stories high, and capable of accommodating four hundred persons. Across the street, and directly opposite the pavilion, stands what is called the 'new building,' which is also of brick and four stories high, one hundred and five feet long, and thirty wide. There are also ninety cabins or rooms, separate and distinct from the pavilion and new building. Those visiters who, from ill health or other causes, desire the quiet and comfort of their own homes, added to the healthy and balmy breezes that steal through the valley, obtain one of these cabins, which being arranged on the northern and southern sides of the square, and amid the serpentine and shady walks and playing fountains, contribute much towards making a somewhat distant southeast view of the premises picturesque and beautiful."

Resuming our travel, the Orange railroad takes us to Gordonsville, a distance of forty-one miles; and proceeding thence upon the Virginia Central railroad a distance of one hundred miles, we reach Millborough, having passed through Charlottesville, Staunton, etc., and near enough to overlook Monticello, the residence of Mr. Jefferson.

The weather is delightful; the scenery is magnificent beyond power of imagining on many sections of the Central railroad. How sublimely perilous in appearance, and yet in experience how safe the windings of the locomotive over great mountain passes! Mountains girt every where the horizon, hoary with mists. Those men below with their pick-axes—that farmer with his oxen—the farm itself—the neighboring farms with their smoking chimneys—pictures of Lilliput as painted in the fabulous pages of Gulliver!

Night has drawn her mantle closely around the scene, and scattering star-light gilds our way over mountain heights, and by crags and precipices which seem to divulge obscurely the nether world. The rattling of the coach wheels over the rocks, the occasional bumping of the travellers head against that of his fellow sufferer, the rustling of undergrowth, alone disturb the silence or enliven the monotony of the scene.

We are at the *Bath Alum*, which is distant ten miles from the present terminus of the Central railroad. To our surprise the crowds who have sought the mountains are not here. There is accommodation, comfort, approved management, and medicinal water, but small company; such are the freaks of travel. These Springs are situated near the eastern base of the Warm Spring Mountain. They arise in a valley, which is an extensive cove encircled by mountains. The Springs here but lately attracted attention, and all of the improvements have been made within five or six years, and are very extensive and convenient.

"The Alum waters issue from a slate-stone cliff of twelve or fifteen feet high, and are received into small reservoirs that have been excavated near each other in the rock. These different springs, or reservoirs, differ essentially from each other. One of them is a very strong chalybeate, with but little alum; another is a milder chalybeate, with more alumina; while the others are alum of different degrees of strength, but all containing an appreciable quantity of iron."

These Springs and the *Rockbridge Alum*, fifteen miles distant, are under the same proprietors, the latter having higher mineral virtues of the same kind and attracts a vastly greater portion of the travel. In the course of six or eight years, the Rockbridge Alum has changed hands several times, advancing in price from $12,000 to $100,000, and then to $150,000! Dr. Christian gives the following summary of the class of disease to which these waters are applicable:

"They are an invaluable remedy in the cure of all scrofulous and cutaneous diseases, lupus and other malignant ulcerations of the mouth and throat, chronic diseases of the digestive organs, dyspepsia, diseases of the liver, chronic diarrhœa, scrofulous affections of the mesentery and peritoneum, diseases of the urinary organs, diabetes, chronic inflammation and irritation of the kidneys, bladder and urethra, diseases peculiar to females, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, leucorrhea, menorrhagia, chronic inflammation and ulceration of the uterus, hemorrhoids, all hemorrhagic affections of a passive character, and all anemic conditions of the system and broken down states of the constitution, whether resulting from the imprudent use of medicine or the errors of youth. In all diseases of the glandular system, whether of inflammation, induration, or deficient secretion, it has no superior if an equal, as a curative agent: restoring the secretions generally to a healthy condition, particularly those of the liver, skin and kidneys, whether deficient, excessive, or of bad quality. Its purgative action is characterized by copious bilious discharges, very similar to those produced by mercurials."

Our coach has again climbed the mountain, and after an early morning ride of five miles, amid the most picturesque and enchanting scenery, sets us down at the Warm Springs

for breakfast. Gout, paralysis, liver affections, neuralgia, chronic diarrhœa, scrofula, etc., are the kinds of diseases to which the bath is usually recommended.

"The largest bath is an octagon 38 feet in diameter; its arena is 1163.77 feet. The ordinary depth being five feet, (it can be increased to six,) the cubic capacity is 5818.86 feet, or 43,533.32 gallons; notwithstanding the *leaks*, this quantity of water will flow into the reservoir in one hour. The average temperature of the bath is 98° Fah. The gas which rises in the bath consists of nitrogen, with minute quantities of sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid.

"Besides this gas, each gallon of water contains 4.5 cubic inches of gas, consisting of—

Nitrogen	3.25 cubic inches.
Sulphuretted hydrogen	0.25 "
Carbonic acid	1.00 "

A little further on, and almost within walking distance, are the Hot Springs. There are six baths, ranging in temperature from 100° to 106° of heat.

"These waters are suited *only* to chronic conditions of the system. Dr. JAMES JOHNSON, of London, after enumerating the diseases in which Thermal Waters are *inadmissible*, adds, 'but there is a long catalogue of chronic disorders, to which *thermal medicinal waters*, both internally and externally applied, prove extremely useful. Thermal waters act in three principal ways on the human machine: 1st, through the medium of *sensation*, on the nervous system; 2d, through the agency of their *temperature* on the vascular system; and 3d, by means of their chemical contents, on the secretory and excretory organs. In *most* chronic complaints, and especially in rheumatism, gout, cutaneous defedations, neuralgia, dyspepsia, glandular swellings, and visceral obstructions, there is pain, uneasiness or discomfort of some kind, which, indeed, constitutes the chief grievance of the individual. It is no unimportant matter to soothe those sufferings during the process employed for the cure. The warm bath effects this purpose in an eminent degree, through its agency on the sentient extremities of the nerves distributed over the surface of the body. There is an extensive chain of sympathies established between the skin and the internal viscera, and through the medium of this channel, agreeable sensations excited on the *exterior*, are very often communicated to the *central organs* and *structures* themselves. Even in this way, torpid secretions are frequently roused into activity and improved in quality, while the secretory apparatus itself is relieved from a *host of painful feelings*.

But it is impossible for us to be very minute in speaking of the Springs of Virginia, which are so numerous, and are so fully described in the Guide books. In that of Dr. J. J. Moorman, of White Sulphur Springs, the seeker of pleasure will find a mass of acceptable information, and the invalid will be taught where to go, and how to be benefited. The volume is published by J. W. Randolph, of Richmond. It enumerates and describes the following resorts:

White Sulphur Springs.	Capon Springs.	Fauquier White Sulphur.
Salt " "	Grayson Sulphur Spring.	Jordan's " "
Red " "	Alleghany "	Shannondale Springs.
Blue " "	Montgomery W'e Sulphur.	Berkley "
Sweet Springs.	Rockbridge Alum.	Orrick's Sulphur Springs.
Red Sweet Springs.	Bath "	Pulaski Alum "
Hot "	Dibrell's Springs.	New London Alum "
Warm "	Rawley's "	Huguenot "
Healing "		

Certainly the seeker of health or pleasure in the mountains of Virginia, now that the railroads bring him to their very door, has a wide range within which to exercise his choice; and in his path will be found natural curiosities which are all of them worth the time and pains necessary to a visit. In Dr. Moorman's work they are referred to as follows:

Harper's Ferry, Weyer's Cave, Madison's Cave, Blowing Cave, Natural Bridge, Peaks of Otter, Hawk's Nest, Ice Mountain, Candy's Castle, Tea Table, Hanging Rock, Salt Pond, Old Point Comfort.

We have reserved to the last some remarks upon the most famous, the most fashionable, and in every respect the most captivating, of all the watering places of Virginia—*the White Sulphur Springs.*

Seated at the threshold of our cottage, in what is known as Alabama row, the eye ranges from cabin to cabin, by many a winding path, over green plots and amid tall and shady trees, where soft breezes play, and through which sun beams fitfully steal. Alabama glides into "Louisiana," then into "Paradise"—a transition natural enough, but by what mal-apropos association of ideas is our further progress in this direction intercepted by the appearance of "Baltimore row?" On the top of the hill the handsome residences of Col. Singleton, etc., hold commanding view. Parallel, or at different angles, in handsome lines, and with different claims to consideration, are the other well known streets or rows, "Virginia," "Carolina," "Georgia," "Broadway," "Bachelors," "Spring," "Wolf," whose relation to each other can only be shown by a map. We are not dealing with anatomy, and therefore pass over the dining-room, the ball-room, bath and spring-houses, shooting-galleries, ten-pin alley, etc. A beautiful and picturesque valley have we here, hemmed in and effectually shut out from the rest of the world by mountain ranges, which interlock each other. Kate's mountain, the Greenbrier, and the Alleghany bound the horizon, and show darkly and grimly upon the blue skies.

Behold those groups which restlessly form and break up and form again in new combinations. They are the votaries of pleasure, who have come here in the endless round which craves for more; or they have come for pastime or excitement, or for speculation, or to restore wasted energies and recuperate health. Maidens are here, passing bright and fair, with high hopes and exuberant spirits—maids with less of youth and more of fancy; widows more beautiful in laces than in weeds, and in repute for other jewels than those which Cornelia prized. Batchelors, who ought to have passed the time of love long ago, but alas who have not; and widowers, who pay tribute to matrimony by assaying to enter

again its noose. Oh, precious love, that should be capable of comforting and solacing us so often, and of enabling us to separate the woman from the cotton, the sugar, the ebony faces, and banker's bonds, which form her paraphernalia, *and adore her, and her only.* Oh precious love—nearest pathway to heaven!

There are "Generals" here who have marshalled their bands under the light of the "Lone Star," and "Majors" who have rivalled the fame of the partisan leaders of yore. There are plenipotentiaries who have wielded diplomacy at foreign courts; ex-Congressmen, whose memory long lingers in the halls they adorned, and Congressmen, fresh from the strife, and crowned with laurels in Black Republican encounters. Here the practiced politician discourses of election tidings to anxious groups—here mercantile millionaires hold converse about fluctuating stocks, and the phases of the money-market. Staid gentlemen talk of crops and weather; *young* gentlemen of last night's ball and this morning's promenade; *gentlemen*, of the game they have bagged, and of the *sport* nor dog, nor gun, nor winding horn ennobles.

Nature has exhausted her powers upon this garden spot of America, and if seconded by the hand of man, what place upon the surface of the earth could be more desirable as a retreat, during the season of miasma in the plains, and of blistering walls and pavements in the cities? In former times, when these Springs were almost of impracticable approach, their reputation was established. What, therefore, may be expected now, when the railroads of the Old Dominion have climbed the mountains, and promise in a year or two to fix their depots within sound of our very dinner-bell? Let those answer in whose hands the custody of these grounds repose.

During the present season, nearly two thousand persons have been entertained at the White Springs, and as many more have been either directly rejected, in consequence of the deficiency of accommodation, or kept away by the belief or knowledge of the fact. At the present moment, 12th August, eight hundred guests are within the enclosures, representing every State of the South and Southwest, and several of the North.

Let but this famous retreat pass into the hands of a company possessed of sufficient means to carry out a system of extensive improvements, and who can doubt that, during the hundred days of the recognized season, an average of 3,000 to 5,000 guests would crown its boards. Everything would conspire to produce this result. Accommodations equal to that of the first hotels of the Union; cheap and speedy railroad communication from the East and the West; home associa-

tions and attachments now becoming intensified in the reaction against free State fanaticism, and not likely again to be worn off and obliterated. Admit that a million, or a million and a half of dollars are invested by the company, and by a short process of calculation it will be perceived that no enterprise of the day—bank, railroad, or factory—offers results at all comparable with this. As the Springs are understood to be for sale, to make a division among the heirs, let us hope that they will not be compelled to look Northward for a purchaser.

To understand the large class of diseases in which the White Sulphur Waters is supposed to possess remedial virtues, the reader is referred to Dr. Moorman's work, referred to in a previous page of this article.

BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

Climatology of the United States, and of the Continent, with especial regard to Agriculture, Sanatory Investigations, and Engineering, with Charts, &c., &c.

Mr. Blodgett, author of several valuable reports upon this subject, proposes a new volume with the above title, which will be in quarto form, at the price of $4; to be published by Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. We do not doubt that it will be a work of great scientific and general utility, and shall be glad to learn that the author is meeting with the appropriate encouragement.

Constitution of the Southern Rights and Union Congress. This is a pamphlet issued in New York by W. J. Rand, formerly of Kentucky. It proposes to unite the South in an association pledged against the purchase of goods in northern markets, except from such houses as are perfectly free from the taint of abolitionism. We think the purpose a good one, and shall refer to it again in our next. Another gentleman, whom we had the pleasure of meeting, Mr. White, has also been active in this matter.

Complete Work's of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. A new edition, with a Life of the Author. By Basil Montagu, Esq. In 3 vols., royal 8vo., cloth. Phila.; Parry & McMillan.

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"*The works of J. C. Calhoun,*" Vols. 1—6, New York; D. Appleton & Co., We have extracted in this number one of the speeches embraced in the volumes, and shall endeavor to make an analysis of the whole work in our next number; it should undoubtedly be purchased by every Southern student and find its way into the Library of every gentleman.

British Poets.—We have received from the publishers, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, three additional volumes of the cabinet series of the British Poets. These volumes are entitled "*The Political Works of John Skelton, principally according to the edition of the Rev. Alexander Dyce.*" This series has frequently been referred to by us in terms of the most unqualified commendation for its neatness, compactness, and moderate price.

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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1856.

SLAVERY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

Hailing, as we do, with pleasure, the first number of a new series of the "Southern Quarterly," issuing from the hands of its highly distinguished and talented editor, we must yet put ourselves in arms against a grave error which appears in its pages. This we do with great deference and some hesitation; but believing firmly in the necessity of giving to the public mind a proper bias on such questions, we deem it the duty of each to give his effort, however feeble, to the working out of the truth. We must, therefore, express our strong dissent from at least a portion of the opinions expressed in the article "Slavery and Freedom," in number for April, 1856.

We grieve to find that the writer, faithfully and honestly bold in defence of Southern institutions, has withal fallen into what we consider a most unlucky error, which, as error always must, obtrudes its weakening influence at every point, making the strongest blow fall weak, and blunting the point of the keenest argument. The reviewer has not hesitated to throw down the gauntlet, challenging to the combat the whole body of advocates of a science, among the expositors of which may be found as strong minds and as able reasoners as ever brought logical argument to bear upon and co-operate with facts. That a person of the reviewer's acuteness should thus wantonly, and with an almost Quixotte valor, thus pit himself against a science because that science is not yet perfected, and because its expositors have fallen into some errors, proves an ascerbity of enmity which must be rather the result of impulse than philosophical investigation, and therefore we cannot but strongly hope that a little cool thought, rather than our feeble argument, will rectify those aberations which we so much deplore.

* Principles of Political Economy, by John Stuart Mill, London, 1852.

It is our object now to show, first, that an error cannot prove a science false; next, that Political Economy, though many of its advocates adopting the almost universal prejudice, have exhibited a strong tendency against slavery, has never as a science pretended to decide the question between it and free labor; and lastly, that a deeper investigation of the question will, in the end, give us the support of that science.

Our reviewer, commenting upon the work of a Mr. Fitzhugh, remarks, (page 65,) "His objections to Political Economy are not sufficiently precise in themselves, nor sufficiently developed, explained, or limited, nor so closely connected with his main thesis, as to prove either acceptable or entirely intelligible. That the truth of Political Economy is involved in the decision of the slavery question, is undeniable; but the implication is only partial, as there may be an opportunity of showing."

We have no knowledge of Mr. Fitzhugh's work, and do not care at present to burden ourselves with its consideration. All we would remark upon in this passage is the acknowledgment, or rather assertion of the reviewer, that the truth of Political Economy is involved in the decision of the slavery question. What does this mean? That slavery being established as a right, Political Economy as a science ceases to exist. Where the truth of a science is involved, its existence is involved. Prove false the postulates upon which a science is based, and the science is non-existent. This, the reviewer can scarcely mean to maintain would be the case with Political Economy, for quite independent of all ideas, whether of slavery or free labor, men have the instinct of accumulation with notions of value and of wealth. And the production and distribution of wealth must be an object of man's speculation so long as he appreciates the difference between hunger and fulness, clothing and nakedness. We might indeed imagine our world as falling into that crass ignorance, which acting only from animal instincts, ceases to investigate cause and impulse, but such very certainly is not what the reviewer means to express. We think he has fairly lost his compass, and did not himself calculate, in penning the sentence we have quoted, whither he was drifting.

Men may seek to dispute and stumble in their search after any truth, but the truth nevertheless exists. Astronomy is none the less a science because the plurality of worlds is a matter in dispute; nor is chemistry all false because the nature of the miasmatic gases continues a subject of doubt and conjecture. What science ever sprang ready armed into the arena of argument, Minerva-like, from the head of Jove, without crack or flaw in its armor of defence? Slow and weary has been the progress of each, and only through clouds of error does

the sunlight force itself at last. He who would catch the truth-beam must watch patiently and long. How many *te deums* have been chaunted for victories never won! How many triumphant eurekas died away in the sigh of disappointed aspirations! How many lips, trembling with the excitement of supposed certain triumph, have felt the touchstone of truth, and hushed themselves in despair, feeling that not yet is their's, the prophet's mission. *Magna est veritas.* Yes, beautiful Truth! great art thou, and magnificent is thy godlike might; but that might worketh not like the lightning-flash, fearful in danger, quick in destruction; but rather like the gentle dew, ever coming again and again—softly, slowly, almost imperceptibly working its great end. Thou prevailest! Ay, like God's love thou prevailest! But not in the sudden flashing beam, not in the crashing blow which annihilates opposition. Rather in that heaven-sent moisture, ever returning, ever beautifying, making the bud to bloom, and the fruit to swell into ripeness, decking the earth in beauty, and teaching wisdom even in the worldless stillness of unwearying beneficences. Slow, though sure, are the victories of truth, and science is but the word which men use to express their search for her. Science is as it were the note-book in which her votaries enter every trace of her supposed presence—every faintest track of her passage. As a matter of necessity they must sometimes err. Other foot-prints are mistaken for the true. Shall the search therefore be abandoned, and sluggard despair cast aside all that has been accomplished, because the result shows some error in calculation? Were it not wiser rather to retrace our steps, and with fresh spirit to the task, to try again and yet again, with the true courage of unwearying endurance, until error is sifted out, and the pure gold rewards our endeavor? Patient investigation is, in such research, our only philosopher's stone. Thus, then, the general condemnation of a righteous thing (as we sustain slavery under certain circumstances to be) by the entire body of political economists, would no longer crush Political Economy as a science, than was medicine, for instance, condemned by the general prevalent errors concerning the blood, before Harvey made known its laws of circulation.

But we contend further, that the question has never been clearly made, nor brought before the bar of Political Economy. The general impressions and vague impulses of the world for a century back, (and in that century Political Economy as a science has found its birth,) have been constantly tending, with a stronger and stronger bias, against slavery. Political economists have, for the most part, followed this general bias; but they have done so as prejudiced men, rather than as political economists; the judgment of the science having never yet

been sought or pronounced. No stronger proof can be given of this than the sentence of Mr. Mill, quoted by our reviewer. Mr. Mill is, the latter remarks, "the highest received standard of the matured views of the political economists in regard to the conditions and relations appropriate to the laboring classes in modern times, and may, therefore, be safely consulted as the most distinguished representative of the advanced theories of the science entertained in England and the European continent." And Mr. Mill, (we quote from our reviewer,) "impersonating Political Economy, has no positive arguments to adduce in proof of the absolute and exclusive righteousness of the free labor system. After a few observations, sometimes acute, usually erroneous, on the effects of slavery, he concludes in not very elegant English, that 'more needs not to be said on a cause so completely judged and decided as that of slavery.' Strange delusion! The world is only now seriously addressing itself to the philosophical examination of the question. Hitherto, it has been content to act precipitately under the influence of philanthropic fantasies, and conscious or unconscious pecuniary instincts, and to decide without investigation. Like Mr. Mill, other opponents of slavery sustain their positions almost entirely by broad assertions, and blind censures, and negative proofs. They have either unsuccessfully attempted to answer the reasoning of Aristotle in favor of slavery, which has never yet been answered, or they have proceeded on the presumption that it had been already refuted." Strange delusion, we grant; showing the strongest prejudice, and resulting in as unscientific a mode of shuffling off an argument as can well be imagined. The author who gives chapter upon chapter to the discussion of the peasant proprietary system, the metayer system, and the cottier system, finds nothing more to say on slavery but this. The cause is prejudged, and he casts it aside as unworthy the attention of that science of which our reviewer takes him as the personification. We beg in this to differ. Mr. Mill is a prominent writer upon Political Economy, but we are far from willing to accept him as its prophet. His work, although classing among the highest on the subject, is far from infallible, and teems with errors. On the question of slavery, he gives us his *ipse dixit*, and nothing more. Surely this is not the last word of science! As our reviewer himself says, the question has been decided *without investigation*; "the world is only now seriously addressing itself to the philosophical examination of the question," and the opponents of slaver sustain their positions "by broad assertions, blind censures, and negative proofs." What better proof that the subject has never met the investigations of science? A question decided without investigation is surely not decided scientifically;

nor shall the noble science of Political Economy be expunged from the category of sciences because its disciples sometimes act, judge, and are led astray by the common passions and prejudices of common men. Mr. Mill, has on this subject, allowed himself to be carried away by the tide of vulgar prejudice and ignorant assumption, and has with a most illogical precipitancy of assertion come to his conclusions. "I think it is so because I think it is so," may, according to Shakspeare, serve as a woman's reason, but certainly not as a logician's, and yet this is the sum total of Mr. Mill's position. We grant that to see prejudice thus:

> "Mistress of passion, swaying to the mood
> Of what it likes or loaths—"

To see passion thus swallowing up reason—to see grave men who should be teachers of something wiser and holier, hallooing on the howl of fanaticism, and condemning as though their's were God's fiat, things of which they know literally nothing, whether by investigation or experience, is enough to rouse the ire of any man who finds himself thus cast aside as some insensate, unreasoning thing, and smiled down with a cool complacency of superiority, when he feels and knows himself in the right, with justice and good sense on his side. It is enough to excite the bile of a philosopher; and yet it can serve us no good turn to give way to similar prejudice. If a man robs us of our purse, it cannot help us to swear murder against him. He who is in the minority, who has the force of social opinion against him, whether that opinion be true or false, must the more carefully look to his armor of argument, and take heed that no flaw or crack be found in it. The blunder which may be past over in the defender of a favorite creed will be conned and commented upon with bitter exactness in an opponent. Our reviewer has unfortunately followed Mr. Mill's example, and taken sides from impulse, without sufficient investigation. From the general tone of his argument we are constrained to believe that Political Economy has never been a favorite study with him, and that he condemns it as Mr. Mill does slavery, rather from prejudice than knowledge. By bringing forward Political Economy as the special champion of free labor, he makes an issue which Political Economy itself has never made. The sin of the advocates of that science is (and it is a heavy one) that they have followed in the wake of this prejudice; but certainly they have not led it. They have joined the cry, but they did not start the scent. Political economists have believed in the propriety or otherwise of free labor, rather as a question of morals than as a point of their political creed, and have adopted it on authorities entirely distinct from their science. It is true they have generally as-

sumed it to be more productive than slave labor; but this is, we repeat, always on assumption, never on proof. The question in its present form is so new a one they are as yet scarcely awake to it. Political Economy is, moreover, almost entirely a European study, and in so far as it has noticed slavery, has regarded it as an exploded system, and as preceding an enlightened civilization. This is a limited, but for a European, most natural point of view; such indeed is, or rather was the slavery of Europe, to which in default of answering information from us their observations have been confined. Where slavery lingers in Europe, it is in process of change, showing the beginning of the end. Ours is of an entirely dissimilar stamp, and the European knows as little of the inferior race of men which it has fallen upon our clime and our day to utilize, as he knows of our swamps and our forests. When by chance some politico-economical argument has appeared from our side of the Atlantic, it has invariably been from north of Mason and Dickson's line, where bitter sectional animosity darkens the question even more than European prejudice. To do our Northern brethren justice, however, they have meddled little with the economical argument, and take much more kindly to higher law and other vagaries. The general error of all, however, on both sides of the Atlantic is, that they treat the question as though the negro were a white man, with a black skin, instead of learning the truth that the complexion of the races, is among the smallest of their differences.

To return to our reviewer; he has made, we say, an issue which Political Economy never did make, when he brings forward free labor as one of its essential beliefs. Adam Smith, although showing a prejudice mingled with simplicity absolutely amusing in some of its conclusions,* has entirely avoided an examination of the subject, and rather speaks of it on hearsay as a thing beyond his ken. As (page 34) after presuming that the expense of slave labor is greater than free, he remarks, "it appears accordingly, from the experience of all nations, *I believe*, that the work done by free men comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves." And again (page 159) "the experience of all ages and nations, *I believe*, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their

* As when he attempted to account for the assumed non-inventiveness of slaves, he says, (page 284, Edinburgh edition 1838) "should a slave propose any improvement of this kind, his master would be very apt to consider the proposal as the suggestion of laziness, and of a desire to save his own labor at the master's expense. The poor slave instead of reward would probably meet with much abuse, perhaps with some punishment. In the manufactures carried on by slaves, therefore, more labor must generally have been employed to execute the same quantity of work than in those carried on by free men." This childish reasoning, if reasoning it can be called, is a mere shoving aside of the question.

maintenance, is in the end the dearest of any." *He believes*, and so he passes on from this merely incidental topic to more immediate objects of discussion. Adam Smith was before the day of continental abolitionism, but he was also before the day of United States negro slavery, nor could he read in the future its great results. J. B. Say has so entirely ignored the subject of slavery that we cannot recollect any reference to it in his work, although we have, to refresh our memory, patiently perused a very lengthy analytical table of contents attached to our edition, printed at Paris 1817.* We have already remarked how Mr. Mill disposes of the subject. These three among the prominent writers on Political Economy will serve as a fair sample of the whole. Do not let us be misunderstood. It is indisputable, that we have been violently attacked, and bitterly slandered by political economists as by men of almost every imaginable grade and profession. We only contend that political economists have so acted not specially and consequently upon their economical creed, but in common with others, and consequently upon an almost universal prejudice. These crude opinions and most lame conclusions belong not to their science, but to the social atmosphere in which they live, and their sin is greater than that of others, precisely because in that science, would they listen to it, they find a truer guide. For ourselves it is sheer madness to throw away our armor at the very moment when we should be girding it on to the defence. This is precisely what our antagonists would desire, and already we can imagine those of them who may have noticed our review triumphantly chuckling over an opponent who just as the fight thickens offers them so palpable an advantage. When in the very heart of a slave State, (a State of which the faith and earnestness in defence of the persecuted cause of slavery has not and cannot be doubted,) a leading periodical takes such grounds as our reviewer has taken, it is the absolute hoisting of a signal to the enemy, and every gun will be pointed at the wavering ranks. That the mistake has been made in the best faith, we cannot for an instant doubt, but it is none the less a fatal error of which the speediest recantation is the

* The only place in the whole treatise, where we can recall even the mention of the word slavery, is in a note (vol. 1 p. 136.) We translate—"But however sacred be the right of property in industrial talent, and in all personal faculties, natural or acquired, it is ignored not only in slavery which violates this most indisputable of all properties, but in many other cases much more common;" and continuing in the text the subject of general violation of personal property, he remarks, "I know perfectly well that the maintenance of social order which guarantees property, must go before property itself, and thus nothing but the necessity of maintaining social order through evident peril can authorize all these different violations of private right." We ask no stronger argument in favor of United States negro slavery; though certainly the author did not intend it as such.

best. To our reviewer, much more a classical scholar than a political economist, we are quite ready to do all honor, and acknowledging our childlike ignorance where he excels, to offer homage to his superiority on a ground where we have often lamented our own deficiencies, But "this honor due and reverence paid," we must hold ourselves none the less ready to repulse what we consider mischievous encroachment upon another. Evidently he is a tyro in Political Economy, and half in play we think, (trying as it were of new weapons,) half in impulsive prejudice, has flung this random shot, whereby thinking to startle his enemy, he has grazed the heart of his friend.

Political Economy, that science which has so successfully struggled against the prejudices of the dark ages of protective tariffs, duties, drawbacks, and the thousand and one shackles which corroded the limbs of fettered commerce—that noble science which, even in its almost infancy the foster mother of nations, extends their brotherhood from zone to zone, and opening to our view the panorama of future ages, shows us a world exulting in the noblest blessings of a christianized civilization, has yet pronounced no judgement upon the subject which now so intensely engrosses our attention. Our reviewer represents free-labor as the principle of this science; but as we have shown this question is yet new to political economy. *Free-trade* not *free-labor* has been her aim; (that these are things entirely distinct, the history of these States for the last quarter of a century fully exhibits,) and it has needed all her energies to fight *that* battle through. Even now she stands with eagle-eye surveying the fields of conquest, breathless in victory, and yet on her guard. Even now as she surveys the rich products of a world daily more and more released from the blundering guidance of an ignorant and selfish policy, she watches for the renewal of attack. "A scotched snake is not killed." The mischievous principle is checked but not extinct.

Slavery, an institution born with society, never attacked until the pseudo-philanthropy, rather than science of recent years, dragged it forward before the tribunal of a sickly new-light philosophy, has, half-stunned by such unexpected assault, hitherto scarcely muttered a word of defence. But this lethargy must be ours no longer. We must speak now, not in hasty declamation, but logical defence. Slavery is truly and fairly a subject for the investigation of Political Economy. The wonderful development of this western continent, effected only through and by the means of slavery—her immense produce scattered over our globe, carrying food and clothing to the hungry and the destitute; her cotton and her sugar sustaining not only herself but the might of Europe's most powerful nations; her

ever increasing expanse of new land opening an asylum for Europe's starving millions, and staving off menaced revolutions; what are these but the glorious results of American negro slavery? a system which it is recently the fashion to contemn, but which must now come boldly forward to claim its true place in the world's development, and it is before the tribunal of Political Economy that it must claim this place, and prove the justice of its cause. Hitherto we have, as it were, played at shuttlecock with the assumed sin of the thing. England has thrown it upon America—America has cast it back upon England—Yankee-land has vociferated, "it is yours;" and the South echoes back indignantly "yours." But this is a paltry shuffling off of responsibility which suits not a great people. Where there is sin (with whomsoever originating) it soils the hands which cling to the ill-gotten spoil. We have been asleep; acting as though in a startled dream. Up! and away with it! sin there is none. Once and forever let us disclaim the blot. No sin! no sin! but land and glory rather. Glory, not to man, the hitherto blind instrument, but to the great dispensing Providence, which shows us this light out of the seeming darkness. The pillar of fire is before us, and we acknowledge the hand that guides.

Nothing is easier than a sneer. Happily, however, a sneer is not an argument; neither can it profane that which is holy, nor change the just and the true into the false and unrighteous. It is the fashion with a certain modern school of philanthropists to sneer at Political Economy as the science of wealth; the science of pounds and pence; the spiritualized Shylock; the distilled essence of that spirit which seeing only what is in the bond, insists always upon its pound of flesh. How our reviewer should have fallen into the category of such declaimers we cannot understand, for certainly he is not of them. These are of the sentimental school, extending from the Wilberforce and Clarkson brotherhood, to Mrs. Stowe, with her black, white, and yellow fraternity. It has been shrewdly remarked, that there are two classes of philanthropists, the feelers and the thinkers. The first showing its most perfect type in such characters as a Howard, a Mrs. Fry, or a Florence Nightengale, (characters whose blessed influence far be it from us to underrate,) descends in the mass to a set of sentimental Mrs. Jellaby's and Mr. Stiggins' getting up subscriptions to supply little negroes in the West Indies with flannel waistcoats and moral pocket-handkerchiefs, and launching curses and anathemas against all who may venture to doubt the benefit of their procedures. These people never hesitate about the truth of the restless inspiration which pushes them on; they never listen to a suggestion that their new-light doctrines may perchance

the supporter of the wealthy and the oppressor of the poor, as though a wealthy nation should by necessity be composed of millionaires and beggars. Nothing is easier to demonstrate (did time and space allow) than that the wealth of the masses, and not the wealth of the few, makes a nation's wealth. Nothing is easier (and it would seem to us that even a word suggesting the idea should suffice) than to demonstrate that a nation of beggars, though mingled here and there with overgrown capitalists, is not a wealthy nation. Political Economy does constantly demonstrate this, and aiming at the wealth of nations, seeks not to robe princes in velvet and jewels, but to give their people cheap bread and abundant clothing. But because it has shown that the same system which brings to the people cheap bread and clothing, gives also to the prince his velvet and his jewels, because it has extended over these supposed opposing interests the wand of peace, those who half study its arguments strangely contend that, because it would better the rich, it must oppress the poor. Let them study it more deeply and they will find that Political Economy encourages not the wealthy, but wealth, wars not against the poor, but against poverty; and surely no sane man will be found to contend that this is an unholy war; that the laborer can be too comfortably clothed, or his child too well fed; that the farmer's cottage is too snug, his cattle too fat, or his land too well tilled. Yet this is what Political Economy teaches us is a nation's wealth. This is what Political Economy teaches us is, at once the wealth of the laborer and the wealth of his employer, the wealth of the prince and the wealth of his subject, the wealth of the individual, and the wealth of the nation.

We have now to pass to the last branch of our subject, and to prove, or at least suggest the grounds upon which it may be proved, that Political Economy will, when properly appealed to, bring the strongest possible arguments in favor of negro slavery. Political Economy, we have shown, is the science which considers wealth and its means of increase. Wealth is not money alone, but all desirable things which may be accumulated and exchanged; which may be lost by one individual or nation and gained by another individual or nation, passing from the possession of one into that of another. Thus individual or national wealth will be found to include all things desirable to a man or a nation which are extraneous from his or its individual or national existence; i. e., all things which he or it can possess, and transfer to another. A man's health, intregrity, or industry cannot certainly be called his wealth, but they still fairly fall under the consideration of Political Economy because they are indisputably causes operating upon his condition in respect to wealth, and moreover may perhaps in themselves be consid-

ered as national wealth. They are certainly so, in so far as the man himself may be considered as the property of the nation, to be lost or gained by one or another society, and capable of passing from the possession of one nation into that of another. Thus then Political Economy links itself with religion and ethics; for all that improves man, increasing his power and intelligence, makes him a more capable producer of wealth, makes him the better *wealth machine*. If this manner of enunciating our idea be objected to, as bringing man down to the brute and the steam-engine, let our antagonists remember that we do not degrade man to the machine, but bring every argument (this with the rest) to prove that no man can honestly benefit himself without tending also to benefit his fellows; and that even he of the most selfish and grovelling spirit is the better, morally and intellectually, for his honest efforts to improve his own condition. He is, to speak politico-economically, of higher value to his nation. There are wider and purer motives for action than simple self-interest; but simple self-interest (considering its universal prevalence) does more for the world's progress than any one human passion or desire. It exists in the bosom of every man, and he would be a monster in whom it should not be found. Mingling in some with the noblest virtues, in others with the lowest baseness, it still exists in all, and only is criminal when ministering to crime. It is not a virtue, but certainly not a vice. It is purely an instinct; the hunger of the spirit seeking always to gratify its longings, and exciting to crime or to virtuous effort according to the character and disposition of the individual in whom it exists, precisely as the honest man is pushed by hunger to labor for that bread which the thief in preference steals. But because the thief steals to satisfy his hunger, none surely will argue that hunger is therefore a sin. Political Economy sees in this hunger of the spirit a powerful motive for effort and a powerful incentive to good, except when combining with vice. Then only it becomes vicious, and then Political Economy again siding with religion and morals, declares that vice and crime are injurous, and in their consequences both mediate and immediate degrading to man, incapacitating him as a producer of wealth, and in their nature tending to the disorganization of society.

Thus Political Economy never opposes but always strengthens the decisions of justice and morality. It does not, like the good Paley, commit the terrible mistake, so degrading to humanity, of making self-interest the sole basis of virtue, * but it proves that self-interest is not a vice; that God in giving man instinct

* Such is in truth the only intepretation which can be given to Paley's definition of virtue, viz; "Virtue is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness."

and desires, made him not a creature of evil, but capable of both good and evil—that if our desires may be corrupted they may also be purified, and that in their purification consists not our spiritual but our worldly welfare. Religion teaches us submission to God and charity to men; ethics teach us justice to men; and Political Economy teaches us that charity and justice are prudence and wisdom. Thus all combine to the same great end, teaching that the good and the wise are one. The institution of slavery must, to prove its innocence, purge itself from sin, before this three-fold tribunal.

The religious side of the question has already been so triumphantly argued, that no man taking the gospel for his guide needs to have it repeated. Accordingly, we find the most violent opponents of the system among the new-light and higher law men with whom any religion, further than the dictates of their own wild fancies, ceases to be even a pretext; and next to them the improved christianity mongers, whose creed is blood and murder, and the gospel according to Sharpe's rifles. In its ethical point of view, the defence of the system which has also been frequently, ably, and we think successfully undertaken, must be based upon the natural proprieties of the institution in particular cases, and upon the relative capacities, powers, and propensities of the men or nations concerned. To those who absolutely shut their eyes and ears to common sense, and insist upon a meaningless formula of words, in opposition to all truth and reason, nothing can be said, and they must go on forever, or until they see fit to turn from their folly, insisting in the face of common sense, common law, and common practice, that all men are born free and equal. But to those who acknowledge a difference in men, different capacities, character, and tendencies, according to race,* and other inalienable natural distinctions; to those who recognize the almost axiomatic truth, that circumstances and varying degrees of development require difference of social position; the sometimes practice and even necessity of slavery can be indisputably proved. It is treading over oft trodden ground to endeavor to show that all men are not fit for all things, and that wherever the Creator's will for his creature can be discovered in the tendencies and capacities of the creature, there can be no surer rule for man's guidance. The universal practice and judgment of the world have assigned to women and children a subordinate position to men. In the women's case this subordination is permanent, as are the constitutional characteristics which give rise to and justify it. In the child's it is tempora-

* We specially avoid here the question of unity or diversity of origin, which can make little difference in our argument. An existing difference in races, which centuries cannot eliminate, is equivalent in practice to perpetual difference.

ry, as are also the peculiar characteristics in him causing its necessity. In either class the rule is general, in spite of exceptional powers existing in occasional individuals, and properly it is so. No general rule can be made to suit exceptional cases. Precisely similar are the causes and proofs of the justification and necessity of slavery in all its phases. The positions of women and children are in truth as essentially states of bondage as any other, the differences being in degree, not kind. They are states of subjection to the supremacy of others, and of greater or less deprivation of the rights of self government. This, the true definition of slavery, applies equally to the position of women in the most civilized and enlightened countries. That there are higher and lower degrees of subjection and deprivation makes no difference in the question of justice, (if either is injustice both are injustice, as it is equally robbery whether I forcibly take from a man one dollar or a thousand,) except in so far as it is necessary that these higher and lower degrees be in accordance with the peculiar characteristics and capacities of the class thus held in greater or less subjection for their own benefit and that of society. The permanent natural characteristics, or the temporary condition of certain classes of human beings, indicate them as fitted for a certain position in the social scale, and as unfitted for certain other positions, and their own as well as the general good of society, requires that this fitness should be considered. The nearer the position of each class can be suited to its capacities, the nearer is the law of nature (that is of God) fulfilled, and the nearer is perfect justice attained. Perfect justice, it is scarcely within man's capacities to attain, and all that can be done by the science of morals is to approach nearer and nearer, (as does the mathematician in the squaring of the circle,) to perfect truth. That system of government, then, and that amount of subjection which is needful to the highest development of the peculiar powers, and to the keeping in check the peculiar defects of any class of men, is the most useful and the most just for that class.

The necessities of each class, race, or nation, can only be calculated from its antecedent conditions and its actual developments. In the case of any society of men which have attained a certain degree of enlightenment, it is a just conclusion that themselves are the best judges of the proprieties and necessities of their case; but when a nation or society is in a condition unfit for self-government and inconsistent with its higher development, often the circumstance of contact with or subjection by more enlightend nations has been the means of transition to a higher development. When two nations, enlightened and unenlightened, are thus thrown in con-

tact upon the same soil, nothing but slavery can prevent the destruction of the weaker race. In those phases of society where the developments of corporeal power are of more value, i. e. more useful to existing society, than mental, (as in the first beginnings of society where it is more important to men to know how to dig that to invent steam engines) the muscularly strong man becomes the master, the intelligent one the slave; and thus the functions of both are best fulfilled. Thus the weaker is protected, (albeit often oppressed, for everything earthly is faulty,) and the stronger aided in the point where he needs aid, i. e. mentally improved. In more advanced stages of society, where mind asserts its supremacy, intellect makes the master; intellect is the true strength, and mere muscular power needs not only the guidance, but the protection of that mighty power which man's intellect teaches him to sway. The savage cowers before the builder of cities, or the inventor of steam-engines and magnetic telegraphs. The thought which commands the elements is stronger than muscle or fibre. Here, therefore, intellect (now become strength) protects, and muscle serves. In either case the weaker people perishes, but for the protection granted by the stronger, and in return for that protection, serves. We do not say that this is done by regular compact. It is not so done; no society is formed by compact. Society is the result of instincts. Brutes and insects form societies as men; men, only by afterthought and progressive reasoning, think of compacts. The existence of society is an inherent necessity to man's existence; what therefore is needful to the existence of society cannot be unjust.

Thus then slavery is sometimes and to certain extents proved just. Political Economy may now be adduced as a powerful adjunct to define its limits, for we are far from granting that it would prove so frequent a remedy for the evils of society as our reviewer's argument appears to us to imply. And here Political Economy must also bring forward the test of utility. That position in which man is of the greatest utility and highest benefit to himself and to mankind—that position in which all his characteristic powers are exerted to the greatest advantage, his deficiencies kept in abeyance, and his faults under check, is by philosophical argument his legitimate duty, his highest interest, and in accordance with the eternal justice of things. The test of the right must be in its results, and surely the tree must be known by its fruits. For although it is very certain that every good deed does not with the exact measurement of good boy story-books, bring its immediate reward, and every ill one its castigation, it is inconsistent at once with experience, and with every idea that man can form of the good-

ness of deity that any regular system of evil can result in permanent and general good. The oppressor of the widow and the defrauder of the orphan, may, in the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, be permitted to revel in his ill got gains; the murderer may hide his bloody hand, and unquestioned of justice, pass through life high in the world's prosperity, but certain it is, that by the test of utility in result, the actions of such men are most injurious to society. A nation of defrauders and murderers could be nothing but a nation accursed, a people degraded to the lowest savagism, a robber band, in truth true Ishmaelites, whose hand should be against every man and every man's hand against them, "curtailed from all the fair proportions" of civilized society, and condemned to unprogressive barbarism. And even in such condition, to prevent an entire obliteration of the species, some shadow of virtue, some good instinct must remain. At least there must linger that proverbial honor said to exist among thieves; there must survive some affection, some pity, some human passion, some virtue in short, or, worse than brutes, every man would be a Cain to his brother.

While, therefore, religion and morals say to us crime is wrong because it is crime, displeasing to God and hurtful to man, Political Economy confirms their decision on prudential motives. It teaches us that what is hurtful to man is impolitic, degrading him both individually and nationally, and checks progress because it destroys all security. Man is constantly aiming at advancement in his social condition, and in this constant individual effort to better himself, so long as honestly indulged, each pushes forward by his own fractional effort the great wheel of progress. Let crime or injustice intrude, and precisely in proportion as these prevail, society is disorganized, men's rights become insecure, their energies flag, lethargy displaces effort, want displaces honest accumulation; man makes for himself a scourge equal to those which Heaven in its wrath has sometimes sent, and as when pestilence or famine makes men insecure of everything but the life of to-day, they seek to enjoy that only, forgetting all else in a kind of reckless madness—"let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die,"—so with the prevalence of crime, "all order dies."

> "And one fierce spirit of the first-born Cain
> Reigns in all bosoms, that each heart being set
> On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,
> And darkness be the burier of the dead."

All society in which crime is systematically encouraged must perforce rush more or less rapidly to destruction, and legalized injustice is national suicide.

(To be concluded in our next.)

THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER—HOW MEXICO CAN PRESERVE HER LIBERTIES; AND WHAT ARE THE VIEWS OF REPUBLICANS IN THIS COUNTRY WITH REGARD TO HER—CONTRAST OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

We publish the following article without comment. It was prepared for our pages by a Texan, and although in the form of an address to the people of Mexico, contains material that will interest the reader in either country. Several years ago, Mr. Poinsett, of South Carolina, furnished for the Review a series of papers similar in their view, and discussive of the relations of the two countries. At the present time events are every day making more interesting our connection with Southern Republics.

The effort you are now making, under the leadership of the distinguished Alvarez and Commonfort, to improve your social and political condition, has excited among your friends in the United States of the North a sincere and lively interest. You have doubtless, the most of you, been taught to believe, that the people of this country are your enemies, and are crouching like a beast of prey, ready to leap on and devour you. That this lesson has been often instilled into your minds by your secular and clerical instructors, we can readily believe. They had their reasons for so instructing you, and doubtless profited by it to gain your support and to betray you. If you would yourselves study more, travel more, and acquire a better knowledge of the people of this country, you might have good cause to change your opinions, and to believe that we had more magnanimity and a higher sense of justice than you now imagine.

If you will bear with one who is sincerely anxious for your happiness, he will endeavor to unfold to you the views of the masses in this country, not only in regard to their own future, but yours. At the close of the American Revolution, the United States North, had a population of about three millions, and a territory of 452,884 square miles. Ardent lovers of liberty, they selected the choisest wisdom and purest patriotism within their limits to organize a government worthy of the sentiments of their constituents. Previous to the Revolution, the North American Colonies enjoyed civil liberty to a large extent. They had already learned and adopted the glorious maxims you will find in any of our bills of rights. Herein they had greatly the advantage of your States and people. The vice-regal Government of Mexico, was, perhaps, one of the most unmixed despotisms in the world; your present States, instead of having separate municipal codes, legislatures, and organized liberty, were mere provinces or sub-divisions of an empire, the sole power of which emanated from the palace of the Viceroy. Your scarcely recognized *fueros* were trampled

under foot at the pleasure of the Viceroys. You had never been accustomed to public meetings for political purposes—the right of petition, of bearing arms, of trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, freedom of the press, and of speech, and, above all, freedom of conscience. All these glorious rights were peculiar to the Colonies of North America, and there were few individuals in them but would have parted with their lives before they would have abandoned one of them.

In July, 1808, when you received the news of the rising of the Spanish patriots in the mother country against the House of Bonaparte, when the treaty of Bayonne released you from your fealty to Charles IV., you had an admirable opportunity for gaining your liberty and independence. You had the countenance of Iturigaray, your Viceroy; all of you, except the natives of Spain and the office-holders, were in favor of it. And when you proposed the call of a convention of the people to inaugurate your liberties, and for this purpose had the sanction of your noble Viceroy, you permitted the handful of native Spaniards among you to seize his person, and commit him to the prison of the Inquisition; thus defeating a measure so dear to you. Had such thing been attempted in our country every man, recurring to his original rights, would have overwhelmed the Spaniards, and restored the Viceroy to his liberty, and the convention would have met. Such spirits you may call by hard names—fillibusters, mobs, pirates, robbers, but of such is our country made—stern stuff, not frightened by power, nor diverted from the pursuit of right by tinsel nor priestcraft.

The people of the United States North have ever felt a lively interest in your prosperity. In your struggle from 1810 to 1821, some of the most gallant blood in our land was shed in your behalf. After the treaty of Cordova, between O'Donoju and Iturbide, we were the first to welcome you into the family of nations, and to send a minister to your court. When you were invaded in 1829, by the Spaniards under General Barradas, thousands of our people were ready, at their own cost, to fly to your aid; and had you not speedily repelled that impotent force, you would have seen them coming by individuals, companies, and battalions. And here lately, when a Spanish navy rode before your principal harbor, threatening your safety, the national pulse in this country beat only for your success. Look over the newspapers of the United States—which unhappily so few of you read—and you will find that every attempt made by you to regain your liberties, and to put down your tyrants—temporal or spiritual—has been hailed by us with satisfaction and delight. But a stronger instance than all—when in 1848 our armies occupied your capital and country, there was nothing easier than its conversion into a

territory of the United States North. Indeed many of your best friends, in and out of your country, believed such step would best promote your prosperity and happiness; yet your sovereignty was preserved intact, and though we received a considerable portion of your extreme territory by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, we paid you for it what, in its then condition, was a good round price.

Your papers, and statesmen, including your priests, have been incessantly railing against the United States North, charging her with ambition, usurpation, robbery, &c. They get many of these ideas from the presses of Great Britain, one of the most wholesale land robbers the world has witnessed. Let us recur for a moment to the condition and progress of the United States, since her Revolution, and see whether she deserves this character, or whether a sense of moderation and justice has not shown itself in our councils and great national acts.

You will admit, that it is legitimate and right for a nation, as an individual, to purchase territory. Every nation, as well as every head of a family, is bound to provide for its children. At the close of our Revolution, you may well believe that our love of liberty was ardent; our fathers had poured out too much blood in its defence for us not to cherish it above all things earthly. A consequent sympathy grew up among us for the oppressed and down trodden of Europe. This sympathy was universal, profound, and heartfelt. Its effects was the opening of our doors for immigration to the peoples of the Old World. This invitation caused starving but worthy thousands of God's heritage, driven by a fierce necessity to fly from their oppressors, and find a refuge and a happy home in our free country. Those who came first, beholding the equity and majesty of our laws, the obedience of our people to the Government of their own creation and control, invited others, and yet others; the abundant yield of our rich soil, the facility of living, and the flourishing condition of the citizens of a free country, caused population otherwise to increase wonderfully; so that we soon became a great nation. You are invited look at the figures.

1790	3,929,827
1800	5,305,925
1810	7,239,814
1820	9,638,131
1830	12,866,020
1840	17,069,453
1850	23,191,876

The people of the United States were themselves surprised at such a vast increase in their population; yet the surprise

was agreeable, and devolved upon them the necessity of providing for so large a family. The increase of population and wealth in the Mississippi valley, rendered it necessary that the navigation of that stream should be free and unobstructed to our people. The Territory of Louisiana, covering the lower part of that river, and extending indefinitely north and west, was by the treaty of October 1800, ceded by Spain to France. The United States applied to France, to purchase the island of New Orleans as an *entrepot*. Bonaparte said "no! he wished to sell the whole of Louisiana; and would sell all or none." So on the 30th April, 1803, we purchased the whole of Louisiana, including a territory of 1,599,317 square miles; then almost a wilderness, but now, by our care and culture, laid off into many magnificent States, and peopled by happy millions. Does this look like ambition—when our Ministers wishing to purchase only a small spot on the bank of our greatest river for the landing and shipping of our produce, were forced by necessity to buy an empire?

In this purchase was manifestly included the Territory of Baton Rouge, as will appear by the treaties of 1783, between the United States, Great Britain, and Spain. So when the President, in October, 1810, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, annexed West Florida to the Territory of New Orleans, it was no usurpation of the property of Spain, as she had parted with it by the secret treaty of 1800.

Between the cession of Louisiana and 1819, Spain was in the midst of revolution. She was losing her territories in America as fast as she was losing her respectability at home. She owned East Florida, and with it, claimed the control of the navigation of the Alabama river. The American settlers on the upper tributaries of this noble stream were greatly harrassed by Spanish officers at Mobile. In addition to this annoyance, the Southern Indians received from the authorities and people of Florida arms and amunition, to enable them to harrass the people on our frontiers. We applied to Spain to sell, but she refused. When, however, she discovered that her revolted States in America, of which yours was one, were about to take it from her by force, she gladly rid herself of it by transferring it to the United States, in February, 1819. This added 59,268 square miles in addition to our territory.

Oregon, containing 341,463 square miles, was acquired by us during the first year of this century by legitimate discovery and occupancy.

From 1819 to 1845, a period of twenty-six years, no addition was made to our territory, though in this time our population had more than doubled. Nor were we laying plans and con-

trivances for more, as some of your leading men, at the head of whom was Santa Anna, constantly charged us.

In reference to the annexation of Texas, we will refer to a few well known facts. Soon after the achievement of your independence, you repealed the famous decree of Philip II, by which foreigners were absolutely excluded from the Spanish territories in America. And you went further—in your general colonization law of 1824, you invited foreigners to domiciliate in your country, promising them protection, the enjoyment of the valuable liberties guarantied by your celebrated Federal Constitution, and lands for a home and culture. You further provided, that the different States of your confederacy should pass local laws of colonization.

Under the sanction of these noble promises, made we doubt not, in good faith, the adventurous of our country came to settle in your then State of Coahuila and Texas. You knew something of the character of our people—their love of civil liberty, and firmness in its support. They came under the sanction of the Constitution of 1824, and it would have required an entire change of the character and nature of these immigrants before they could be reduced to servitude or be made submissive to the dictation of Santa Anna. When, therefore, by the decree of 1830, further immigration from the United States was suddenly cut off, and those who had come to prepare the way for their friends were deprived of them, when the military in Texas, was placed above the civil power, when, by a decree, but one person only in five hundred was permitted to bear and keep arms, when an attempt was made to overawe them by the presence of a strong military force, when finally by the decree of October 3, 1835, Santa Anna overturned your federal form of Government, converted your States into provinces and yourselves into slaves, the cup of Texas' suffering was full. And though you submitted, they would not. They tore themselves away from a country whose precepts and prospects were bloody and dark. You then, for the first time, came into actual contact with our people. You saw their metal and felt the sting of their opposition. They contended successfully with you for ten years, until humanity required that opposition should cease. You had many of them captives, and the scenes at Goliad, the Alamo, and the Hacienda Salado, will bear witness to your treatment of prisoners of war. But these fearful tragedies should not be charged to your people; the people of the United States have not so charged you, but rather your rulers, who have attempted to make up in cruelty what they lacked in manly courage. During the nine years following the decisive battle of San

Jacinto, your soldiery were not once permitted to obtain a foothold in Texas. All who did not submit to Texan laws and become citizens, were effectually driven out. Texas had taken her stand among the nations of the world, and Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States had acknowledged her independence. You had not the least earthly hope of ever re-conquering your revolted province. It was only that the leaders among your people might acquire popularity with those who did not read, that an obstinate feeling of hostility was kept alive. All this was admitted by Santa Anna and Almonte. Texas then being free, of the same stock with the people of the United States, applied for admission into the Union. It was not for the protection of Texas, as many of you imagine, that she was so annexed; but to prevent European States from acquiring, through Texas, a foothold in the Gulf of Mexico, which it was not, and is not the policy of the United States they should acquire. Texas was annexed. The popular leaders in Mexico urged resistance, that resistance brought on a war of two years, in which time we could easily have absorbed the whole of her noble country. But it was not our wish or desire. We hoped yet to see her a prosperous and happy country. We abstained; but in the treaty of 1848, acquired for some millions, the Territories of California, New Mexico, &c., lands but thinly settled and uncultivated, but covering 587,679 square miles. You will admit that you brought on this war by the invasion of Texas, ten years after your best appointed army had been driven out of it, and without any earthly hope or prospect of success even against Texas alone. The United States had no desire to go into that war; her policy has always been pacific.

Thus then to recapitulate—

The territory of the original States was, in 1783.....	452,886	square	miles.
Acquired by purchase in 1803.....	1,599,317	"	"
Acquired by treaty of 1819.....	59,286	"	"
Acquired by discovery—Oregon....	341,463	"	"
Acquired by annexation in 1845....	325,520	"	"
Acquired by treaty of 1848.....	587,679	"	"
	3,366,151		

The small strip acquired by the Gadsden Treaty is not included.

From these estimated data, you will perceive that the territory of the United States has increased seven fold; yet it has not kept pace with our population, which estimating it now at twenty-seven millions, has increased nine-fold. Upon a more

thorough acquaintance with our country, and a study of our statistics, you will find that our progress during the seventy-five years since our Independence was acknowledged, has been in every other element of national greatness, equally astonishing.

Since you acquired your Independence, your population has actually diminished; nor have you made any progress in any of the elements of civilization. So far as the enjoyment of civil liberty is concerned, you have several times had the forms, but the substantial security and confidence of your citizens have been less than under the Viceroy. You cannot charge these things to other nations, the responsibility of the entire failure rests upon yourselves.

Let us inquire into this point. Your Constitution of 1824 was a noble instrument, yet it had some fatal defects. Your Supreme Court, the last and strongest security of your liberties, was not made sufficiently independent. Instead of making your Federal Congress the interpreter of your Constitution, that should have rested entirely with your Courts. Politicians, influenced by party views, are in every way disqualified to construe the Constitution. They are not impartial, they have not the requisite learning, they are not independent, they cannot deliberate with sufficient calmness.

This was a fatal objection to that instrument, and in practice, you saw a Congress obedient to the orders of some military chieftain, trample under foot the surest safeguards of your liberty.

It was objectionable in another respect, it provided solely for the Roman Catholic religion, excluding all others. No nation was ever happy whose constitution thus attempted to fashion the consciences of its people in a single mould. Tyranny over the soul is the gloomiest, most blighting, and damning of all despotisms. Go to Italy, where they have had the fairest opportunity to test this matter. There you will find a people impoverished, humbled, dispirited, and kept in subjection only by foreign bayonets. Let religion alone! God does not require an arm of flesh to establish his kingdom. As Christ said to Peter, "put up thy sword." In our country and in all our constitutions, we simply say, that every man has the right to worship God as he pleases. Government pays none; but claims only for *Cæsar* what is his. Here we may form any religious opinions we please; we may speak or write about them; we may form societies, organize churches, hold conventions, synods, councils; yet Government takes no account of these things. We are not afraid of the Jesuits here. We allow them to come and live among us, and to teach and preach as they please; we permit the Mormons and Chinese to rear their

temples among us. They do us no harm, and though we have an hundred denominations here, all with different creeds and confessions, and each are zealous to get followers, yet we have peace. Each denomination pays its own expenses, by voluntary contributions. No one is compelled to give anything. This is a very great stimulant. We have but few loafers among the clergy. Poor preachers get poor pay. There are many Roman Catholics in our country; they get their support in the same way; and I will venture to say that, in the aggregate, they are better paid, better preachers, and more zealous in their calling than the clergy of your country. Your higher clergy are paid too much—they are insolent, fat, vicious, and given to treason. Not so with us; our clergy meddle but little with politics. True, some of them forgetful of their high calling descend from the sacred desk, the highest earthly station, to dabble and belute themselves in politics; but the community immediately lose confidence in such characters, and their clerical usefullness is at an end. Your present proposed Constitution is quite an improvement on that of 1824; but it is still defective on this point. Open wider the doors of religious liberty. God has made the mind free; see that you do not restrain it. Let truth and error grapple, and contend in the field of reason; all you have to do as a government, is to keep the peace, abolish all laws of forced contribution to your clergy, and let the flock feed the shepherds. You may trust to their faith. God has implanted religion enough in the breast of every human being to urge him to the support of his spiritual adviser. It will require some firmness and liberality to carry out this only sure method of making your people happy, but if you desire Mexico to live you must take high ground. Some of your clergy may suffer, but it will be because they are worthless. The workingmen among them will be well supported. We have the promise of God for this thing; if they are poor they will be virtuous and humble, and will cease to concoct treason against your liberties. Since 1821, every blow struck against liberty has been stimulated by your clergy. Santa Anna understood this well, and used them at his pleasure, for your enslavement. At this very moment they are doing all they can to prejudice you against the liberal Constitution you are now preparing. By successive usurpations they had accumulated in their own hands three-fourths of the property of Mexico; and when a plundered and abused people call upon them to restore these ill-gotten gains, behold a protest from the Archbishop of Mexico declaring that he had taken an oath, at his ordination, to preserve this church property, and he could not agree to surrender it, till released by the Pope from this obligation. Oh, people of Mexico, how much of the

love of God is there in this protest! You are converting this church property into mortgages; now let me make a suggestion—out of this fund, first and above all things, pay your national debt, pay every dollar of it honestly. For that book on which your venerable Archbishop took his oath, says "owe no man anything." This great step will place you right before the world, and keep you from being insulted by Spanish navies. The remainder of the fund, which will be large, apply most sacredly to the education of your children. Set your priests to work in educating them, pay them well for the service; establish institutions of learning of a high order in all your large cities, endow them well, and send to other countries for competent instructors in mineralogy, geology, chemistry, agriculture—establish able professorships wherever you can. Have your great country fully explored, and her vast resources made known. Knock every shackle from your printing press, and make every man take an oath that it shall be forever free. Let cheap publications be scattered over your country; let every one that can read have a paper and a book, and above all the bible, and a copy of your free Constitution. Go to work to redeem yourselves from impending ruin. Let every one be engaged; offer inducements for labor—when your people are busy they will not want for food, they will have no time to hatch treason, they will fall in love with their country and her glorious reforms.

Another matter of vast importance. Bring your military into subordination to your civil authority. Let the sacred majesty of the law overawe these men of buckram and starch. As you have not been accustomed to this state of things, your only security against military usurpers, have a positive provision in your Constitution limiting your standing army to five thousand men—never let it be larger; you can rely upon volunteers and militia in an emergency. The United States army, in proportion to population, is not so large. We are not afraid of it, and if any officer or soldier commits an offence against the peace, or against any of our citizens, he is brought before our courts and punished. His comrades dare not interfere. It would cost them their lives to rescue him. You will never have a free country while an orderly sergeant can get up a *pronunciamiento* and inaugurate a revolution.

Among us we have had the fewest number of trials for treason—with you it is the chief crime. Why is this? Let your Government be free, and your people free; let the Government be their own. Interpose no third party between the people and their country; let them elect their President, Governors, Judges, and subordinate officers; and when they find that the laws and the rulers are of their own making, and that they

have the right to change them at stated periods, they will be satisfied. Men do not betray themselves, nor abuse their own work.

You are about to commit another grave error in having but one legislative body. You should have two, holding their offices by different tenures. Men are passionate and precipitate, and often abuse the gravity of legislation by hasty and ill digested laws. If we had concentrated our legislation in but one House, our Union would have been dissolved long since; and at this very moment our Government would not last a month with but one legislative body. As it is, each House is a check upon the other, and such acts as can pass the ordeal of both Houses, and the President's veto, must have in them the odor of moderation and national justice. You cannot succeed with one House.

Another point. Abolish the odious and anti-republican practice of substitutes. When you elect a man to an office, let him discharge its duties, or resign. Let their salaries be reasonable and moderate. You have been paying your Presidents five times as much as we pay ours. Hence scoundrels are tempted to wade through blood to this palace of luxury and large pay. In no event permit your President to have a body guard, nor permit any one to be thrown into prison, except by a warrant issued by one of your courts or judges.

These are some of the matters suggested by an an examination of your proposed Constitution. If attended to you may yet redeem your country. But remember that you have been retrograding for many years, and to retrace your steps it will require the united, patriotic, self-denying effort of your whole people. Remember also, that at the bottom of all progress is the education and enlightenment of your children.

Should you pursue this course and educate, civilize, and liberalize your people, you will have the applause, sympathy, and hearty good will of the people of this country. We will be the first to extend to you the hand of brotherhood, and to interchange with you the kind offices of friendship, religion, and trade. Nay, more; should you be assailed by any of the powers of Europe, this country will interpose the sword in behalf of the integrity of your territory.

But remember that the United States North are the sworn enemy of tyranny and ignorance. Whether it be their destiny or not, it has been the practice of our people here, who are free to go and come when they please, to interpose sympathy and material aid to their oppressed neighbors. A portion of your country lying north of the Sierra Madre, and contiguous to our southern border, has tasted more of the spirit of our institutions than your transmontane citizens. These people have

our sympathies, and deserve at your hands a liberal treatment; should you attempt to force upon them despotic measures, they will separate from you; our people will aid them in sustaining their position, and ultimately you will be shorn of your Northeastern States of Tamaulipas, New Leon, Chihuahua, &c. Such will be the first step. The same causes continued will bring the enterprising Anglo-Saxon into contact with your central provinces. When he comes he will only be rude in repelling ignorance, tyranny, and bigotry. He will spread light, and life, and liberty wherever he goes. We hope you will by your energy and timely efforts dispense with the necessity of the interposition of our race. Your glorious country must be redeemed, the destiny of America requires it, you must do it yourselves, or we will do it for you. In a country so free as ours, where every man is a statesman, an orator, and a philanthropist, you may judge there is a great deal of patriotism. By this term we are not to limit our idea simply to a love of country, but also to a zeal for free institutions. Liberty is a Goddess, receiving from gallant hearts a subordinate worship, and whither she calls they go. It is impossible for our Government, if it desired it, to prevent the emigration of her citizens. Hence you perceive in all the contests in America, more or less of our countrymen are engaged, and always on the side of that party most in favor of freedom. Walker is called by the democracy of Nicaragua to aid them against the monarchists—he responds, as did Timoleon and La Fayette; and with a handful of men the servile party are driven away, and civil liberty is organizing in that rich and romantic country. It is impossible that any other than a free government would exist where Walker and his men control. The other States of Central America, without any provocation whatever, have united in a war against him, Costa Rica, vain of her process, went in advance. She returned with the *cholera*, caught at Rivas. They are now acting more cautiously, but they will get a whipping. Walker is on a mission of civilization, he is placed in front of a revolution, which will not retrograde.

The victories of Walker will be of service to you; the consequent movement of civilization will light the torch of intellect on your Southern border. Deal honestly and courteously with him and his people, and they will make you valuable neighbors. If you have any feeling of jealousy do not exhibit it, but rather open the doors of commerce and intercourse. Have no war of religion with them. Men who are truly religious never fight about it. It is only such men as the Czar of Russia, who desiring to plant the standard of empire on the shores of the Bosphorus take up the cudgel for the liberty of

the Greek church. Men who fight for religion, or persecute for religion, *always* have some others object in view than the love of God.

The United States, as a Government, will always be found acting in good faith towards you; as a people they are too powerful to fear any other nation, and too great to do injustice to a weak neighbor, and although the tyrannical conduct of some of your rulers has excited their contempt for them, and pity for you, they have forborn to interfere in your domestic affairs. Not so with our people; they are free to talk and act; they will be ever ready to give their voluntary aid to those contending for liberty in Mexico; yet if they had their choice all would unite in wishing you a free constitution and yourselves a flourishing and happy people. You may depend upon it, this is the sentiment of our entire country. Upon the overthrow of Santa Anna by Alvarez and Commonfort, there was a general feeling of joy in this country, yet it was in some degree checked by the fact that you have had so many revolutions in Mexico, without making any progress. In conclusion, remember what I tell you, it is now the middle of the 19th century, you have been struggling for three centuries, and have done nothing yet; *you must make progress*, or *you will be absorbed by a more energetic race.*

IMPROVEMENT OF THE OHIO.

Two plans are proposed for the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio river.

The first of these is my own proposition, to form *reservoirs* on the tributaries of the river, in which water will be collected when the drainage of the country is in excess, and from which the channel will be supplied when the navigation fails in times of drought.

The other is the plan of *locks and dams*, the advocates of which propose to construct about fifty dams across the river, to increase the depth of the water, and to place two locks in each dam to overcome the obstructions created by the dams themselves.

I have recommended the formation of reservoirs on the tributaries of the river, and objected to the construction of these dams across the channel of the river, for the following reasons:

1. After the dams shall have been constructed across the Ohio, it will be found that *they cannot be made water-tight.* The dams will leak, and reservoirs on the tributary streams will be needed in the summer season to supply the pools themselves with sufficient water to float the boats.

This point is illustrated by the slackwater navigation on the Schuylkill river, where three reservoirs are now required, and are resorted to annually to supply water to compensate for the losses resulting from the evaporation and from the leakage and lockage at the dams.

It is illustrated also by many other slackwater improvements; but more particularly by that of the Monongahela river, where, during the greater part of the summer and fall of 1854, the water not only ceased to run over the dams, but by evaporation and leakage was almost literally dried out of the pools.

The Monongahela Company now contemplate resorting to "immense reservoirs," from which a supply can be drawn, in seasons of low water, into their lower pools, and thus keep them in good navigable condition.

They now have a lock and dam improvement, but find that they still need reservoirs to supply that improvement with water and make the dams useful.

Instead of building dams to obstruct the navigation of the Ohio, and locks to overcome the artificial obstructions occasioned by the dams, and reservoirs in the mountains from which to supply the pools with water, I propose to form the reservoirs in the first instance and to supply the river itself from them at once, and dispense entirely with the locks and dams. It will require much less water to supply the river in its natural condition than will be needed to supply it after its channel has been obstructed by leaky dams and a wider surface has been exposed to the sun and air and the evaporation thereby increased.

2. *Locks and dams will set a limit to the amount of freight which can be transported on the river.* The plan which I propose, that of supplying the river with water in times of drought, will leave its capacity for conveying freight for all practicable purposes absolutely unlimited.

After these dams have been built, the number of boats which may traverse the river will no longer be determined by the quantities of produce, minerals, or lumber that the region of which the Ohio is the great highway is capable of producing or which its markets may demand, but they will be limited to the number that may be passed through the locks.

The inability of double locks to pass the trade of the Ohio is fully demonstrated by the Monongahela navigation, where the coal boats occasionally croud by hundreds to the locks, and, in the haste and anxiety to get through, block up the approaches against all ascending craft for several days in succession.

There are only five or six steamboats plying on the Monongahela and requiring the use of its locks; but the improve-

ment of the Ohio, to be tolerated, must be such as may be relied on to accommodate not only the present and prospective coal trade of the Monongahela, but also the lumber trade of the Allegheny, the iron and miscellaneous trade of Pittsburg, several hundred Ohio river steamboats, and the proper trade of the Ohio river itself. This vast aggregate could not be passed through double locks, even if a set of double locks could always be kept in good working order.

But we cannot hope to have two locks at each of the fifty dams, exposed as they must be to injury from boats and from floods, always in order unless we provide at least three locks in each dam.

3. The delays at the locks will be greater than the running time now required to make the trip, and consequently the time now required for every ordinary voyage will be more than doubled by the detention at the dams.

If reservoirs are adopted, and water supplied by them to the channel when it is needed there, the time required to make the trip will be reduced.

4. If dams are placed across the channel of the Ohio, all the trade of the river, for not less than fifty weeks in every year, will be forced through the locks.

Careful and recorded observations made at Wheeling for twelve years in succession, show that the water would not be high enough for boats to go safely over the dams on an average fourteen days in the year.

5. If the navigation is improved by reservoirs no interest can possibly be injured thereby; if the channel is obstructed by dams the rafting business will be completely destroyed.

6. Dams on the Ohio, however skillfully they may be planned by the engineer, and however faithfully built by the contractors, will sometimes prove to be imperfect. Resting often on treacherous foundations, some of them will be injured by the ice and some be undermined by the floods. This has been the experience wherever numerous dams have been built on the same stream. Such misfortunes have occurred on the Lehigh, on the Schuylkill, on the Potomac, on James river, and on the Monongahela. They may occur also on the Ohio.

When one of the well-built dams on the Monongahela gave way in 1842 the bottom of the river was washed out to a depth of forty feet. One year was lost in consequence of the continued high water; and when, in the second year after the breach was formed, the water fell so that the work of reparation could be commenced, it required *four months* for the most skillful and energetic men to close the gap and secure the dam.

What, I ask, would be the condition of things if one of the fifty dams which it is so lighty proposed to construct on the Ohio should be washed away or undermined, and the navigation there suspended for four months?

If we resort to reservoirs for the improvement of the navigation no damage can result to the trade of the Ohio from a derangement or breach of any part of the works.

7. Dams will obstruct the navigation and cause the boats to crowd and jam against the entrance of the locks. These boats will sometimes be sunk—as has happened on the Monongahela improvement, and indeed on every canal in the country—and stop the navigation until they can be removed. A pair of coal-boats will contain a thousand tons or more, and the removal of so great a mass from under water will be a slow and tedious job.

If the river is fed from reservoirs the channel will be kept always clear, and there can consequently be no jaming of boats. If a boat sinks there will be room in the channel for other boats to pass by it.

8. If locks and dams are adopted, steamboats will sometimes be driven carelessly against the works and stave in the gates. This occurs frequently on canals, and has occurred on the Monongahela, though but few steamboats run there. In this one instance a new pair of gates happened to be ready, and the navigation was restored, by the great skill and energy of the President of the company, in four days.

If the navigation of the Ohio should be stopped for only four days some seventy or eighty steamboats would collect above and below the locks, and, at some seasons of the year in that space of time from 500 to 1,000 coal-boats, flat-boats, and rafts, in addition to the steamers, would be arrested there.

The collection, in the space of only a few days, would sometimes be so great on that river that its whole channel would be filled entirely across, from bank to bank, to the distance of two or three, and at times even to the distance of five miles from the locks. On the canals of this country we have often witnessed such sights on a smaller scale. In one instance seven miles of canal boats blocked up the entire breath of the Erie canal before the breach which stopped their progress could be repaired. But the boats and locks of a canal are of manageable dimensions, and nearly three hundred boats can be let through a well-appointed lock in a day. A pair of coal-boats or a raft would occupy the huge lock which will be required to pass the Ohio river steamboats more than an hour. It is indeed very doubtful whether a raft which would fill one of these locks, and cover therefore more than half an acre of surface, could be let through and got out of the way in less

than three hours. But, assuming that the average time for a pair of coal-boats or a raft would be an hour, to pass 500 of them through a single lock, working day and night, would consume at least ten days, and during that ten days at a certain season of the year, as many more would approach and struggle to get through as the way might be cleared for them. Small, comparatively, as is the present trade of the Monogahela, and rapidly as the smaller locks there required can be worked, the descending coal flats frequently shut off the navigation for ascending steamers on that river for three or four days in succession.

9. The cost of the fifty dams and one hundred locks which it is proposed to build on the Ohio, deduced from the ascertained cost of the Monongahela improvement, with a proper allowance for the increased lenght of the dams, the increased length, width, and height of the locks, and the increased value of labor and materials since that work was completed, twelve years ago, would be about twenty-five millions of dollars.

The cost of procuring a five feet navigation by means of reserviors on the tributaries ought not to exceed two millions of dollars.

Is it better to expend twenty-five millions and obstruct the channel of the Ohio by fifty dams during nine months of the year, when the navigation is perfect, or to pay two millions to remove the obstructions caused by low water during three months of drouth?

10. Almost every city on the Ohio is built in part on soil subject to be overflowed. The construction of dams below these cities will increase the height of the floods and the depths and the frequency of the overflows.

Dams in the mountains may be placed where no valuable property will be covered by the reservoirs, and they cannot fail, by retaining a portion of the surplus water, to reduce instead of increasing the height and destructive power of the floods on the river.

11. Dams across the Ohio will set the water up into the mouths of all the tributaries, great and small, which empty into its channel. On these tributaries are valuable mills and mill privileges, which will be submerged, even in low water, and destroyed by the dams.

The reservoirs in the mountains will destroy no mills or water-power, but, on the contrary, they will create vast and never-failing water-power wherever the dams which form the reservoirs are placed.

12. The advocates of locks and dams cannot be opposed to reservoirs, nor deny the practicability of obtaining water

enough by that means to feed the Ohio. They cannot take this ground; for every dam they propose to build will form a reservoir of immense size, but one which is not available, because it is in the wrong place. The fifty dams which they propose to raise on the Ohio will form reservoirs in the river itself, covering, in the aggregate, a space of over *four hundred square miles*, and holding three times as much water as would be needed if they were placed where they ought to be, in the mountains, to afford a five feet navigation the year round from Pittsburgh to Cairo.

To avoid forming reservoirs in the mountains, where they will do great good, they propose to make pools in the river, where they will do great harm. The pools in the river will contain fully three times as much water as need be discharged from the mountains to support the navigation throughout the summer; and, after the pools are made in the river and the navigation has been destroyed by the dams that form them, great reservoirs in the mountains will still be required to supply these pools with water.

Is it not better, I ask, to make the reservoirs in the mountains at once and dispense with the pools in the river altogether?

13. The dams which it is proposed to construct on the Ohio will convert the channel of that river into fifty stagnant and pestilential ponds, endangering the healthfulness and diminishing the population of its valley.

High dams in the mountains will form deep lakes in the rock bound gorges. These lakes will be filled with cool water in the winter and spring. This water will retain its coolness until it is needed for the navigation, and then gush forth in refreshing torrents, which will temper the heats in midsummer on the immediate borders of the river.

The locks and dams will destroy the navigation of the river when it is in the best condition, and impair the healthfulness of its shores when they are the least salubrious.

The reservoirs in the mountains will improve the navigation when it most needs improvement, give motion to the river when its waters are stagnant, supply the cities on its banks with a more wholesome beverage, and wash out, as far as fresh water can do that work, the causes of malaria.

I object, therefore, to locks and dams on the Ohio. I object to them because the river can be improved by a plan which will leave its channel unimpaired and unobstructed; which will improve the navigation of its tributaries while it improves that of the river itself; which will tend to diminish the height and destruction produced by the floods, while it increases the depth of the channel in seasons of drought; which will create

immense water-power in the mountains, without destroying the water-power near the river; which will pour a healthful current of cool water into the channel from the reservoirs in the mountains, instead of converting its living stream into putrid pools; which can be used to carry away the ice that obstructs the navigation in the winter, while it overcomes the effect of drought in the summer; which will improve the health, while it increases the wealth of the country; which will do some good to every interest and injure none.

This is the plan which I offer as a substitute for locks and dams on the Ohio.

It is not a speculative plan. It is based on careful measurements of the volume of water flowing down the Ohio day by day, and every day for a period of six years. It is the conclusion which results from minute, laborious, and appropriate investigations.

This plan and the facts on which it rests have been given to the public in a work which has received the approbation and concurrence of scientific minds throughout the country.*

Is it not then, worthy of the attention of that great community of business men which has put the locomotive in motion on the mountain tops and filled the navigable rivers of the West with magnificent steamers?

I have done my share of the work. I have projected the plan, I have measured the discharge of the river, I have demonstrated the practicability of the scheme, without aid or encouragement, and I ask now only that they who are to be the most benefitted by the work shall assist in its execution.

The editor of the *Railroad Record* remarks on Mr. ELLET'S plan and writings as follows:

"In an early number of the Record we noticed at some length the very able work of Mr. Ellet on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. It was one of those accurate and enlightened investigations of a difficult problem in physics which only an able and well-instructed man of science could make. All the elements of the Ohio river, such as the quantity, depth, and distribution of water necessary to the solution of the problem, were carefully ascertained, and the results commended themselves to our mind with the precision and certainty of truth. We thought then, and do now, that Mr. Ellet's plan was not only practicable and cheap, but was the only one which promised success. With this conviction we lay before our readers Mr. Ellet's interesting communication."

*See Ellet on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers.

NEW ORLEANS COMMERCE, 1850–'56.

VALUE OF PRODUCE OF THE INTERIOR RECEIVED

	1856.			1855.	
ARTICLES.	Amount.	Av. price.	Value, dollars.	Amount.	Value, dolls.
Apples.....bbls....	62,449	3 00	187,347	35,523	73,177
Bacon, as., hds & cks....	36,754	75 00	2,734,050	40,787	2,855,090
Bacon, assorted...bxs....	2,732	35 00	95,620	3,492	80,316
" hams, hds & ts....	28,751	60 00	1,725,060	31,371	2,089,115
" in bulk.....lbs....	173,760	9	15,633	232,920	18,633
Bagging.....pcs....	33,905	18 00	610,290	40,578	608,670
Bale Rope.....cls....	101,331	10 00	1,013,310	95,336	667,352
Beans.....bbls....	6,758	6 00	40,548	4,690	25,795
Butter....kegs & firk....	33,119	10 00	331,190	33,874	237,118
" .....bbls....	1,825	35 00	63,875	1,017	30,510
Beeswax.....bbls....	130	50 00	6,600	141	7,050
Beef.....bbls....	49,849	12 00	598,188	31,899	414,687
" .....tierces....	11,210	20 00	224,200	9,679	193,580
" dried.....lbs....	19,010	10	1,901	23,850	2,047
Cotton.....bales....	1,759,298	40 00	70,371,720	1,284,768	51,390,720
Corn Meal.....bbls....	240	4 00	960	225	1,013
Corn in ear.....bbls....	41,924	80	33,539	10,701	14,981
" shelled.....sks....	1,990,995	1 50	2,986,492	1,110,446	2,387,539
Cheese.....bxs....	42,652	4 50	191,934	45,245	203,602
Candles.....bxs....	82,893	8 00	763,144	56,388	451,064
Cider.....bbls....	59	3 00	177	14	42
Coal, West.....bbls....	987,000	45	444,150	1,018,000	559,900
Dried Ap. & Pchs bbls....	3,046	6 00	18,276	1,252	7,512
Feathers.....bags....	778	42 00	32,676	1,078	20,184
Flaxseed.....tcs....	230	12 00	2,760	281	3,372
Flour.....bbls....	1,120,974	7 50	3,407,305	673,111	5,538,166
Furs..hds, bdls & bxs....	1,030	....	400,000	302	300,000
Glassware.....pkgs....	30,326	5 00	151,630	16,384	65,536
Hemp.....bales....	16,818	30 00	504,540	31,335	940,050
Hides.....	151,431	3 00	454,293	84,298	189,670
Hay.....bales....	122,470	5 00	612,350	78,271	366,370
Iron, pig.....tons....	332	35 00	11,620	17	595
Lard.....bbls & tcs....	110,713	26 00	2,878,538	144,036	3,600,900
" .....kegs....	83,790	6 00	502,740	98,326	491,630
Leather.....bndls....	4,758	35 00	166,530	5,302	159,060
Lime, West.....bbls....	16,551	1 75	28,964	19,233	21,156
Lead.....pigs....	80,624	5 00	403,120	70,514	352,570
" bar., kegs & bxs....	341	20 00	6,820	301	5,644
" white.....kegs....	65	4 00	260	269	1,076
Molasses (est crop) gls....15,274,140		30	4,582,242	23,000,000	4,255,000
Oats.....bbls & sks....	587,180	1 00	587,180	430,978	549,972
Onions.....bbls....	14,477	3 00	43,431	11,665	40,827
Oil, Linseed.....bbls....	163	42 00	6,846	348	13,920
Oil, Castor.....bbls....	1,520	50 00	76,000	2,617	117,765
Oil, Lard.....bbls....	10,881	35 00	380,835	13,332	466,620
Potatoes.....bbls....	182,556	2 50	456,390	70,539	176,343
Pork.....tcs & bbls....	277,841	17 00	4,723,297	276,898	4,145,895
" .....bxs....	6,823	35 00	238,805	7,458	268,488
" ..... hhds....	2,893	60 00	173,580	3,067	199,355
" in bulk.....lbs....	7,480,384	6	448,823	6,263,650	375,818
Porter and Ale...bbls....	1,637	10 00	16,870	1,217	12,170
Packing Yarn.....rls....	3,314	7 00	23,198	1,723	21,537
Rum.....bbls....	669	20 00	13,380	1,850	33,300
Skins, Deer.....pks....	406	30 00	12,180	493	14,790
Shingles.....M....	5,000	3 00	15,000	15	225
Shot.....kegs....	3,398	25 00	84,950	3,435	82,440
Soap.....bxs....	10,287	3 50	36,004	7,783	27,240
Staves.....M....	4,647	50 00	232,350	4,000	188,000
Sugar (est. crop)..hds....	231,427	70 00	16,199,890	346,635	18,025,020
Spanish Moss...bales....	5,317	30 00	159,510	4,729	70,935
Tallow.....bbls....	1,195	27 00	32,265	711	21,330
Tobacco, Leaf...hhds....	49,696	140 00	6,957,440	42,692	5,549,980
" Strips...hhds....	4,810	200 00	962,000	8,109	1,459,620
" Stems...hhds....	1,584	40 00	63,360	2,548	101,920
" ch, kgs & bxs....	3,599	25 00	89,975	4,153	103,825
Twine.....bdls & bxs....	3,658	12 00	43,896	3,249	34,115
Vinegar.....bbls....	1,087	6 00	6,522	1,026	6,156
Whisky.....bbls....	148,753	12 00	1,785,036	108,854	1,306,248
Wheat.....bbls & sks....	869,524	3 20	2,782,476	31,288	87,606
Oother articles, estimated at.....			6,000,000		5,000,000
TOTAL VALUE—Dollars.....			144,256,081		
Total in 1854–55.....			117,106,823		
Total in 1853–54.....			115,336,798		
Total in 1852–53.....			134,233,785		
Total in 1851–52.....			108,051,708		

MR. MADISON'S ALLEGORY OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

WRITTEN BUT NOT PUBLISHED AT THE PERIOD OF THE MISSOURI QUESTION IN 1821, AND THE MANUSCRIPT NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF J. C. MCGUIRE, ESQ., OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jonathan Bull and Mary Bull, who were descendants of old John Bull, the head of the family, had inherited contiguous estates in large tracts of land. As they grew up and became well acquainted, a partiality was mutually felt, and advances on several occasions made towards a matrimonial connection. This was particularly recommended by the advantage of putting their two estates under a common superintendence. Old Bull, however, as guardian of both, and having long been allowed certain valuable privileges within the estates, with which he was not long content, had always found the means of breaking off the match, which he regarded as a fatal obstacle to his secret design of getting the whole property into his own hands.

At a moment favorable, as he thought, for the attempt, he brought suit against both, but with a view of carrying it on in a way that would make the process bear on the parties in such different modes, times, and degrees, as might create a jealousy and discord between them. Jonathan and Mary had too much sagacity to be duped. They understood well old Bull's character and situation. They knew that he was deeply versed in all the subtleties of the law; that he was of a stubborn and persevering temper, and that he had, moreover, a very long purse. They were sensible, therefore, that the more he endeavored to divide their interests and their defence of the suit, the more they ought to make a common cause and proceed in a concert of measures. As this could best be done by giving effect to the feelings long entertained for each other, an intermarriage was determined on and solemnized, with a deed of settlement, as usual in such opulent matches, duly executed; and no event certainly of the sort was ever celebrated by a greater fervor or variety of rejoicings among the respective tenants of the parties. They had a great horror of falling into the hands of old Bull, and regarded the marriage of their proprietors, under whom they held their freeholds, as the surest mode of warding off the danger. They were not disappointed. United purses and good advocates compelled old Bull, after a hard struggle, to withdraw the suit, and relinquish forever, not only the new pretensions he had set up, but the old privileges he had been allowed.

The marriage of Jonathan and Mary was not a barren one. On the contrary, every year or two added a new member to the family, and on such occasions the practice was to set off a portion of land sufficient for a good farm, to be put under the

authority of the child on its attaining the age of manhood. And these lands were settled very rapidly by tenants going, as the case might be, from the estates, sometimes of Jonathan, sometimes of Mary, and sometimes partly from one and partly from the other.

It happened that at the expiration of the nonage of the tenth or eleventh fruit of the marriage some difficulties were started concerning the rules and conditions of declaring the young party of age, and of giving him, as a member of the family, the management of his patrimony. Jonathan became possessed with a notion that an arrangement ought to be made that would prevent the new farm from being settled and cultivated, as in all the latter instances, indiscriminately by persons removing from his and Mary's estate, and confine this privilege to those going from his own; and in the perverse humor which had seized him, he listened moreover to suggestions that Mary had some undue advantage from the selections of the head stewards, which happened to have been made much oftener out of her tenants than his.

Now the prejudice suddenly taken up by Jonathan against the equal right of Mary's tenants to remove with their property to new farms, was connected with a peculiarity in Mary's person not as yet noticed. Strange as it may appear, the circumstance is not the less true, that Mary, when a child, had unfortunately received from a certain African dye a stain on her left arm, which had made it perfectly black, and withal somewhat weaker than the other arm. The misfortune arose from a ship from Africa, loaded with the article, which had been permitted to enter a river running through her estate, and dispose of a part of the noxious cargo. The fact was well known to Jonathan at the time of their marriage, and if felt as an objection, it was, in a manner, reduced to nothing, by the comely form and pleasing features of Mary in every other respect, by her good sense and amiable manners, and in part perhaps by the large and valuable estate she brought with her.

In the unlucky fit, however, which was upon him, he looked at the black arm, and forgot all the rest. To such a pitch of feeling was he wrought up, that he broke out into the grossest taunts on Mary for her misfortune, not omitting at the same time to remind her of his long forbearance to exert his superior voice in the appointment of the head steward. He had now, he said, got his eyes fully opened; he saw everything in a new light, and was resolved to act accordingly. As to the head steward, he would let her see that the appointment was virtually in his power, and she might take her leave of all chance of ever having another of her tenants advanced to that station; and as to the black arm, she should, if the color could

not be taken out, either tear off the skin from the flesh, or cut off the limb; for it was his fixed dermination that one or other should be done, or he would sue out a divorce, and there should be an end of all connection between them and their estates. I have, he said, examined well the marriage settlement, and flaws have been pointed out to me, that never occurred before, by which I shall be able to set the whole aside. White as I am all over, I can no longer consort with one marked with such deformity as the blot on your person.

Mary was so stunned with the language she heard, that it was some time before she could speak at all; and as the surprise abated, she was almost choked with the anger and indignation swelling in her bosom. Generous and placable as her temper was, she had a proud sensibility to what she thought an unjust and degrading treatment, which did not permit her to suppress the violence of her first emotions. Her language accordingly for a moment was such as these emotions prompted. But her good sense, and her regard for Jonathan, whose qualities as a good husband she had long experienced, soon gained an ascendency, and changed her tone to that of sober reasoning and affectionate expostulation.

"Well, my dear husband, you see what a passion you have put me into. But it is now over, and I will endeavor to express my thoughts with the calmness and good fellings which become the relation of wife and husband.

"As to the case of providing for our child just coming of age, I shall say but little. We both have such a tender regard for him, and such a desire to see him on a level with his brethren as to the chance of making his fortune in the world, that I am sure that difficulties which have occurred will in some way or other be got over.

"But I cannot pass so lightly over the reproaches you cast on the color of my left arm, and on the more frequent appointment of my tenants than of yours to the head stewardship of our joint estates.

"Now, as to the first point, you seem to have forgotten, my worthy partner, that this infirmity was fully known to you before our marriage, and is proved to be so by the deed of settlement itself. At that time you made it no objection whatever to our union; and, indeed, how could you urge such an objection, when you were conscious that you yourself were not entirely free from a like stain on your own person? The fatal African dye, as you well know, had found its way into your abode as well as mine; and at the time of our marriage, you had spots and specks scattered over your body as black as the skin on my arm. And although you have, by certain abrasions and other applications, taken them in some measure

out, there are visible remains which ought to soften at least your language when reflecting on my situation. You ought surely, when you have so slowly and imperceptibly relieved yourself from the mortifying stain, although the task was comparatively so easy, to have some forbearance and sympathy with me, who have a task so much more difficult to perform. Instead of that, you abuse me as if I had brought the misfortune on myself, and could remove it at will; or as if you had pointed out a ready way to do it, and I had slighted your advice. Yet, so far is this from being the case, that you know as well as I do, that I am not to be blamed for the origin of the sad mishap; that I am as anxious as you can be to get rid of it,* that you are as unable as I am to find out a safe and feasible plan for the purpose; and, moreover, that I have done everything I could, in the meantime, to mitigate an evil that cannot as yet be removed. When you talk of tearing off the skin, or cutting off the unfortunate limb, must I remind you, of what you cannot be ignorant, that the most skilful surgeons have given their opinions that if so cruel an operation were to be tried, it could hardly fail to be followed by a mortification, or a bleeding to death? Let me ask, too, whether, should neither of the fatal effects ensue, you would like me better in my mangled or mutilated condition than you do now? And when you threaten a divorce and annulment of the marriage settlement, may I not ask whether your estate would not suffer as much as mine by dissolving the partnership between them? I am far from denying that I feel the advantage of having the pledge of your arm, your stronger arm if you please, for the protection of me and mine; and that my interests in general have been, and must continue to be, the better for your aid and counsel in the management of them. But on the other hand, you must be equally sensible that the aid of my purse will have its value, in case old Bull, or any other such litigious fellow, should put us to the expense of another tedious lawsuit. And now, that we are on the subject of loss and gain, you will not be offended if I take notice of a report that you sometimes insinuate that my estate, according to the rates of assessment, does not pay its due share into the common purse. I think, my dear Jonathan, that if you ever entertained this opinion, you must have been led into it by a very wrong view of the subject. As to the direct income from rents, there can be no deficiency on my part there; the rule of apportionment being clear, and founded on a calculation by numbers. And as to what is raised from the articles bought and used by my tenants, it is difficult to conceive that my tenants buy or use less than

* This is the old fashioned mode of speech. Men have been better enlightened at the South since the Slave discussions have taken place.—Ed. Review.

yours, considering that they carry a greater amount of crops to market, the whole of which, it is well known they lay out in articles from the use of which the bailiff regularly collects the sum due. It would seem, then, that my tenants selling more, buy more; buying more, use more; and using more, pay more. Meaning, however, not to put you in the wrong, but myself in the right, I do not push the argument to that length; because I readily agree that in paying for articles bought and used, you have beyond the fruits of the soil, on which I depend, ways and means which I have not. You draw chiefly the interest we jointly pay for the funds we were obliged to borrow for the fees and costs the suit of old Bull put us to. Your tenants also turn their hands so ingeniously to a variety of handicraft and other mechanical productions, that they make not a little money from that source. Besides all this, you gain much by the fish you catch and carry to market; by the use of your teams and boats, in transporting and trading on the crops of my tenants; and, indeed, in doing that sort of business for strangers also. This is a fair statement on your side of the account, with the drawback, however, that as your tenants are supplied with a greater proportion of articles, made by themselves, than is the case with mine, the use of which articles does not contribute to the common purse, they avoid, in the same proportion the payments collected from my tenants. If I were to look still further into this matter, and refer you to every advantage you draw from the union of our persons and property, I might remark that the profits you make from your teams and boats, and which enable you to pay your quota, are in great part drawn from the preference they have in conveying and disposing of the produce of my soil—a business that might fall into other hands in the event of our separation. I mention this, as I have already said, not by way of complaint, for I am well satisfied that your gain is not altogether my loss in this, more than in many other instances; and that what profits you immediately, may profit me also in the long run. But I will not dwell on these calculations and comparisons of interest, which you ought to weigh as well as myself, as reasons against the measure to which you threaten a resort. For when I consult my own heart, and call to mind all the endearing proofs you have given of yours being in sympathy with it, I must needs hope that there are other ties than mere interest to prevent us from ever suffering a transient resentment on either side, with or without cause, to bring on both all the consequences of a divorce—consequences, too, which would be a sad inheritance, indeed, for our numerous and beloved offspring.

"As to the other point, relative to the head stewards, I must own, my worthy husband, that I am altogether at a loss for

any cause of dissatisfaction on your part, or blame on mine. It is true, as you say, that they have been oftener taken from among my tenants than yours; but, under other circumstances, the reverse might as well have happened. If the individuals appointed had made their way to the important trust by corrupt or fallaceous means; if they had been preferred merely because they dwelt on my estate, or had succeeded by any interposition of mine contrary to your inclination; or, finally, if they had administered the trust unfaithfully, sacrificing your interests to mine, or the interests of both to selfish or to unworthy purposes; in either of these cases you would have ground for your complaints. But I know, Jonathan, that you are too just and too candid not to admit that no such ground exists. The head stewards in question could not have been appointed without your own participation as well as mine. They were recommended to our joint choice by the reputed fairness of their characters; by their tried fidelity and competency in previous trusts; and by their exemption from all charges of impure and grasping designs. And so far were they from being partial to my interest at the expense of yours, that they were rather considered by my tenants as leaning to a management more favorable to yours than to mine. I need not say that I allude to the bounties, direct or indirect, to your teams and boats, to the hands employed in your fisheries, and to the looms and other machineries, which, without such encouragements, would not be able to meet the threatened rivalships of interfering neighbors. I say, only, that these ideas were in the heads of some of my tenants. For myself, I should not have mentioned them, but as a defence against what I must regard as so unfounded a charge, that it ought not to be permitted to make a lasting impression.

"But, laying aside all these considerations, I repeat, my dear Jonathan, that the appointment of the head steward lies as much, if not more, with you than with me. Let the choice fall where it may, you will find me faithfully abiding by it, whether it be thought the best possible one or not; and sincerely wishing that he may equally improve better opportunities of serving us both than was the lot of any of those who have gone before him."

Jonathan, who has a good heart as well as a sound head and steady temper,* was touched with this tender and considerate language of Mary, and the bickering which had sprung up ended, as the quarrels of lovers *always*, and of married folks *sometimes* do, in an increased affection and confidence between the parties.

* That might have been the case with "Jonathan" in times long past, but in his later course it is impossible to find any evidences of either.—(Ed. Review.)

NOTES OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL—FRANCE.

Champs de Mars presented an aspect whose brilliancy and significance reflected something of the glory of those strange historic events of which it has been so often the scene. Before the shadows of the sun began to fall from the façade of L'Ecole Militaire, the spacious buildings of that institution, the side and angles of the immense plain stretching out before it, and every avenue of approach, as far as Place de la Concorde, were filled with multitudes of all classes of French people, and with strangers from all parts of the earth, eager to witness the review in celebration of the peace of March 30, 1856.

Scarcely had Hotel des Invalides sounded one o'clock, when the Imperial cortège, under the glance and smile of the Empress, left the Tuileries and proceeding along Champs Colysies, arrived at Champs de Mars by the river entrance. Surrounded by the representatives of the great Powers of the earth, and the newly made heroes of France, the presence of the Emperor Napoleon III. was announced by a salute of a hundred guns, the shrill music of forty regiments, blended with the cry of Vive L'Empereur, rising from the ranks of seventy thousand soldiers, and echoed by nearly two hundred thousand citizens. Followed by his suite, conspicuous in their glittering armor and waving plumes, as he dashed along solid squares of infantry and beside long columns of cavalry, to the central point, and uncovered, to acknowledge the general welcome, no one could but feel a secret sympathy with his poetic life, nor refrain from joining in the universal exclaim of admiration. An exile and a wanderer from infancy to manhood, a prisoner of Ham in the meridian of his days, then the representative of the people, afterwards chosen President, and finally proclaimed Emperor. The story of his life is the fairy tale of modern times, and the history of his house diversifies the prosaic records of our age. At variance with the common sense of the epoch, and regardless of its accepted maxims, he dared present himself to his countrymen, and amid the scorn, sarcasm, and jests of mankind, claimed these successive positions solely because he bore the name and recalled the memories of the great Emperor. In virtue of these title deeds to the succession, France pronounced herself in his favor; and now, in justification of that verdict, and in vindication of those claims, he unhesitatingly refers to the results of his own reign; points to the general order and quiet succeeding discord, insecurity, and revolution; to the steady advancement of the national interests, and to a triumphant exhibition of all the arts of peace, in the midst of a war, by which Russian policy has been subordina-

ted to the regulations of a European Congress, and the long closed gates of the Orient opened to western influence and commerce; to a diplomacy which has converted an ancient enemy into a friend, the deeds of whose allied armies on the heights of the Crimea bring to mind those other days when on the plains of Syria, the same banner waived over the young Philippe Augustus and the lion-hearted Plantagenet; to France, not as she was forty years ago, crouching humiliatingly before hostile armies encamped around her capital, and bankrupt in resources, but as she is to-day, with six hundred thousand soldiers under arms, in the enjoyment of internal repose, and marching at the head of European States, in friendly alliance with most of them, and in peace with all.

Thus, the dynasty founded by the first Emperor, amid the storms of the Revolution, and in spite of the leagued armies of Europe, for which he himself was exiled to Helena, and Napoleon II., the baby Emperor for an hour, doomed to pine away a tame existence, an Austrian subject in the castle of Shoenbrunn, after being proscribed and annulled on the oath of the crowned sovereigns, again presents itself in the person of Napoleon III., to use his own brief words, spoken over the cradle of the Imperial infant, "as if Heaven had wished to mature it by martyrdom," consolidated at home and supported abroad by those same Powers which waged war for more than ten years to destroy it, root and branch. It presents itself not as a Government accidental and provisional, originating in a chance crisis to meet an exigency and resting upon a suspensive or shifting basis, but to be maintained and perpetuated on account of its legitimate origin, its logical conformity to principle and clear adaptiveness to society. Such are the pretensions of the Napoleon dynasty, and there is a vast deal more of truth underlying them than a slight glance would discover.

If we briefly survey the history of France, and carefully analyze its leading facts, we shall easily trace the rise and complete development of certain principles, which will not only explain the causes of the reappearance of this phenominal type of Government, but will also show how utterly inconsistent any other would be with the existent form of society.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, and during the night of the dark ages, there existed in the bosom of anarchy and chaos the seeds of modern civilization, dim and feeble congeries, that in coming time were to expand into circling constellations. Amid the wreck of old systems and of old general ideas were to be found in scattered parcels the germs of government. The Feudal chiefs isolated on their vast domains,

and surrounded by dependent retainers, cherished and represented the principle of personal individuality, they were free, brave, and chivalric; the free cities with chartered rights, the principle of municiple liberty and commercial reciprocity; the Luzerain claiming homage and slight tribute, the principle of central authority—the nascent idea of the organized state; the hierarchical church religion and learning. These four systems, though closely interwoven, were yet antagonistic. The Barons, agitated by mutual jealousies, leading to incessant strife and warfare, after many ineffectual struggles, succumbed at last to the central power. The weaker of them took refuge from the aggressive spirit of their more powerful neighbors, under the arm of the royal Luzerain, and subjecting themselves to his influence and authority, united in breaking down the order of which they formed a part. The free cities valuing present gain and ease more than permanent, yet often threatened liberty, sought security in the same source against the constant encroachments of lawless chiefs and the exactions of marauding strangers. The Luzerain taking advantage of the errors and weaknesses of the Barons and cities, wielded adroitly his slender means, and profiting by a central capital and singleness of purpose, began to enlarge the sphere and strengthen the basis of his power. The wars of the last crusades, and the universal insecurity of life and property, combining with the warlike dispositions of the early kings, concentrated in their hands the general interests, beside many of the privileges of all orders. They commenced to exercise, though in a very limited degree and not without difficulty, yet more and more the functions of organized government. Under the Valois, as early as the fifteenth century, a monarchy arose with unity, strength, and vigor. It levied taxes, raised armies, established a systematic police, and administered justice. The long and bloody wars with England developed the principle of nationality, and the sentiment of patriotism. Charles VII. by force, and Louis XI. by cunning, undermined and destroyed the strongest barriers against the growth and expansion of the central authority. Notwithstanding some exceptional irregularities, the monarchy became complete, and France at once national, orderly, and compact.

But the causes that consolidated the monarchy, stimulated the growth of the principle of centralization. No longer content with enacting general laws and supervising the general interests, it usurped local authority and destroyed local rights. By means of vast wealth, a disciplined army and a trained police, it annihilated all opposition, broke down all local privileges, and gradually drew within itself the entire political vitality of the state. The Provinces were bound together, by

outward pressure, without any bills of union like those which have saved the English Empire from wreck, or any reserved rights battled for and retained, such as those which constitute not only the palladium of American liberty, but the surest guarantees for the preservation of the American Union. Les Etats Generaux instead of representing well-defined rights, was but the plaything of the King, and Les Etats Provineaux succumbed, without resistance, to the universal absorption. The old nobility, on account of their selfish exclusiveness, having already degenerated into an isolated caste, could make only a divided stand against encroachments on their political rights. There is no Runnemede, with its Magna Charta, in the heroic annals of French chivalry. Richelieu and Mazarin smote it down, already stricken with decay. Beside the Throne, from an insignificant origin, had grown up into startling proportions, the power of Le Consiel du roi, which exercised at the same time all the legislative, judicial, and executive functions of an absolute Government. Its agents were established in every province, and regulated the financial, industrial, and political interests of all classes. Le Controleur General, and les subdéléqués, under the authority of the Conseil du roi, which, in turn, was appointed and controlled by the King, in spite of the local forms still existing, did in reality govern France completely and arbitrarily. Provincial Parliaments, Governors, and Corporations, witnessed without a murmur, their decisions reversed, and finally their authority supplanted. Centralization obtained the supremacy, and the last vestage of municipal rights and local freedom perished in the grasp of Louis XIV. He dismissed the Parliament of Paris fonet à la main. He and France were one.

The Revolution of 1793, in the establishment of universal civil equality, still further developed this principle. Not only were the social inequalities of the aristocracy which had long since become a political nihility destroyed, but the monarchy itself, with all the privileges it had selfishly fostered, shared a like fate, and the government and the people brought face to face. Yet, throughout that contest, although every principle of order, social and political, was thrown into confusion, centralization alone, invigorated, ruled supreme over the Convention and Assembly, over the clubs and guillotine. The aspect of all things was altered, but society continued to move in the same channel.

While the power that guided it assumed a new name under each successive phase of the famous tragedy, the wheel never ceased to move on the same unshaken axis. Though the King was no more, Paris survived, and Paris and France were one.

The principle of centralization adopted by the revolution

accelerated the work of abolishing privilege, and establish the principle of universal political equality. Napoleon, by his continual wars, intensified the former, and in the desire to found a popular dynasty removed every obstacle in the way of the latter principle. The code Napoleon embodied both. Action and reaction confirmed and strengthened the union. France was become democratic and despotic. The vox populi was the word of the Emperor. The monarchy had developed the principle of centralization, the revolution inaugurated the principle of equality. They were wedded in the dynasty of Napoleon.

Such was the development of two principles, that by their origin and nature have much regulated the construction, the tastes, the very shape and growth of French society. They constitute not so much the mould by which it has been fashioned as the vital power that entered into its inner life and determined the essence and character of its being. Subsequent events will demonstrate their vigor, vitality, and mastery.

The old legitimacy returning from more than twenty years of banishment with the armies of England and all Europe, succeeded in the overthrow of the new dynasty, and gathering up the shattered remains of the ancient règime, formed a system by which it appeared again securely if not permanently lodged on the throne. France wearied of revolution and war, was once more to return into the paths of peace and prosperity. She was not only to renounce, but to lament the work of the revolution, and a chapel of expiation was erected over the graves of the unfortunate King Louis XVI. and the Queenly-hearted Marie Antoinette. The storm-tossed ship had reached its haven, and was never again to venture on the high seas. But the inexorable law of cause and effect, though ignored, could not be annulled. This system was based upon the negation of equality, and the modification of the principle of centralization. The latter principle was fully recognized, but in the organization of the government, the depositaries of power were increased and subjected to constitutional limitations. The King, Chamber of Peers, and Legislative Assembly, the different departments of government together represented the same centralized power, which under the empire, had found expression in a single head. Instead of one, several hands were to wield it. De Villile, de Corbiere, and de Bronald in vain demanded the freedom of the departments. The central authority, though not diminished, became clogged in its operations by formalities and enfeebled in any attempts at direct movements by division. The absence of unity was the cause of inherent weakness and in assuming a position above popular support, and independent of popular favor, it became self-reliant and imperious, without real strength. It preserved a blind antago-

nism to the results of the revolution. The proscription of equality in a state exhausted by war and bent on quiet was not difficult, but the task of supporting artificial distinctions could be performed only on condition that it should remain inactive. Delighted with the flattering illusions that presented themselves on every side, and mistaking present repose for natural order, no effort was made to conceal the nature, and no energy was lacking to accomplish the designs of the government. Scarcely, however, had the generation that had participated in the disasters, and borne the burdens of the revolution passed away, before symptoms of uneasiness and discontent were manifested. Things began to appear no longer as they seemed, but as they really were. Parties arose, the dividing lines were drawn, and the struggle commenced in earnest. An immense reaction took place. The monarchy, unwilling to acknowledge its claims, was powerless to check its encroachments, and the democracy gaining strength at every advance, and not wanting audacity, broke out in open revolt, and in the conflict overturned the government that despised it. In vain were the thousand years and more of glory it had conferred on France recalled; in vain was the sacred principle of divine right appealed to, and the horrors of another revolution foretold. The ancient règime found its last representative, and France her last King of the ancient style, by divine right, in Charles X. The popular element introduced by the revolution finally triumphed over an order of things in which its existence was denied, and broke the shackles which the ruling cast, with insufficient force, attempted to place upon it. The old règime proved itself inadequate to direct the agencies of the newly made society, freed from old restraints and fired with the vitality and enthusiasm of modern ideas. Divided in the exercise of authority, and resting upon an artificial foundation in the imperious attempt to govern arbitrarily, it was pretentious without power, and aroused without being able to crush opposition. The son of Philip Egalité Louis Philip, endowed by nature with good common sense, and educated in the school of adversity, took advantage of the popular movement, and styling himself King of the French people, essayed to organize a monarchy that should conform to the dimensions and necessities of modern society. This system rested upon a modification of both principles. Acknowledging the elective franchise as its basis, independent influences arose, that it had to consult, and that more or less directed its movements; and allowing freedom of the press it subjected itself to a discussion and criticism, which exposed its operations to the approval or condemnation of public opinion. It looked, therefore, for support outside of itself. It was to be popular enough to sustain itself without wielding the

central forces with the bold and unquestioned sweep of the empire; more moderate than its predecessor, it imagined there was less need of strength, and what it lacked of firmness it was to gain by friendship with the liberals.

It aspired to a compromise and based itself on the balanced interests of all parties and all classes. The central authorities were more shrinkingly exercised, and the claims of the democracy both more timidly denied and more generally allowed. By neutralizing two opposite principles it was to maintain itself and accomplish the ends of good government; under this system of checks and counterchecks, society became marvelously free. Its movements were characterized by an enthusiasm, vanity, and life, that had never before been reconciled with order. The problem appeared to be solved, and genuine liberty attained. While Guizot discussed and Thiers refined, the orators of the opposition thundered from the tribune. Works of reform and improvement were the order of the day. The democracy existing under a central form of administration and yet partially freed from its restraints, knew no bounds to its schemes of amelioration and progress. The fountains of abstract truth were opened and flowed in torrents over the unbroken plains of French society. The press teamed with plans and ideals; and religion and literature joined in the attempt to raise mankind above the actual, to the height of theories, which recognize only those principles that make man but "a little lower than the angels," and forgetful of the fall of Adam, would restore upon earth the properties of Paradise. Equality had broken down those barriers against speculation and lawlessness which still exist on the aristocratic declivities of English society, and centralization had absorbed all those local forms and processes which, in America, impede haste, thwart abstraction, and by delay insure wise judgments, thus rending the liberty of the individual consistent with the security of society. Unchecked by these influences, the democracy was indeed moving on in all its impetuosity towards experiments and exercises which are the unmistakeable symptoms of approaching anarchy, sharp intrigues, pointed ridicule, ready complaint, desire for change, and a longing after higher forms of government were the first manifestations of the democracy which was soon to fall into boisterous clamors, violent outbreaks, and at last into organized and fearful rebellion against the monarchy that had sought its destruction while courting its favor. The government could make no show of opposition and at the very first alarm fell without a struggle. The very influences on which it relied for support were turned against it. The wave on which the King came into power, bore him far beyond his latitude and longitude, and the storm that gathered around

him he had neither the skill to direct, nor the courage to oppose. In giving up an energetic exercise of the central power, he delivered himself to exile, and society to anarchy. In ceasing to be Roi des barricades, he was unable to remain King of the French people.

Never, in the history of the world, had the principle of equality taken so deep and firm a place in the feelings of any people, and never was so much sacrificed to found it on an imperishable basis, and to give to it an unquestioned mastery and universal application. How many novel theories its higher logicians introduced into political science, and what strange elements were brought to mingle in political discussions.

The idea of equality in the enjoyment of civil rights so indestructibly planted in the minds and hearts of the nation, begot the desire for equality in political rights also, and hence grew up the republican party; but finally, under a rigid deduction and equalization of all the rights it is the fortune of mankind to enjoy, and of all the duties they are called upon to perform, was emphatically demanded; and hence arose communism and socialism. If men were created equal, and are members of one common family, why limit that equality to civil and political rights; why should not all property, honors, conditions of existence be equally and fairly distributed? Just so far forth as clothing, shelter, food, and physical comforts are more important to mankind than the possession of political rights, in this degree are the claims of equality with regard to the former more imperative than any questions respecting the latter. Hence the denial of perfect, entire, absolute equality is as obnoxious to socialism as the violation of political and civil rights is to republicanism. If to suppress freedom of speech and the elective franchise is despotic and tyrannical in the view of the latter, the unequal distribution and possession of wealth is robbery in the light of the former. Such was the extraordinary development of this idea, and its offsprings socialism and republicanism are as inimical as freedom and despotism. All these elements of equality united in the overthrow of the aristocratic dynasties of the elder and younger branch of the ancient monarchy; and having completed the destruction of traditional inequality under all its forms, began a more terrible struggle among themselves for the supremacy.

The republican, General Cavaignac, under the sanction of the Provisional Government, seized the reins of dictatorial power, and by powder, ball, and cannon, after several days' carnage, drove the infuriated masses from their street ramparts; while Lamartine, by his tender and persuasive eloquence, soothed the fierce passions of those who were willing to listen

to reason before beginning the work of aimless revolution. Order having been restored, preparations were made for the establishment of a republic; the most liberal form of government was to be joined to a despotic form of administration. This system was based upon the acknowledgment of both principles. The republic was to be despotic, and at the same time democratic. The principle of centralization and the principle of equality united, were to produce the result of genuine, civil, and political liberty. By the constitution, it was out of the legal power of the President to control the Assembly, and of the Assemby to control the President, while the administration and military forces were centered in the hands of the latter. Residing in a centralized capital, the center of social and intellectual life, holding in his hands the focus of a system of administration, from which in every direction, and through every channel radiate the wires of political action, plying the provincial agents as the mere puppets of his will, and directing the police of the nation, with an army habitually looking to him as the despository of its chief command as well as the only source of favor, the President, so far from being a simple executive officer, became a positive, active, and predominant power in the State. To pretend to permanence and force to guard the securities of life, property, and the conservative interests of the citizens, to stand for a moment against the enemies of order, authority was conferred upon him, which in consequence of the peculiar confirmation of society, destroyed the equilibrium of the Government, brought its different departments into clashing action, and rendered the subordination of one to the other unavoidable. Representing the principle of centralization, and clothed with its sovereign authorities, he was placed in direct antagonism with the Assembly which represented the equality of the people, which, without such representation, was not the less potent and pronounced. If the President should break down the legislature, no obstacle remained, no provincial liberties stood between him and the dictatorship; and if the Assembly could remove the President and usurp his office, it would be supreme, and might govern as it willed. Each was in the way of the other, and both in constant contact. The President saw only in the legislature even while in the exercise of its lawful functions, legalized anarchy, and in its slightest threats and encroachments, the sure approach of revolutionary misrule, while the legislature found him, exercising in point of fact, powers that continually menaced its own existence, and saw only in his movements indications of tyranny. Such was the real condition of affairs when Louis Napoleon, as one might have augured, closed the Hall of the Assembly, arrested its members, and

leaped into the vacant throne. Centralization had placed the power in his grasp, and though devoid of the legal right, in the turn of a hand, by a single coup d'etat, he was able to destroy the republic. Those who look only at the material prosperity of the moment will regard this act as a bold and heroic step to rescure society from the perils of anarchy, and upon this ground justify and applaud him as the savior of France; those who value only the progress of ideas will look upon it as the selfish move of a cunning despot, and condemn him as a crowned cut-throat; others again will see it absolutely in neither of these aspects. However much one or the other may have contributed to it, they will discover the causes of the failure of the republic in neither the legislature nor the President, but in society itself. They will see in the boisterous turbulence, excited suspicions, and awkward menaces of the former, the national consequences of a representations, not of the liberties of the department and towns, not of local rights lodged in established institutions, but of certain abstract principles, embodied in an artificial constitution, which decreed freedom to the nation, and at the same time retained that very system of administration that rendered it incapable of enjoying it; and they will see nothing else in the bold usurpation of the latter than the true expression of the central power. The Assembly, in the attempt to impeach the President, was acting out its appointed part; and the President, in breaking down the Assembly, was but marching from accepted premises to legitimate conclusions. The question of moral right and wrong we do not discuss. If it be true that the State was in danger of anarchy, Louis Napoleon, as a patriot, was bound to dethrone anarchy and assume the reins of government; if not, though guilty of a wrong to his country, and age immeasurable in its wickedness, his easy success furnishes evidence of the existence of radical defects in society. What we have to do is rather with the causes that produced the crisis, the institutions that afforded the opportunity, and the principles that not only abide the result but strengthen its force. If the President of the United States, or Governor of a State should ridicuously attempt, and accidentally succeed in closing the legislative department of the Government, how far would he yet be from having crushed the liberties of the people? or, if a King of Great Britain, blinded for an instant by the insignia of regal power, should close Parliament to usurp its authority, how soon would not an indignant people drive him from the throne and wreak their vengeance on his head?

In either case, what wide spread fears and disorders, what organic convulsions, and what determined struggles would not have marked the issue, and to what depths would not the

passions of the panic-stricken communities have been aroused, and to what heights would they not have mounted? In France, on the contrary, the act that silenced the Assembly and destroyed the republic, was hailed and sanctioned in the capital, and throughout all the departments, as a timely measure, bracing up the tottering safeguards of private credit and public security, ensuring confidence to commerce, agriculture, and mechanical industry, quiet to city streets, and peace to family firesides.

It is the sole prerogative of paper constitutions to define not to create rights, and though the liberty of the people may be proclaimed a thousand times, it can only be maintained when they have once gained and afterwards closely secured it in local institutions. The latter may even exists without the former, but the converse of the proposition is not true. We witness in the career of the English people, the example of a nation without a written constitution, arriving at almost unparelleled greatness, and to the enjoyment of more civil and political freedom than any other on the earth, with the single exception of the United States. We seek in vain who was the author of the British constitution. What philosopher, what statesman, what poet hit upon the plan? By what hands, in what assembly, under what Plantagenet, Tudor, or Stuart was the gigantic instrument framed and adopted? The truth is, forms of government do not equal the conception of the state. Neither kings by legitimacy nor kings by election, neither the ephemeral idols of the mob, nor military chieftains, nor chosen presidents represent or comprise the idea. It little matters what expression may be given to the supreme authority, whether monarchy, republic, or empire, they will prove but its perishing types as long as corresponding changes are not effected in the forms of administration and the principles of society. To transfer the government of one nation to another totally different, as from Russia to the United States, or vice versa, is not more rash than to carve out a system from abstract theories and persuade or enforce its application. The history of France for the last fifty years, consisting of revolutions in forms of government, furnishes a striking instance of the futility of all efforts to accomplish internal reforms by external appliances, to change the principles of society from the outside, to give stability to systems however elaborately contrived and however much favored by circumstances at variance with its true nature. The monarchy, by Divine right, the monarchy by expediency, the romantic republic, notwithstanding the powerful extraneous and domestic influences that sustained them; in spite of long cherished traditions, of foreign arms and foreign diplomacy, of desire for repose and dread of rev-

olution, of unshaken devotion and bright martyrdom, were swept away like card castles, and society, so great were the obstacles, as if performing a political miracle, asserted and assumed the empire. After many struggles and painful convulsions, it reached again the system wrought out by the grand revolution and apparently in just conformity to itself. Centralization, absorbing municipal institutions and local freedom has a direct tendency to establish despotic power on the one hand and political equality on the other. The tendency of democracy is likewise to do away with inequalities of condition and all the gradations of power; it seeks simplicity in the construction of government and uniformity and despatch in legislation. Parliments, courts, royalty, the routinal and illogical forms of constitutional monarchies; a restricted executive, courts, senates, the purifying yet tardy influence of local meetings, the complex processes of republics are broken to atoms by the thousand limbed democracy, impatient of restraint and unversed in true liberty. Thus apart these two principles seek each other, and together they afford mutual strength and support. The one is most fully developed and faithfully pictured in the military règime, and in the state represents order in its most rigid forms; the other, when not tied down by just laws, under the protection of local institutions and illumined by intelligence and morality, is the fruitful source of licentiousness and anarchy. The former takes away those very conditions, municipal institutions, which form the only reliable basis of liberal governments and render the latter not only consistent with their stability, but jealously guard it as an essential element and the crowning glory of their excellence. Under a centralized form of administration, society is compelled to renounce liberty for the sake of order; to avoid lawlessness and confusion, it is obliged to seek the protection and to suffer the evils of arbitrary power. The centripetal is necessary to preserve the harmonious movement of the centrifugal forces. The Napoleonic dynasty, based upon the popular will, and yet bearing a crowned head and an iron hand, acknowledges the supremacy of these two principles, and invokes one and the other as the foundation at the same time of its strength and its popularity. Hence they naturally form the empire as the only logical expression of French society.

Although the origin of this Government is popular, its powers are absolute and its reign arbitrary. Acknowledging the elective franchise as its basis, and the will of the people as the only source of authority, every manifestation of opposition is repressed, and every organ, for the expression of opinion, silenced, and thus, in the name of all, the liberties of each and every citizen are destroyed. Ceasing to be the instrument of society

it becomes its irresponsible master, and controls, supervises, cares for the citizen, down to the most trifling details. The agent assumes the place of the principal, the creature usurps the rights of the creator. Its own security and perfection are made the object to which all else is sacrificed in violation of the obvious truth, that political institutions exist and are valuable only as the indispensible means, the subordinate instruments, for the advancement and happiness of mankind. Hence its inherent evils are no less palpable than the passing benefits it may confer. It introduces order, regularity, and uniformity into society, and accomplishes its objects with a swiftness and brilliancy unknown to more complex systems. Diplomacy, foreign wars, internal improvements, whether for utility or embellishment, yielding to the guidance of a single hand, may be conducted with more unity, higher skill, greater combined energy, and less halting indecision than under the representative form. Justice is administered with more speed but perhaps less fairness, and the fine arts, under the lavish prodigality of the court, may receive higher culture and more liberal support; and although popular education and literature are confined within a narrow circle, the physical sciences and abstruse learning in general, may be fostered with generous care. In all schemes of amelioration, however, the safety and convenience of the government are consulted rather than the interests of the people. In the banishment of personal independence, of political individuality, of freedom of thought and speech, by limiting the bounds of liberty to national development, and crushing all spontaneous action, patriotism is confounded with allegiance, enterprise and energy become enervated, public spirit is exiled, all greatness of soul, all love of knowledge and faith in the dignity and sublimity of man's destiny are replaced by a spirit of materialism, of cringing servility and passive obedience. The varying precision and uniformity, pushed to the furthest extreme, and descending to the smallest details, curb the original growth and check the expansion of the natural forces of the state, and ultimately the sources of strength become sources of weakness. The brilliant hue that administrative excellence casts over the external affairs of the nation conceals the disease and decay introduced upon its vitals interests within.

This form of government possesses the elements of permanency while the fortune of the individual rulers may be subject to frequent reverses. Centralization renders a republic impossible, and democratic equality can make no compromise with the monarchy of which it is the determined foe. So long, therefore, as municipal institutions and local rights are annulled, no permanent alteration can be made, and every

temporary change effected by sudden violence, will be followed by a speedy and terrible reaction. Individual rulers may become unpopular, the hand that holds the sceptre may be struck down, but the sceptre will not disappear. The throne, though unoccupied, will survive the fortunes of the personal occupants and become the seat of him who has the courage and ability to wield the central power. The Napoleons may be exiled, their dynasty become a thing of history, others will arise, the Empire must remain—the true image of the supreme authority indestructible and imperishable until reforms in the internal organization are effected. The causes that created will continue to preserve the Empire, and until they are removed, assassinations, revolts, and revolutions, will in vain transpire. The same relentless destiny will brood over France, foiling her noblest efforts at deliverance. The same right will hang its dark draperies around her, no matter what constellations may rule the hour, what names may guide her destinies.

The greatest danger possible from this form of administration, hardly to be apprehended in extended and agricultural States, is, that in consequence of the power lodged in the ruler and the immense predominance given to the cause of order, the civil and moral interests of society will become so materially depressed, the public mind and energies so enervated, that the government may degenerate into a pure military despotism, and the highest office falling within the gift of a corrupt overbearing soldiery, may become the prize of reckless and ambitious adventurers. Hence arise these lamentable revolutions that involve no principles and destroy without creating anew, begetting civil strife and dissension, which are the most frequent and melancholy causes of the decay of states.

History furnishes no examples so perfect of centralized and localized forms of government, as in the instance of ancient Lacedemonia and Athica, and none in which the results of the two systems are placed in so just and striking a contrast. Under the system of the former country, society was kept in perpetual pupilage, not only as regards its public political interests, but the laws of state penetrated even the privacy of domestic life, and supplanting the rights and authority of the parent, directed the education and training of their offspring. Every man, woman, and child became the mere machines of government, units as it were of an overshadowing whole, and were obliged to assume the tastes, sentiments, and occupations, assigned by it; the attributes of the state were deified, and political idolatry overspread the land.

A blind worship of the enacted law, and a servile abnegation of self, marked the unvaried life of the citizen and ren-

dered him incapable of aspirations above obedience to authority; and thus, though Sparta has presented to the world sublime spectacles of the devotion of her sons, resting upon instinctive patriotism, and sustained by heroic valor, a sentiment shared by the untutored savage in common with the civilized man, we seek in vain, through the sterile pages of her history, for the exhibition of any of these higher characteristics that distinguish and result from civilized society. In Athica, on the contrary, slaveholding and democratic, every freeman was a power in the state, a recognized legislator, not only privileged, but by the force of opinion, compelled to exercise his just influence on public affairs. The public business was regarded as every man's business; and he who from that pride and exclusiveness which the possession of wealth in free nations engenders, or from that indifference which the earnest pursuit of private interests begets, withdrew from the responsibilities of public matters, from the noisy contests of the democracy, and abandoned the affairs of his country to the idle, the vicious, and the vulgar, was stigmatized as an *idios*, which word at first signified one who attended exclusively to his own personal interests, but afterwards on account of the gravity and folly of neglecting public duties, came to mean an idiot, to designate a citizen who was a downright fool. Any Athenian who despised politics, and refused to contribute whatever dignity and wisdom his character and education enabled him, to the laws of his country, and who was so rash as to imagine that his liberties would remain secure, though deserted, bore the opprobrium of being not a bad man, but an *idios*—a man wanting sense—an idiot—an epithet which shows the discriminating justice of the Grecian mind. Under this system we witness the development of every grace and every greatness that elevate, adorn, and inspire mankind. Athens is a charmed word, not only to the scholar, but to every man with intelligence to perceive and heart to appreciate excellence in human virtue, or greatness and splendor in the varied and exalted achievements of the human mind. Her soil gave birth to those crowned kings of thought, who, for more than two thousand years, have swayed the sceptre over the understanding and passions of mankind, and who, when the Parthenon and Acropolis, the last relics of her artistic genius, shall have crumbled into dust, will still survive in all their original power and beauty, in the affections and homage of endless generations.

On the one hand, there is the simple sentiment of courage in the midst of a wide waste without any signs of life or vitality, and the fame of the battle-fields and heroes, shines with a lustre increased by the surrounding obscurity; on the other,

there is history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, and art, which hallo and consecrate the land that gave them birth. The only legacy left by the former is the fearful warning contained in the example she furnished of a system of government, that so far from fostering human improvement, cursed its very soil with eternal barrenness; the priceless heritage the world has received from the latter, has given to modern literature and art their finest forms, and to philosophical and political science their grandest truths.

Venice, also, under a central oligarchy, in her three hundred years of Duay existence, did not accomplish a single fact, and scarcely left a single name that can be looked upon with satisfaction and reverence; and if we turn to the eastern world, we behold those immense populations to whom nature, in vain, holds out the bounteous prodigality of her riches, and surrounds with all her loveliest accidents and sublimest works, dwelling in the midst of vast moral and intellectual deserts, ending where they begin, and passing like bound captives from birth to death, within the narrow circle of a paralyzing and remorseless centralization.

In the infancy of the human race, the patriarchical form may have had its advantages, but whenever it has been borne beyond the family and applied to organized nations; if in their youth they have never risen into power and greatness; if already mature, the have begun to decline; and if in decay, they have sacrificed the last hope of resuscitation. Even Rome, notwithstanding her admirable system of municipal institutions, when honesty and virtue ceased to sway her councils, and the pillars of her greatness were shaken upon their deep foundations, when the golden age of the traitor, the coward, and the slave, began to dawn on her everlasting summits, sought a refuge in the energetic and arbitrary rule of a single will, fell into the encircling folds of centralization, and perished like Lemale in the terrible embrace of the lightning-clad Jove.

And now, in our own age, France having for the sake of equality, overthrown the ancient monarchy, assumes this same form of administration in all its vigor under the Imperial rule, and notwithstanding the patriotic disposition assigned Napoleon III. and the apparent prosperity of affairs, when closely scrutinized there will be discovered, the premonitory symptoms, if not the actual presence of the evils that may result from a continuance of the system.

Under Louis Philippe were initiated those schemes of internal improvements which are being completed with imperial eclat at the present time, the army which won so many laurels in the Crimea, was organized and disciplined under the same mild administration, and whatever of general intelligence and

intellectual cultivation exists, must be attributed in a large measure to the liberty enjoyed, and the impetus given to popular education under that sagacious Prince. The empire reaps a harvest sown by other hands, and by means of skillful diplomacy gives to France that predominance on the continent due her geographical position and internal power, while at the same time its tendencies are to exhaust the resources of the people. The national debt is swelling to an unprecedented magnitude, and the annual budget outstrips by millions the revenue; the taxes, both direct and indirect have been vastly increased and press heavily on every branch of industry; the fund set aside for popular education, has been otherwise appropriated, and the national forests are levelled to raise means to throw a veil of splendor over the Napoleonic dynasty. Under the influence of an extravagant court, the love of luxury and display, creating an unexampled state of feverish speculation and financial gambling, indicates the approach of that feebleness of spirit which prefers "bondage with ease to strenuous liberty," favored by government the jesuits have returned, and freely disseminate their pernicious doctrines, while the independent press is silenced, teachers of political economy dismissed their chairs, and the highest intellects of the nation languish in disfavor at home or in exile abroad. Thiers, Michalet, Mignet, Villemain, Cousin, Mountalembert are limited to the consideration of topics, not disagreeable to the government, while Lamartine, the romantic philosopher and poetic statesman, from the midst of his isolated toil for subsistence, in bitter anguish and disappointment, exclaims "mankind are incapable of progress." The venerable Guizot in the shades of retirement turns to England for subjects to engage his vast and piercing intellect, and in tracing the career of his friend Sir Robert Peel, utters the melancholy regret, that he had not like him "perished in his prime." Victor Hugo casts over the sorrows of exile the mild radiance of party, and Louis Blanc, no longer dreaming of human perfectibility, busies his pen in historic lore. The academy, the last refuge of intellectual liberty, is filled with dispair so deep and profound that it colors even its literary festivals. The Duke des Broglie, in his recent inaugural address, likens himself, having occupied the highest posts of his country, to the Roman Leberus, who, after reaching the throne of the Cæsars, at the moment of his death, feeling the utter vanity of human improvement, exclaims, *omnia fui et nihil expedit;* but as if catching hope from the midst of dispair, turns again, and in the same breath, and with a fine voice cries out, "laboremus."

The parallelism, though pointedly significant, is not complete. Discouraging as these facts may be, and pregnant as

they are with solemn warnings, we are far from believing that France has begun her decadence, and that under a long line of emperors she is to close the final chapters of her eventful history. The agents of modern progress are so elastic and multiplied, the elements of christian civilization so subtle, vital, and harmonizing, and the great masses of the people have been raised comparatively to so exalted a position that the ruling power, if it do not sympathize with it, is compelled to yield to the ceaseless movement and progressive development of ideas. Commerce, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and general opinion, finding publicity in spite of prohibition, combats the tendencies of unrestricted power, and brace society against its petrifying influences. In no nation is the literature and intellect so universal in its bearings against restrictions on the the rights of the people, so little conservative, and so direct and unyielding in its opposition to every kind of arbitrary authority. Not only writers on political science and philosophy, but poets and novelists devote their talent and genius in favor of the freest systems of thought, the most liberal forms of government, and to the largest and fullest development of the individual man. And if their influence in the 18th century was as potent as it has been described, and lead so unmistakably to the grand revolution, surely in an age so entirely in harmony with their views, when their number has vastly increased, and the means of reaching the people multiplied, their power cannot be less pronounced and efficacious. The peculiar character of this people unfits them to continue long the subjects of an absolute government. If they were tame and docile, or indifferent and desponding by nature, we might not look for any alleviation, but it is difficult to reconcile with voluntary or slavish submission to political servitude—that clear perception of principles, that obstinate perseverance, that wealth of enthusiasm and action, and that unshaken horoism, which sustained and led them, for the sake of equality, through the perils and horrors of three revolutions in less than half a century, and when opposed by the crowned heads of Europe, bore their flag triumphant to the ramparts of every capital from Madrid to Moscow. Having expended so much treasure and blood to establish political equality, and thus having laid the broad foundations, they certainly have not so exhausted their resources as to be incapable of creating the edifice of their public liberties. All that may be desired cannot be accomplished at once, and nations as well as individuals are compelled to adopt expedients as temporary necessities, and to await the season when new efforts may be put forth with greater chances of success. Nor is it sufficient that the evils of a system are seen; they must be felt before nations are willing to venture upon

their destruction. As yet, those that grow out of Imperial centralization are visible only within the circle of political reflection and individual observation, but when passing from the domain of theoretical discussion, they shall have descended among the great masses of the people, when they shall have become larger, deeper, and more aggravated, and borne their bitter fruits, then we may look for one of those popular explosions which avenge the people's wrongs and establish political rights. "Laboremus" was the parting exhortation of the aged minister of Louis Philippe, and indicates that the spirit of the ancient Gaulois is not yet extinct, and under its direction we believe that the century that gave it birth shall witness the overthrow of the Napoleonic dynasty, and the establishment of constitutional freedom. Our dispair can never rise to the height of our confidence and hope in the men and civilization of our times. But, however, the question may be decided, the result will add another to the many instructive lessons which France has given to the world, and which have rendered her by terms an object of the hate, the admiration, the pity, and the dread of mankind.

COTTON TRADE OF THE SOUTHWEST—NEW ORLEANS, 1855–56.

We are indebted for the following to the annual digest of the New Orleans Prices Current, one of the ablest commercial expositors in the world.

The past season has been remarked by several interesting and somewhat peculiar features to which our limited space will allow us to make but brief reference.

The market opened unusually early upon the *new crop*, the receipts being greatly in advance of any previous season, and thus there was afforded scope for operations at an unusually early period. The first receipt of new crop was on the 26th of July, from Mississippi, and up to the 1st of September there had been received 23,282 bales of the new crop; being an amount nearly three times greater than had come to market in the same period in any previous year, and exceeding the receipts to the same time in the big crop year of 1852–'53 in the amount of 18,205 bales. The year opened with a good inquiry, at a range of 8⅝a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling, and soon the demand became unusually active, resulting in sales during the month of 96,000 bales, against receipts of 124,000 bales; being much the largest business ever done in the month of September. At the same time prices were well sustained, notwithstanding the prevalence of high rates of freight, as the certainty of a more ample supply of tonnage led many parties to purchase and hold for a period of cheaper transportation. The bulk of the business was done at a range of 8⅝a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling. At the close of the month, however, the business was checked by the tenor of the European advices, which, instead of reporting an advance on Cotton on the announcement of the taking of Sebastapol by the Allies, brought intelligence of a slight decline at Liverpool, the high prices of money checking any tendency to speculative movements. Under these circumstances, and with continued high rates of freight, prices gave way early in October, and fluctuated during the month between 7⅞a8 and 8⅛a9¼ cents for Low Middling to Middling with reported sales of 151,600 bales. The foreign advices continuing unfavorable, the market, about the middle of November, reached its lowest point, which was 7⅛a7⅞ cents for Low Middling 7⅞a8⅛ cents for Middling, but soon recovered again, under a favorable turn in the Liverpool market, and a decline in the rates of freight. The reported sales of the month were 193,500 bales, and the extreme fluctuations 7⅛a7⅞ and 8⅛a9⅛ cents for Low Middling to

Middling. The month of December opened at 8¼a9⅛ cents extremes for Low Middling to Middling, but under adverse accounts from Europe, caused mainly by the pressure in the money market, and an advance in the rates of freight, prices gave way again, closing at 7⅞a8¼ cents, with reported sales during the month of 244,400 bales. January opened at 7⅞a8¼, and the European advices continued of a rather unfavorable character, but notwithstanding this, with a marked falling off in the receipts (owing to bad roads and falling rivers) and easier rates of freight, the market recovered during the month to 8¼a9 cents. Reported sales 241,400 bales. February was entered upon at a range of 8¼a9 cents for Low Middling to Middling, but under advices of the opening of peace negotiations speculation was excited, and aided in carrying up prices, about the middle of the month, to 8¾a9½ cents. Reported sales of the month 209,000 bales. In March the opening prices were 8⅝a9⅜, with an active demand, which, under the almost certainty of speedy peace, continued through the month, and with lower rates of freight a further slight advance was realized, the extreme quotations at the close, for Low Middling to Middling, being 8¾a9½ cents. The reported sales of the month were 298,500 bales, embracing one week of 85,500 bales; being the largest week's business, by 5,800 bales, ever transacted in this market, and exceeding the receipts of the week in the amount of 32,600 bales. One day's sales, embraced in the week, reached 26,000 bales, which was the largest amount ever sold in one day in this market. Early in April, the rates reached 9a9⅝ for Low Middling to Middling, and continued to move upward, under the influence of reduced freights, advanced changes, favorable European advices and the movements of speculative operators, attaining at the close, to 10¼a10⅝, with some few sales reported at 11 cents for Strict Liverpool Middling. The amount of sales reported during the month was 214,700 bales. At this point of the market, there was quite a general withdrawal of buyers for shipment the rapid appreciation of prices, mainly through speculative movements, having thrown the rates too far beyond their limits. Under these circumstances May opened at 10a10¾ cents for Low Middling to Middling, and closed at 9⅞a10⅜ cents, with reported sales for the month of 131,000 bales. At the opening of June, the stock on sale was reduced to an unusually low point for the period of the season, and consisted mainly of the grades below Middling, while the demand was almost exclusively for *clean* Cotton, ranging from Strict Middling to Good Middling and Middling Fair, which descriptions were very scarce, and generally held above the orders or views of buyers. Under these circumstances, and with continued light receipts, the amount of business rapidly fell off, though what little was done was at farther advanced prices, the market opening at 9⅞a10⅜ for Low Middling to Middling, and closing at 10½a11 cents, with reported sales for the month of 53,400 bales, against the receipts in the same period of only 30,000 bales. And with the month of June the business of the season may be said to have virtually closed, as the stock on sale had become so reduced and prices had so appreciated, that the great majority of buyers had closed their season's operations and taken their departure. The entire sales of July and August barely amounted to 29,000 bales, against receipts of only 15,500 bales, and the prevailing prices were 10a10¼ cents for Low Middling and 10¼a10¾ cents for Middling. The season closes with a stock unsold, in first and second hands, not exceeding 2,500 bales, a part of which is low Cotton of the old crop, which has long been held under limits. The total reported sales during the season sum up 1,862,500 bales, which is about 100,000 bales in excess of the receipts, but probably this excess does not fully indicate the extent of the local speculative movements as occasional sales of considerable magnitude are made which are not allowed to reach the public.

And thus has been disposed of, with a promptitude and rapidity without a parallel, the largest amount of cotton ever received at this port in any one year, and at an average price, too, that must be highly remunerative to the planter, while we are pleased to learn that the general Cotton account-current for the year, between this country and Europe, is likely to present a fair balance on the credit side.

We have already stated that the early receipts of the new crop were unusually abundant, and we now add that they were also of an unusually high average of quality, up to the latter part of September, when the effects of a storm

that had previously occurred were prominently presented in a sudden and remarkable falling off in the character of the receipts, and this change, aided by subsequent unfavorable circumstances, such as severe frosts, &c., has run through the remainder of the season, reducing the general average of the crop below Middling. And thus it has been that for the greater part of the year the supply of Middling to Good Middling descriptions has not been equal to the demand, and for months past the market may almost be said to have been bare of them, as they could only occasionally be met with in limited parcels. Indeed, for the period last mentioned the scarcity has embraced Middling Fair, and several Spanish vessels, which usually take Good Middling to Middling Fair, and which arrived in the latter part of June, are yet here awaiting cargoes, these qualities having been exhausted in the old crop, after reaching the high figures of 11¼a12½ cents per pound, early in July.

We may note as a prominent feature of the season's operations, their more than ordinary speculative character. The probability of continued war, or a restoration of peace, entered largely into the calculation of chances, while a wide diversity in the estimates of crop constituted another element among the incentives to action. And thus it was that many of the accustomed operators were comparatively sparing in their purchases, while other parties, more confident, came forward and operated freely.

The following tables, which show the monthly fluctuations in prices, with the rates of freight to Liverpool, and of Sterling Exchange, will readily indicate the course of the market through the entire season, and by reference to them it will be seen that the extreme fluctuation in Middling Cotton has been 3½ cents per pound, the lowest point being in November, and the highest in April, June, and July, and the average price of all qualities has been about 9 cents per pound, against 9 1-16 cents last year, and 8½ cents the year previous. The average weight of the bales we have ascertained to be 455 pounds, against 444 pounds last year, and 448 the year previous; and the aggregate weight of the portion of the crop received at this port is 800,478,315 pounds.

Table showing the quotations for Middling Cotton on the first of each month, with the Rate of Freight to Liverpool, and Sterling Bills, at same date.

1855–'56.	Middling.	Sterling. Per ct. prem.	Freight. d. per lb.
September	8⅝ *a* 9	8½ *a* 9¼	— *a* ⅛
October	8⅞ *a* 9½	7⅞ *a* 8¼	— *a* ⅛
November	8 *a* 8½	6⅞ *a* 7⅞	— *a* ⅛
December	8⅝ *a* 9½	6⅝ *a* 7⅞	— *a* 9-16
January, 1856	8¼ *a* 8½	6¼ *a* 7⅛	⅛ *a* 11-16
February	8⅛ *a* 9	6 *a* 7½	— *a* ¼
March	9⅛ *a* 9⅝	7¼ *a* 8⅛	— *a* ⅛
April	9⅜ *a* 9⅝	7¼ *a* 8⅛	9-16 *a* ⅝
May	10⅛ *a* 10⅝	8⅛ *a* 9⅛	5-16 *a* 11-32
June	10⅛ *a* 10⅜	9 *a* 9⅛	— *a* 11-32
July	10⅝ *a* 11	9⅛ *a* 9⅜	— *a* ¼
August	10⅛ *a* 10⅝	9 *a* 10	— *a* 7-16

Table showing the highest and lowest point in each month, for Low Middling to Middling Cotton.

1855–'56.	Highest.	Lowest.
September	9 *a* 9⅛	8½ *a* 8⅝
October	8⅝ *a* 9⅛	7⅝ *a* 8
November	8⅛ *a* 9⅛	7⅛ *a* 7⅞
December	8⅛ *a* 9⅛	7⅝ *a* 8⅛
January, 1856	8⅛ *a* 9	7⅝ *a* 8⅛
February	9 *a* 9⅛	8⅛ *a* 8⅝
March	9⅛ *a* 9⅛	8⅛ *a* 8⅝
April	10⅜ *a* 10⅝	9 *a* 9⅛
May	10⅛ *a* 10⅝	9⅛ *a* 10⅛
June	10⅛ *a* 11	9⅛ *a* 10⅛
July	10⅛ *a* 11	10⅛ *a* 10⅝
August	10⅛ *a* 10⅝	10 *a* 10⅛

The total receipts at this port since the 1st September last, *from all sources*, are 1,759,293 bales. This amount includes 65,829 bales received from Mobile, Florida, and Texas *by sea;* and this being deducted, our receipts proper, including 37,031 bales received direct from Montgomery, Wetumpka, &c., are shown to be 1,693,964 bales; being an increase as compared with last year of 445,797 bales, and an excess over 1852–'53 of 89,975 bales. The total exports since the 1st September, are 1,795,023 bales, of which 986,622 bales were shipped to Great Britain, 244,814 to France, 341,487 to the North and South of Europe, and 222,100 to United States ports. The total receipts at *all the Atlantic and Gulf ports*, up to the latest dates received, as shown by our General Cotton Table, are 3,492,658 bales; but the actual crop, when made up to the 1st of September, by the New York Shipping and Commercial List, with the difference of stocks at Augusta and Hamburg, receipts overland, &c., will not be far from 3,520,000 bales; an inc'e of 672,661 bales as compared with the crop of last year.

We have thus shown the distribution of that portion of the crop exported from this port, and will now proceed to give some general statistics connected with the Cotton Trade, which will be of more or less interest to producers, dealers, and consumers.

The following tables, which have explanatory captions, we have compiled from our records, under the impression that they would probably be found interesting to parties engaged in the Cotton Trade:

Seasons.	Receipts at N. Orleans.	Av. price per bale.	Total Value.
1844–45	979,238	$24 00	23,501,712
1845–46	1,053,633	32 00	33,716,256
1846–47	740,669	44 00	32,589,436
1847–48	1,213,805	29 00	35,200,345
1848–49	1,142,382	27 00	30,844,314
1849–50	837,723	50 00	41,886,150
1850–51	995,036	49 00	48,756,764
1851–52	1,429,183	34 00	48,592,222
1852–53	1,664,864	41 00	68,259,424
1853–54	1,440,779	38 00	54,749,602
1854–55	1,284,768	40 00	51,390,720
1855–56	1,759,293	40 00	70,371,720
Total 12 years	14,541,373		$539,858,665

It will be seen by the above table that the Cotton alone sold in this market, within the past twelve years, has yielded a gross product of $539,858,665.

Date of Receipt of First Bale.	Receipts of new crop to September 1.	Total Receipts at New Orleans.	Total crop of the United States.
1844..July 23	5,720	1844–45.. 979,238	2,394,503
1845..July 30	6,846	1845–46..1,053,633	2,100,537
1846..Aug. 7	140	1846–47.. 740,669	1,778,651
1847..Aug. 9	1,089	1847–48..1,213,805	2,347,634
1848..Aug. 5	2,864	1848–49..1,142,382	2,728,596
1849..Aug. 7	477	1849–50.. 837,723	2,096,706
1850..Aug. 11	67	1850–51.. 995,036	2,355,257
1851..July 25	3,155	1851–52..1,429,183	3,015,029
1852..Aug. 2	5,077	1852–53..1,664,864	3,262,882
1853..Aug. 9	74	1853–54..1,440,779	2,930,027
1854..July 25	1,391	1854–55..1,284,768	2,847,339
1855..July 26	23,282	1855–56..1,759,293	3,520,000*
1856..July 15	1,166		*Estimate

As for the coming crop, we adhere to our rule, long since adopted, to avoid estimates, for at this early period of the season the chances for the future are so wrapt in uncertainty, from the various vicissitudes which may arise, that no prescience can penetrate them, nor calculation reach them, with any assurance of approaching a correct result. We may remark, however, from our information and observation, that preparations were made for quite a full crop, and gene-

rally with fair prospects, though the backwardness of the crop as compared with that of last year, which has been asserted for months past, and which is demonstrated by the great difference in receipts, we conceive to be not at all in its favor, as it shortens the time for gathering, and the essential requisite for securing a full yield is a long and favorable picking season. Under no circumstances, however, is the crop likely to exceed the requirements of the trade, and it gives us pleasure to observe that whatever it may be, it has flattering prospects for ready sales, at remunerating prices. In calculations of crop it should be borne in mind that probably in no former year was there so small a proportion of the old crop left in the interior, whereas in the receipts of last year it was estimated that there were included about 150,000 to 200,000 bales of the crop of 1854. Thus the supply of this year will depend almost exclusively upon the year's production. We are gratified to learn that the severe storm of the 10th August, did not extend far into the interior, and that the damage to the crop is not likely to be as serious as was at first apprehended, the principal effect being some delay in the picking operations and injury to the quality of the small portion of the crop that was open.

The first bale of the *new crop* came from the southernmost part of Texas, and was received at the unusually early period of 15th July, but the first bale from the Mississippi Valley was not received until August 6th, which was eleven days later than the first receipt from the same section last year, and the total receipts of new crop up to this date are only 1,166 bales, against 23,282 bales last year, with every motive to send forward early. Of this quantity about 400 bales have been sold, in small lots, generally at a range of 10½@12¼ cents for Low Middling Fair, but these small transactions cannot be taken as a fair opening of the market, and we must await more ample receipts and sales before the position of the market can be indicated.

It may be proper to remark that the quality of the crop received thus far does not compare favorably with the early receipts of last year, being in most instances deficient in staples, color, and cleanness. It should be borne in mind, however, that the receipts thus far are from regions of country that were exposed to the action of the late storm, and are too limited in quantity to be taken as any fair indication of what the general character of the crop may be. It should also be remembered that the crop of last year was remarkable for its excellence, up to the storm of the middle of September.

Mixed Cotton.—The frequent complaints which we hear induce us to call the attention of planters to the existence of an evil which we have often before adverted to, and which loudly calls for a remedy. We allude to the culpable negligence of many whose duty it is to attend to the picking of Cotton, as shown by the frequent discovery of *mixed bales*, viz:—bales found to contain two, three or more qualities and colors. This negligence often leads to vexatious reclamations, and sometimes to expensive law suits, as it frequently happens that the discovery is not made until the Cotton reaches the hands of the manufacturer, at a distant market. But it also frequently happens that the discovery is made here, by drawing samples from different parts of a bale. In such cases the Cotton is thrown back on the factor's hands as *unmerchantable*, and when resold as *mixed* Cotton the factor can seldom obtain more than the market value of the *lowest quality found in the bale.* Besides all this, when the irregular packing is once discovered, as it necessarily must be somewhere and at sometime, it throws discredit upon the planter's crop generally, and thus operates to his disadvantage. It also introduces confusion into a most important branch of the trade, and one that can only be conducted with facility and economy upon the basis of good faith in the honesty and integrity of the planter. These virtues being accorded to him he owes it to himself, to his factor, and to his purchaser to exercise more care and vigilance over those who have his interests in charge. We have adverted to this matter, on frequent occasions, for years past, but thus far, it would seem, without effect; for the evil has increased instead of diminishing, and probably in no former year has so large a proportion of the crop been liable to the objection referred to. At the special request of both factors and purchasers we earnestly call attention to the matter again, and trust that this appeal will awaken some attention, for in reality and truth the evil is a serious one.

COMMERCE OF MOBILE, 1855–'56.

Exports of Cotton to Foreign Ports from Mobile for two years, ending August 31.

Exports to Foreign Ports, &c.	1856. Bales.	Pounds.	Value.	1855. Bales.	Pounds.	Value.
To Great Britain—In Am. vessels..	163639	83180336	$7222334 00	136917	67942252	$5955568
Do. do. British vessels..	188051	96292252	8403352 67	78331	39040032	3240205
Do. do. Bremen vessels.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to Great Britain.....	351690	179472588	15625686 67	215248	106982284	$9195773
To France—In American vessels...	96262	50025332	4293540 00	109690	54674608	$4660043
Do. French vessels.....	.....	.....	.....	1400	709806	56363
Total to France.....	96262	50025332	4293540 00	111090	55384414	$4716406
To Spain—In American vessels	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Do. Spanish vessels.....	5017	2599674	268134 00	3777	1785570	$197245
Total to Spain.....	5017	2599674	268134 00	3777	1785570	$197245
To Russia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
To Holland.....	995	498622	52326 00	2900	1452588	118298
To Belgium.....	9901	5142812	481776 00	2539	1283088	106887
To Hamburgh and Bremen.....	10779	5591076	484625 00	2818	1361556	141142
To Sardinia and Austria.....	3050	1610044	136487 00	1989	955114	85052
To Sweden.....	7381	3789952	323087 00	.....	.....	.....
To Mexico.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to other Foreign Ports....	32066	16632506	1427801 00	10196	5052346	$446379
Grand Total.....	485035	248730100	21614661 67	340811	169204614	$14553803

Comparative view of Foreign and Coastwise Exports of Cotton from the port of Mobile for six years.

Ports.	1855–'6	1854–'5	1853–'4	1852–'3	1851–'2	1850–'1
Liverpool	340,812	213,616	227,417	225,010	296,542	238,762
Bristol and Hull	.....	.....	.....	4,725	3,824	.....
Glasgow and Grenock.....	5,183	.....	3,768	10,313	7,147	8,615
Cowes and a market.....	5,695	1,632	.....	.....	.....	2,741
Belfast.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to Great Britain.....	351,690	215,248	231,185	240,048	307,513	250,118
Havre.....	94,012	109,690	76,786	85,534	91,364	44,049
Rochelle.....	.....	1,400	.....	.....	480	.....
Marseilles	1,946	.....	.....	1,716	2,343	694
Nantz, &c.....	304	.....	.....	574	1,730	902
Total to France.....	96,262	111,090	76,786	87,284	95,917	46,005
Amsterdam and Rotterdam.....	955	2,900	2,960	1,134	2,635	800
Antwerp.....	9,901	2,539	6,087	1,000	4,182	1,203
Hamburg, Bremen, St. Petersb'g	10,779	2,818	3,894	4,758	2,009	1,500
Stockholm, Ghent, &c.....	7,381	.....	1,525	1,556	.....	1,351
Barcelona, &c.....	5,017	3,777	7,858	4,921	5,461	13,892
Vera Cruz, &c.....	.....	.....	635	3,989	102	.....
Genoa, Trieste, &c.....	3,050	1,939	4,433	3,457	8,478	3,896
Other Ports.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,181	3,731
Total to other Foreign Ports.	37,083	13,973	27,392	20,810	27,048	26,373
New York.....	28,492	31,356	35,319	45,396	63,206	27,851
Boston.....	65,307	26,936	43,188	49,187	42,105	32,630
Providence.....	17,672	15,910	23,390	25,133	21,456	5,997
Philadelphia.....	2,975	2,113	5,267	9,768	4,335	2,751
Baltimore.....	4,548	2,922	3,921	2,826	3,276	2,077
New Orleans.....	73,707	32,087	30,758	62,319	37,248	42,524
Other Ports.....	3,885	1,800	2,871	601	.....	250
Total Coastwise.....	196,286	113,124	144,714	195,280	144,626	113,880
Grand Total.....	681,321	453,435	480,077	543,962	575,104	436,376

Recapitulation.

Great Britain	351,690	215,248	231,185	240,048	307,513	250,118
France	96,262	111,090	76,786	87,824	95,917	46,005
Other Foreign Ports	37,083	13,973	27,392	20,810	27,048	26,373
Total Foreign Ports	485,035	340,311	335,363	348,682	430,478	322,495
Total United States Ports	196,286	113,124	144,714	195,280	144,626	113,880
Grand Total	681,321	453,435	480,077	543,962	575,104	436,376

Comparative view of the Imports and Stocks of the following Staple Articles.

Articles.	Imported into the Port of Mobile.					Stocks in hands of dealers Aug. 31.					
	1856-5	1854-5	1853-4	1852-3	1851-2	1856	1855	1854	1853	1852	1851
Bagging.....pcs..	2655	20234	21010	29870	21260	3595	5058	3013	3389	1812	4312
Rope.....coils..	36872	27630	21283	32466	17988	1263	4290	3374	5343	2090	8118
Bacon, sides, sh., hhds..	11379	14140	15520	15841	13488	430	325	454	331	563	649
Hams.....tierces..	2953	3282	.....	.....	.....	86	134	....	....	....	....
Beef.....bbls..	1057	1154	.....	.....	.....	242	167	....	....	....	....
Coffee.....bags..	35255	25162	21190	30721	29027	4164	1196	1476	4925	1295	1020
Cotton—Ala.....bales..	759112	466328	.....	.....	.....	5005	28238	....	....	....	....
Florida, bales.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Texas..bales.....	.....	574	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Flour.....bbls..	51804	43045	61113	75172	86756	2222	1368	1843	1543	998	1939
Do. Alabama, sacks..	4298	760	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Corn—Ala., shell., sks..	50112	11958	174230	105858	100615	2277	5535	7434	9603	1900	12788
Ala., ears, bbls..	19800	10200	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Western, sacks..	32346	78908	.....	.....	.....	....	5539	....	....	....	....
Oats.....sacks..	48297	26986	62913	27173	23652	5972	1824	4677	2546	318	5050
Hay.....bales..	14436	14606	24207	25024	28085	1396	2180	3492	3109	2220	6225
Fodder.....bales..	555	309	.....	.....	.....	9	52	....	....	....	....
Lard.....bbls..	1599	1647	.....	.....	.....	218	175	....	....	....	....
Do.....kegs..	7128	5862	15704	24904	23783	370	552	858	916	608	982
Cheese.....boxes..	8738	5578	.....	.....	.....	30	143	....	....	....	....
Butter.....kegs..	4985	3409	.....	..	..	346	194	....	....	....	....
Candles.....boxes..	2621	4840	12815	.....	.....	....	1365	1530	952	....	....
Cement.....bbls..	5631	3584	.....	.....	.....	1165	1060	....	....	....	....
Lime.....casks..	9668	7746	7508	28127	32109	1217	3155	1550	3145	2175	1650
Staves.....M.....	.....	76600	.....	.....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Molasses.....bbls..	19657	28343	41123	20647	18691	806	845	2155	1802	798	769
Potatoes.....bbls..	20458	9063	21185	25558	24072	43	328	89	137	224	895
Pork.....bbls..	17723	10185	13321	19416	18374	218	193	530	417	515	2087
Rice.....tierces..	2158	1530	2472	1448	1766	146	72	224	85	32	126
Sugar.....hhds..	6667	7017	8691	8313	7198	833	310	605	1015	133	576
Salt.....sacks..	234893	148572	108972	140828	135009	22666	10450	28179	2487	3419	18916
Whiskey.....bbls..	23647	17826	21780	20953	19013	1697	1916	2033	3456	3822	3085
Wheat.....sacks..	9197	3281	.....	.....	.....	340	213	....	....	....	....

ENTRIES AND CLEARANCES OF VESSELS.

Table of Entries and clearances of Vessels at the Port of Mobile, (exclusive of Steamers and other crafts navigating the Rivers and Bay,) for the year ending June 30, 1855.

Denomination.	Entries.			Clearances.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Crew.	Vessels.	Tons.	Crew.
American	130	79,879	2,158	182	122,408	3,164
Foreign	101	92,301	2,650	101	90,809	2,650
Coastwise	703	301,498	11,544	341	98,264	3,193
Total 1855-'6	934	473,678	16,347	624	311,481	9,007
American	65	27,034	847	151	100,750	1,268
Foreign	63	42,798	1,331	66	44,865	3,854
Coastwise	745	293,032	10,978	353	81,241	2,590
Total 1854-'5	873	362,864	13,156	570	226,856	6,972
American	46	28,450	737	105	60,004	1,619
Foreign	91	59,769	1,835	91	59,769	1,840
Coastwise	654	238,445	8,895	280	80,347	2,594
Total 1853-'4	791	421,664	11,487	476	200,120	6,043

THE COTTON CROP OF 1855–'56.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION TO SEPTEMBER 1.

NEW ORLEANS.	BALES.	TOTAL.
Exports—		
To Foreign ports	1,572,923	
Coastwise	222,100	
Burned, &c	1,200	
Stock September 1, 1856	6,995	
		1,803,218
Deduct—		
Rec'd from Mobile, Montgomery, &c	73,573	
Received from Florida	5,186	
Received from Texas	23,601	
Stock September 1, 1855	39,425	141,785
Total, 1856		1,661,433
Total, 1855		1,282,644
ALABAMA.		
Exports—		
To For'n ports f'm Mobile	485,035	
Coastwise, inc. 37,031 bales from Montgomery to N. Orleans, direct	195,622	
Consumed at Mills	1,936	
Stock September 1, 1856	5,005	687,598
Deduct—		
Received from N. Orleans	5	
Stock September 1, 1855	28,519	28,524
Total, 1856		659,074
Total, 1855		454,595
TEXAS.		
Exports—		
To Foreign ports	34,002	
Coastwise	83,515	
Stock September 1, 1856	623	118,140
Deduct—		
Stock September 1, 1855	2,062	2,062
Total, 1856		116,078
Total, 1855		80,737
FLORIDA.		
Exports—		
To Foreign ports, Uplands	35,858	
Coastwise, Uplands	95,150	
Sea Islands	10,900	
Stock September 1, 1856	74	141,982
Deduct—		
Stock September 1, 1855	166	166
Total, 1856		141,816
Total, 1855		136,597
GEORGIA.		
Exports—F'm Savannah		
To Foreign ports, Upla'ds	177,182	
Sea Islands	8,138	
Coastwise, Uplands	200,426	
Sea Islands	7,346	
Stock at Savannah, September 1, 1856	1,550	
Stock at Augusta, September 1, 1856	1,731	396,423
Deduct—Receipts from Florida, Upland	386	
Sea Island	2,755	
Stock at Savannah & Augusta, September 1, 1855	3,827	6,968
Total, 1856		389,455
Total, 1855		375,853
SOUTH CAROLINA.		
Exports—Fm Charleston		
To Foreign ports, Uplands	352,346	
Sea Islands	18,765	
Coastwise—Upland	133,451	
Sea Islands	9,286	
Burnt at Charleston 518, S. I., and 233 Uplands	751	
Stock at Charleston, September 1, 1856	3,144	
	517,743	
Exports—Fm Georgetown to Northern ports	2,893	520,636
Deduct—Rec'd from Florida, Upland	578	
Sea Island	6,027	
Received from Savannah, Upland	13,281	
Sea Island	2,689	
Stock at Charleston, September 1, 1855	2,085	24,660
Total, 1856		495,976
Total, 1855		498,557
NORTH CAROLINA.		
Exports—		
To Foreign ports	96	
Coastwise	26,072	
Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56	150	26,318
Deduct—		
Stock on hand Sept. 1, '55	200	200
Total, 1856		26,118
Total, 1855		27,805
VIRGINIA.		
Exports—		
To Foreign ports	70	
Coastwise and manufac'd, (from the ports)	20,700	
Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56	842	21,612
Deduct—		
Received from Mobile, direct	652	
Stock on hand Sept. 1, '55	502	1,154
Total, 1856		20,458
Received at New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, overland		13,884
Total crop of the United States		3,524,242
Total crop of the U. States, 1855		2,847,616
Increase on last year—Bales		676,626
Increase on year before		595,103

CONSUMPTION.

		Bales.
Total crop of the U. States as above		3,524,242
Add—Stock on hand at the commencement of the year, Sept. 1, 1855—		
In Southern ports	76,814	
In Northern ports	66,378	
		143,192
Makes a supply of		3,667,434
Deduct therefrom—		
The exports to For. ports	2,954,606	
Less Foreign included	3,224	
Stock on hand Sept. 1, '56,		
In Southern ports	18,383	
In Northern ports	44,157	
		3,013,922
Taken for home use—Bales		653,512

Quantity consumed by and in the hands of Manufacturers North of Virginia—

1855–'6—Bales	653,512	
1854–'5	598,292	

RAILROADS IN VIRGINIA.

We are under obligations to the Virginia Board of Public Works for a copy of their twenty-ninth Annual Report to the General Assembly, from which we condense the following, with regard to the business of such railroad companies as have not forwarded us copies of their last reports. We commence with the

Roanoke Valley Railroad.

Since last report, the entire superstructure of the road has been completed, and the road operated since March, 1855. Owing to the want of funds to furnish equipment, the company were obliged to enter into an arrangement with the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad Company, for operating the road, for which the latter are to receive fifty per cent. of the receipts. Contract can be annulled in six months, and notice to that effect has been already given by the Raleigh and Gaston Company. Though a small sum is owing to the contractors, the road is not encumbered with any deed or mortgage whatever. It is believed $60,000 would discharge all obligations, and provide the rolling stock necessary.

Capital stock, $430,000, to which $30,000 have been subscribed by individuals, $20,000 by Corporation of Clarkesville, $70,000 by city of Norfolk, and $310,000 by Board of Public Works. Of the subscription all but $5,944 has been received. Cost of road, buildings, &c., at 30th September last, $444,132. Business of the year not given.

Jas. Williamson, President, and E. A. Williams, Sec'y and Treasurer. The Company's office is in Clarkesville, Virginia.

Fredericksburg and Gordonsville Railroad.

Authorized capital, $460,000, subscribed by individuals and the Corporation of Fredericksburg, $96,700, and by Board of Public Works, $138,000. Company's debts, $8,390.19. Expended to 30th September last, $158,440.

Walker P. Conway is President; John S. Caldwell, Secretary and Treasurer; and Wm. Sniedan, Chief Engineer. Office at Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Winchester and Potomac Railroad.

Capital stock, $300,000, of which was subscribed by State, $120,000; debts, funded and unfunded, $138,118, besides a loan of $150,000 from the Commonwealth. This loan, together with the above stock subscription has been commuted for an annuity of $5,000 per annum to the State. The revenue from all sources to date has been $1,544,628. Among the items of outlay we have the following:

Original cost of construction	$441,309
Original cost of depots, shops, &c.	18,248
Land damages	43,081
Motive power	47,000
Cars, and repairs to do	349,937
Repairs and reconstruction of road	431,287
Interest	195,833
Dividends	92,440

The business for the last fiscal year was—

Passengers, freight and mail	$78,112
Sale of old materials, rents, &c.	7,684
Balance for previous year	757
Total	$86,552

From which were paid ordinary expenses, $5,000 for State annuity, $2,500 for bank debts, and $10,313 for dividends, leaving as balance on hand, $1,640.52.

Wm. L. Clarke is President, and J. G. Heist, principal Agent and Treasurer. Length of road, 32 miles. Company's office at Winchester, Virginia.

Manassa Gap Railroad.

The capital stock of this Corporation was increased, in January, 1854, by the addition of $400,000, the State taking three-fifths. Last year operations were seriously retarded by the money pressure and drought. Operations have been confined to that section of the road between Strasburg and Woodstock, and the road nearly completed to the latter point. The business for last fiscal year was—

Passengers	$24,165
Freight	76,031
Mails	2,479
Total	$102,675
Working expenses	48,402
	$54,273
Less, charges paid Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company for uses of road and station	23,685
Net profits	$30,568

The last three months show a large per centage of increase over the year preceding. On the completion of the road to Woodstock, it is believed the net revenue will reach $60,000 per annum. Between Strasburg and Harrisonburg, the road is under contract, and men are at work upon the whole line.

A purchase of 1,400 tons of iron has been made at favorable rates. Estimated cost of the extension, $500,000. The means for construction are—

Company's bonds	$150,000
Rockingham county bonds	100,000
Individual subscriptions	50,000
Drafts on Board of Public Works	75,000
Contractors' subscription	50,000
Drafts on Board of Public Works	75,000
Total	$500,000

Should there be due promptness in meeting subscriptions, the road to Harrisonburg will be ready for use in the spring of 1857.

The necessity of an independent line to Alexandria has long been felt. A subscription of $80,000 for that purpose has already been authorized by that city. Estimated cost, exclusive of superstructure, $400,000. Means now available, $296,000, requiring only $42,000 from individuals to furnish the requisite amount. The sum of $65,000 has already been spent on construction. Estimated cost of superstructure, $350,000, which can readily be provided for out of revenue. The branch to Purcellville, Loudoun county, is also under way. Estimated cost, $450,000.

Cost of the whole work, as estimated by the Chief Engineer:

Road to Strasburg		$1,450,000
" Harrisonburg		1,150,000
" Alexandria		750,000
" Purcellville		450,000
		$3,800,000
Capital stock	$2,800,000	
Loan	1,000,000	—3,800,000

The value of work done for the past year was—

On the Valley line	$185,034
" Eastern extension	81,784
" Loudoun branch	66,615
Total	$333,433

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Individual subscriptions	$386,050
Corporation of Alexandria	350,000
Counties and towns	200,000
Commonwealth	1,404,050
Earnings to date	182,000
Bills and accounts payable	285,433
	$2,807,659

Construction, equipment, &c., &c	$1,980,206
Individual subscriptions unpaid	163,855
Commonwealth unpaid	265,050
Bills receivable	1,269
Transportation expenses, interest, discount, &c	208,218
Means on hand	189,061
	$2,807,659

E. C. Marshall is President; Ed. Green, Secretary and Treasurer; and J. McD. Goldsborough, Chief Engineer. Office in Alexandria, Virginia.

Richmond and York River Railroad.

The object of this road is to open a communication from Richmond, the commercial capital of the State, to the waters of the Chesapeake bay, having a sufficient depth for large sea-going vessels. The route is direct, over a comparatively level country, favorable for construction. The total distance will be 38.3 miles. The total cost of the road with a moderate equipment is as follows:

Graduation and bridging	$464,128
Right of way	110,000
Engineering and contingent expenses	34,000
Superstructure for 39 5-6th miles at $8,000 per mile	318,400
Equipment	50,000
Depot and other buildings	50,000
Other expenses	30,000
Total estimated cost	$1,056,528

The amount of capital stock at present authorized is $500,000. Of this sum, the State is to subscribe three-fifths, individuals two-fifths. The amount subscribed at the date of the report of the Board of Public Works was as follows:

Capital stock per charter	$500,000
Capital stock subscribed by individuals	197,200
Capital stock subscribed by State	297,800
Total amount subscribed	$495,000
On which have been received—	
From private subscriptions	$45,648
From State	70,072
Miscellaneous receipts	1,514
Total receipts	$117,234

There had been expended on construction, at the date of the above report, $87,861. Of this sum, $23,032 had been paid

out for real estate; $30,596 for land damages; and $18,642 for graduation.

From the estimate cost of the road, it will be seen that insufficient means for construction have been provided. The Legislature, at its recent session, omitted to make any further provisions than those above stated. As this body will not probably meet again 'till 1857, we presume the process of construction will progress only slowly.

The President of the road is Alexander Dudley, of Richmond. Chief Engineer, F. S. Claxton. Secretary, A. W. Morton, who is also Treasurer.

THE VITAL STATISTICS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The late Mr. Gallatin, formerly Treasurer of the United States, reckons the entire importation of blacks into the territorial limits of the Republic at 300,000—now not less than four millions! M. Humboldt in the work above mentioned, adds up the importation of the blacks into the British West Indies from 1618 to 1786, which reaches, in 106 years, the enormous aggregate of 2,130,000. This aggregate includes neither the slaves imported openly up to 1824—a period of 38 years later—nor those imported at an earlier date, reaching back for the West Indies, to 1503—a period of 177 years anterior to M. Humboldt's point of departure—a period of more than a hundred years before the first white immigrants reached the shores of this Republic.

M. Humboldt says: "The whole Archipelago of the West Indies, which now comprises scarcely 2,400,000 negroes and mulattoes, free and slaves, received from 1670 to 1825, nearly 5,000,000 of Africans." VII, 272. Add to this all the importations, of which no exact records exist from 1503 to 1670—a period of 177 years—and then add the enormous importation since 1825, down to the present day, August 8, 1856, to which add the natural increase as proved by the statistical history of a handful of slaves imported at a comparatively late period into the slave-holding States of this Republic, not exceeding 300,000, yet soon multiplying to 4,000,000. These 300,000 ought to have been extinguished wholly ere now, according to the ratio of decline observed in other slave-holding lands—consider these things, ye weeping philanthropists of the North, and of realms beyond the ocean, and of the Islands of the distant seas—weep for the many millions imported during 350 years from Africa, whom the vital statistician can nowhere find but in the obvious grave, in mouldering bones. Why should the heart of the great world sob itself into convulsions

over the slave-holding States of this Republic, the oasis of the African desert, where alone the negro has a home, if not freedom, where he prospers most, has the greatest amount of the physical comforts, increases fastest, lives longest, and enjoys the best health, slaves nevertheless. The negroes of Africa now more than ever eat one another. They are everywhere crushed out beyond the limits of the slave-holding States.

A French naval officer, who with his suite was hospitably entertained by the Negro King of Dahomey, during the presidency of Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, relates that the King feeds his large army of female and male soldiers with the flesh of his captives, whom he can now no longer sell to the whites. The French officer, shocked at seeing human beings thus butchered, frequently plead with the King to abandon this practice, but was always answered by his Majesty and Cabinet with hearty laughter for his ineffable absurdity.

"The chief ornament of the royal residence, containing 15,000 inhabitants, is human skulls, of which, when a number was wanted to pave a court or decorate a ceiling, it was not an unusual process to have some scores of persons massacred for the purpose." (National Cylop. v, 210. London, 1848.) The female part of the army is nearly as large as the United States usually is in times of peace.

The Ashantee Kingdom bordering upon Dahomey is alike free in all barbarities. The Cyclopædia already quoted says: "The most remarkable among the habitual characteristics of the Ashantees are their warlike ferocity and their love of blood. These passions have, as usual, deeply colored their religious belief and observances. The most horrid of the practices by which they express their devotional feelings, are in which they indulge at what are called the Yam and the Adai customs, the former commencing in the early part of September, when the consumption of the Yam crop begins, the latter taking place, on a greater or lesser scale, alternately every three weeks. On all these occasions human blood flows in torrents."

If negro vital progression had been equally great beyond the limits of the slave-holding States, as within the latter, perhaps one hundred millions would have ere this spread over the West Indies and upon the American continent during the last three and a half centuries. The vital statistician weeps scientifically, that is to say, arithmetically, æsthetically, and, if inclined to benevolence, ethically too; he will not waste his sympathy over four millions of living negroes whose well-being exceeds that of any other portion of their race, even in their native land,

> "Where Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands"—

including New England hills, Canadian snows, and the eternal verdure of West Indian Islands which gem the Caribbean sea.

Mr. Allison, the Scotch historian, in his work on Population, in comparing the condition of the Irish with the blacks of the West Indies, says: "Unquestionably the condition of the Negroes in the West Indies, prior to their late emancipation, generally speaking, was infinitely preferable. It is perhaps the worst effect of that well-meant, but disastrous measure, that it will approximate the condition and habits of the negro race in those beautiful Islands to that of the Irish peasantry." II. p. 506–7. Indeed, this writer lays it down as an axiom, that "slavery results unavoidably from the dependent condition of the laboring classes."

The vital statistician, sanitarian, or physiologist, is warranted in scrutinizing any dogma, social or political institution, in so far as it may have a direct influence upon the vital progress, increase, health, sickness, and longevity of population. If, for example, a theological dogma, required the extinction of a race, he might as one of the Faithful adopt it, but as a statistician, he should examine it by the light of scientific investigation, and judge of its sanitary import, &c., as in the case of Musulmanic and Mormon polygamy, African slavery, and the like, although, in fact, there never was, there is not, nor will there ever be a fundamental antithesis between ethical and physical science. The unity and utility of truth are ever conjoined. Bentham, the most voluminous writer upon codification and modern reformation in law, regarded utility as the criterion of human virtue and conduct. He says: "A conscientious person is one who, having made to himself a rule of conduct, steadily abides by it. In the common use of the phrase, it is implied that his rule of conduct is the correct one. But only in so far as his rule is consistent with the principles of utility can his conscientiousness be deemed virtuous. A good conscience is the favorable opinion which a man entertains of his own conduct; an evil conscience is the unfavorable decision of a man on his own conduct. But the value of the judgment given must wholly depend on its being subservient to, or rather on its being an application of the greatest happiness, principle. That which produces happiness or misery is properly called virtuous or vicious. Virtue and vice are but useless qualities unless estimated by their influence on the creation of pleasure and pain. Effort, undoubtedly, is useful to virtue, and the seat of that effort, in the care of Providence, is principally in the understanding, in the case of effective benevolence, mainly in the will and the affections. Of all the actions of man, those which preserve the individual, and those which preserve the species, are undoubtedly the most benefi-

cial to the community." (Jeremy Bentham. Theory of social Science. I. 137, 141, 145, 146. London, 1834.)

Whether utility be, or be not the true ethical platform, it is not necessary to the purpose in making this quotation, to determine, but in sanitary and vital science, no other platform need be accepted, and on this the vital statistics of the negro race is placed, as neither the Constitution of the United States nor the "higher law" (or as Luther termed it, the *Pope* that every man carried in his abdomen) is material in this inquiry.

If the vital statistics of the negroes of the Southern States of this Republic, be compared with the vital progress of the aristocratic classes in England, it will be found that the comparison will be to the utmost degree unfavorable to the latter. The Westminister Review for April, 1847, says, that "in England, in a great majority of cases, the male heirs of the Peerages, and in all cases of the Baronetages, become extinct for want of male heirs, though many of each have female representatives."

M. Galignani, in his guide to Paris, (1844,) says, that nearly all the old Parisian families are extinct, particularly the male portion, and that in the great city of Paris not one thousand persons can reckon their ancestors as far back as Louis XIII.

The numerical history of the slave population of this Republic, compared to the ratio of increase in France, is immeasurably unfavorable to the latter. According to M. D'Angeville,* and other earlier and later authorities, the ratio of increase in France requires 139 years, and according to the very latest census, 142 years, for the duplication of the French population.

The slaves of the United States increase more than five times faster than the population of France.

In 1840, the slaves numbered 1,333 centenarians, and in 1850, the number was 1,425, while all France had in 1837, but 120 of this age, an unusual proportion of whom were concentrated in the valley of the Garonne. The French population had then, according to the census, but one centenarian to 240,000 inhabitants. According to the last census of the United States, there was one centenarian in every 2,448 slaves, a ratio 98 times greater than in the French Empire.

The physiological deterioration of the free blacks, particularly in the non-slaveholding States of this Republic, as set forth and uniformly confirmed by every official census, is unparalleled in the ethnological history of mankind. This extraordinary degeneration does not apply to the low ratio of increase, but to the high numerical proportion of the insane, the idiots, the deaf, dumb, blind, and so forth. The Indian

* Statistiques de la population Francaise, Paris, 1837.

race in North America, estimated by Mr. Catlin at 16,000,000 at the time the Caucasian family settled in the country, has dwindled down to a few hundred thousands, without having suffered from similar deteriorations.

This deterioration was called in question by several citizens of Boston. It will be seen by the Compendium of the United States Census for 1850, compiled from official documents by Prof. De Bow, Superintendent of the Census Bureau, and published by the authority of Congress in 1854, that after a thorough scrutiny by the Government, the authenticity of the census, so unfavorable to the physical and sanitary condition of the free blacks of the North, is fully established, as the following extracts from the work mentioned (pp. 75–6–7) will show.

"DEAF, DUMB, AND BLIND.—Objection was taken to the statistics of the deaf and dumb, blind, &c., for 1830 and '40, so far as they relate to the non-slaveholding States, and a memorial was sent to Congress from several persons in Boston, protesting against their publication. The memorial was referred to the Department of State, and that Department entrusted its examination to a gentleman who had been charged with the preparation of the census of 1840 for the press. The Secretary in transmitting his report, now in manuscript in the office, and dated February 12, 1845, says:

"'On a review of the whole, two conclusions, it is believed, will be found to follow inevitably. The one is that the correctness of the late census in exhibiting a far greater prevalence of the diseases of insanity, blindness, deafness, and dumbness, stands unimpeachable. That it may contain errors, more or less, is hardly to be doubted. It would be a miracle if such a document, with so many figures and entries, did not. But that they have, if they exist, materially affected the correctness of the general result, would seem hardly possible. Nothing but that the truth is so, would seem capable of explaining the fact that, in all the non-slaveholding States, without exception, the census exhibits, uniformly, a far greater comparative prevalence of these diseases among the free blacks than among the slaves of the other States. They are indeed vastly more so among the most favorable of the former than in the least favorable of the latter.'

"A strong circumstance supporting the census of 1840, grew out of its near correspondence with that of 1830, in the ratio of the affected to the whole colored population. It becomes necessary to suppose that different sets of persons, residents of the localities, without concert after a lapse of ten years, and with all the checks imposed by the census law, and the publicity required in the exposure of the returns before sending

them to Washington, have fallen into the same errors designedly, which no one can for a moment suppose, or accidentally.

"Admitting, however, the census of 1850 to be entirely correct, and the others incorrect, the proportion of the whole colored persons, deaf, dumb, and blind, in the non-slaveholding States, is one in every 919, and in the slaveholding States, one in every 1,517. For the insane and idiotic the proportion in the non-slaveholding States is one in 709; in the slaveholding States one in 1,821. But if errors are admitted in all of the censuses, and that they would probably balance each other, a mean of the three shows for the deaf, and dumb, and blind, insane, and idiotic, one in every 505 colored in the non-slaveholding States, and one in every 1,446 in the slaveholding States."

The slaveholding States of this Republic, with a stock of 300,000—such Pagans as those in Dahomey, Ashantee, etc., have presented to the statistician about four millions of souls deeply imbued with the fundamental principles of christianity, that great civilizer. The numerical proportion of christianized slaves is probably greater than that of any other class in the Union. Pile up the pyramid of negro skulls statistically wasted in Africa, in the West Indies, and everywhere beyond the limits of the slaveholding States, and lo! the Bunker Hill Monument and the Egyptian Cheops will be lost in its overshadowing shade. Mount upon this *golgothan* pyramid, and from its apex survey the vast *Aceldama* around its base, which expands illimitably, save a single oasis that rises to view!

As before stated, statisticians at least, should economize their sympathy, so as not to waste it wholly upon one portion of the American Republic, the vital statistics of which ought to be accepted as satisfactory. He might even distrust speculations which are contradicted by vital arithmetic.

WARSAW AND ROCKFORD RAILROAD.

At a meeting of the Directors of the Warsaw and Rockford Railroad, at Oquawka, on the 18th inst., S. S. Phelps was elected President, and Jno. E. Johnson, Vice President. The best feeling pervaded; the work on the first division is progressing finely. The contractors on the second division from Appanoose to the junction of the Burlington road are increasing their forces. Dr. Bacon, the agent, informs us that 15 per cent. of the private stock will be called for on the 1st of July. It is necessary for stockholders to be prompt in their payments, that the work may go on. Negotiations will soon open for iron, rolling stock, ect.—*Ft. Madison Plaindealer.*

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN STATES AND EUROPE.

LETTER OF A. DUDLEY MANN, TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES, IN RELATION TO A WEEKLY FERRY LINE OF IRON STEAMSHIPS OF THIRTY THOUSAND TONS, BETWEEN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY AND MILFORD HAVEN.

With the co-operation of the slaveholding States, if it can be secured, I propose to establish, in conjunction with certain associates to be hereafter designated, a *Weekly Iron Steamship Ferry Line* between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven. The distance by the Southern route from the one to the other of those waters is about 3,150 miles—shorter by at least 100 miles than that at present traversed by the American steamers from New York to Liverpool. The route is entirely free from the dangers incident to coastwise navigation and icebergs.

The town of Milford is situated one hundred and twenty miles southward and westward of Liverpool, one hundred miles westward of Bristol, and two hundred and seventy miles westward of London. It is connected with each by railway, with the exception of a space of three miles, which will be completed next spring. To London the line—broad gauge throughout—will be run over by express trains inside of seven hours. To Waterford the distance is seventy miles by water, at which port there is a connexion by railway with Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Dublin, and Belfast. To Havre the distance is about two hundred and twenty-five miles.

It is estimated that all the navies of Europe could "ride in safety and swing at their anchors" in Milford Haven. This Haven enjoys in an eminent degree the essential requisites for rendering the town of Milford the first port of Europe. It has length and breadth of compass, deep water and good bottom, facility of ingress and egress, and secure shelter. But notwithstanding this unsurpassed combination of advantages, it has been comparatively valueless heretofore, to the commercial world on account of being shut out from internal communication with the metropolis and the manufacturing districts of the British realm.

Like Milford Haven, the worth of the Chesapeake Bay has never been properly appreciated except for national purposes. Commercially, no peculiar benefits have been derived from its excellent qualities as a haven, and its easy approach from the ocean. But, happily for several years, railways proceeding from the confines of the south, southwest, west, and northwest, connecting one with another, and encircling and embracing all the cities and principal towns, have been steadily and resolutely forcing their passages over and through the impediments which obstructed their progress, and are now in so advanced

a state as to give a reasonable assurance that in a year or two they will converge completed upon its Virginia shore. By such communication, assisted by canals and rivers, will be conveyed for transportation to foreign countries, as soon as the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line is established, a part of the cotton of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas; the tobacco, wheat, and corn of Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, and Delaware; the pork, bacon, lard, and tobacco of Kentucky and Missouri; the rice of South Carolina; and the rosin and turpentine of North Carolina. Nor is it improbable that Pennsylvania, to say nothing of other non-slaveholding States, will avail herself of it for conducting a lucrative traffic at home and abroad. The waters of her great central artery meet and commingle with those of the south in the Chesapeake Bay, and her varied interests, strengthened by her inflexible devotion to the Constitution, unite her in bonds of indissolubility with her southern sisters.

A glance at a railway map of the slaveholding States will satisfy any one capable of comprehending the subject, that the iron road system in that portion of the Union, including the lines projected, will be, when finished, as perfect as any system of the kind in operation in any country. Such resources cannot fail to be unfolded—so varied, rich, and extended as have never been submitted to human vision. It is estimated by compentent judges that there is a sufficiency of iron and coal in Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, to supply the wants of the Union for a hundred centuries; while copper, lead, gypsum, and salt exists in one or more of those States in immense quantities.

That commerce will avail of the avenues created for its facilitation, is much more rational than that it will continue to travel circuitous routes, however long established. Capital seeks trade. Where trade is developed, or promises to be developed, there will capital go in search of it; and nothing since the earth has been inhabited has done so much to engender trade, where there was none before, as the railway and locomotive.

A most forcible exemplification of this fact is to be found in the instance of Cardiff, in South Wales. This port in 1840 was of utter insignificance, the amount of shipping which entered it never exceeding in any one year 150,000 tons. In 1841, an iron-way was opened from it to Merthyr Tydvil, by which valleys and mountains teeming with mineral wealth have been unlocked, and which are now supplying most of the bars for our roads (a single establishment turning out fifteen hundred tons per week,) as well as coal for exportation to every

part of the globe. The result is, that Cardiff now clears annually more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping, and wears the business aspect of a prosperous sea-board city. This distinctly foreshadows what the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven are to become, as soon as the artificial links are perfected which will bring the one and the other in close connexion with the country behind, and when they are made the terminal points of an Atlantic Steam Ferry Line.

The indications are too distinct to be misconceived, that a new era in ocean navigation is rapidly approaching. The proofs have become convincing, to investigating minds, that iron and steam are to supersede wood and canvas, in the movement of the products and passengers between the two hemispheres. The greater size, strength, and security in every respect—to say nothing of durability of wear, which may be imparted to iron steamships, combine to render such a result positively certain. Before the end of this century there will not, probably, be a wooden hull navigating the Atlantic under canvas.

The employment of steam as a motive power has already accomplished more than Oliver Evans, or Solomon Cos, or Francis Fortune, the so-sonsidered *wild enthusiasts* of their times, in relation to its propelling properties, likely ever imagined in their most enlarged anticipations of its success. But, notwithstanding all that has been so wonderfully consummated through its agency, it is not presumable that anything like perfection has been attained in the salutary influence it is to exercise on the destinies of mankind. Science never slumbers. Its energy is untiring. Properly impressed with the importance of its benign mission, it is ceaseless in its solicitude to discover unexplored fields. It seems to be an agent of the Almighty for bettering the condition of his creatures, and He doubtless will inspire and sustain it, despite the obstacle which a "let-us-alone" selfishness may contrive for the defeat of its purposes. "To talk about lighting London with gas," exclaimed one of the renowned philosophers of the last century, "is as idle to talk about clipping a slice from the moon and using it for that purpose!" Now what do we behold? Not a third-rate city of either hemisphere, of respectability, that is not nearly as bright at night by gas illumination as by the rays of the sun. "To talk about conveying the mails across the Atlantic by steamships," remarked another *savant*, when the *Great Western* was projected, "is too much of an absurdity to be entertained by a sound mind!" Now the mails arrive almost as regularly in America, Great Britain, and continental Europe, in steamships, as they did at the beginning of this century in London, from Edinburgh by stage-coaches, five and

twenty years ago in Washington from St. Louis. And Science, faithful to its trust, has made such discoveries from time to time as to diminish the length of the passage between Liverpool and New York, when computed by days, one-half, as compared with the first voyages.

In the vicinity of this metropolis, opposite Greenwich, an iron steamship is in the course of construction, which will eventuate in effecting as complete an amelioration on the ocean as the locomotive has effected on land. I have been not only an attentive, but an inordinately anxious observer, for twelve months, of her progress towards completion. She is, on account of her tremendous proportions, the marvel of navigators and mariners; and predictions are more abundant, in all circles, that she is to result in an entire failure, than they were with respect to the *Great Western*. But the projector, Mr. Brunel, the same favored child of science who projected the *Great Western*, is quite as confident that he will attain his noble aims in the present instance, as he was that the performances of his former endeared bantling would confound and overwhelm even philosophers and *savants*. In this confidence I fully share, and upon the strength of it I predicate my enterprise, perceiving in that enterprise if carried out, the redemption of the slaveholding States from the tribute which an unnatural commerce remorselessly exacts from them. As it is in contemplation to construct four vessels similar to the mammoth one referred to, for the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, it may not be out of place here to give a short description of her.

The *Great Eastern* (for, although she is not formally named, it is understood that the "big ship" is to be so called) will have employed in her construction, when completed—including engines, anchors, and cables, no less than twelve thousand tons of iron. Her deck over all is six hundred and ninety-two feet long; its breadth eighty-five feet, and across the paddle-boxes one hundred and fourteen. Her depth is fifty-eight feet. Her measurement is twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. She will carry eight hundred first-class passengers, two thousand second-class, and twelve hundred third-class, besides her officers and crew, amounting to four hundred. She will also carry seventeen thousand five hundred tons cargo, and so freighted, it is believed that she may be propelled across the Atlantic at the rate of from seventeen to twenty miles an hour. Thus, even the *minimum* rate of speed would take her from the Chesapeake bay to Milford Haven in less than eight days; and the *maximum* rate in less than six and a half.

The *Great Eastern* is so built that, by a singular combination of ribs and webs, she is nearly as strong as though she were a solid block of forged iron. She is double-planked

throughout—the inner skin three quarters of an inch thick, and the outer one an inch. The planks, of iron, employ no less than three millions of rivets, of an inch diameter, to confine them to their places. She is divided into ten large perpectly water-tight compartments of sixty feet in length, either of which would float her in case of serious accident to the others.

What would such a structure have to apprehend from the dangers of the sea between the Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven? Of coast there would be none whatever to encounter. Running south of 42°, with icebergs she could scarcely come in contact; and if she chanced to strike one, the blow she would receive, however severe, could not send her down. With thirty feet of her height always above the ocean level, waves could not harm her. To break her in two would be almost as difficult as to break in two the back-bone of the Alleghany. Old Neptune would behold in her the triumph of science over his hitherto world-wide recognized majesty in his own briny domain. In this connection it may be remarked that the length of the longest waves is computed at six hundred feet, their extreme altitude twenty-eight feet, and their average only seventeen.

When the *Great Western* started on her first voyage, fears were entertained that, if she encounterrd no other obstacle, she would almost certainly be severed, on account of her extraordinary length, upon the first formidable wave which she attempted to cross. She was two hnndred and thirty-six feet long! In July, 1845, being about to return to the United States from the Continent, I wrote to a friend in London to procure me a birth in the *Great Britain*, which was soon to proceed on her first trip to New York. By return post he urged me to abandon the notion of embarking in her, as an opinion generally prevailed that "she was too long to ever get across the Atlantic!" She was three hundred and twenty-two feet long! Doubts and prejudices have been gradually disappearing in the presence of successful performance, until such is the confidence felt in the safety of long ships, that the *Persia*, of three hundred and ninety feet length, would monopolize the passengers of the Cunard Line if she were capacious enough to accommodate them.

The *Great Eastern* will have the capacity to carry, with four thousand persons, twenty-five thousand bales of cotton, or fifty thousand barrels of flour, or ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco. The power of her engines combined is three thousand horse, British estimate. She will have at her command paddle-wheel, stern-wheel, and sails; so that if one propelling agent should chance to be disabled, she would have two others upon which

to rely to move her to her destination. Her architect expects to succeed in making her thoroughly fireproof. Hence, comparatively, she will be submitted to no sea risks. Life and property aboard of her will be almost as secure as in a strongly-built dwelling. A passage from the Chesapeake Bay to Milford Haven will be but little more perilous in such a vessel than a passage across the Ferry from New York to Hoboken. Nor would persons subject to sea-sickness voyaging in her probably be submitted to that aggravating malady, except in its mildest form. It is calculated that she will neither pitch nor roll, as she will be enabled to take such immense strides as to cross with ease three of the three hundred feet waves at a single leap, and to glide over those of six hundred feet almost imperceptibly as respects vibration.

There is no principle more sound than that in political economy, which says to industrial pursuits, "Sell your products where you can sell them at the highest price, and buy your supplies where you can buy them at the lowest." To render this practicable in the slaveholding States, the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line is indispensable. Through the instrumentality of this line direct trade and personal intercourse with Western Europe, from those States, will speedily become as enlarged as that which they at present carry on with the Northern States of the Union. Instead of intermediate agencies, operating adversely to their interests, prospering upon their toils, their commerce will assume a natural, healthful, and expeditious character. Grievous commission and insurance charges, occasioned by indirect exportation, will in a great measure be abolished, and interest accounts vastly diminished by rapidity of transportation. On importations the northern merchant will be deprived of his enormous profits, and the southern consumer relieved from a taxation which contributes weightily to his pecuniary oppression.

I have seen it somewhere estimated that, on an estimate in Cuba, which produces $30,000 worth of sugar annually, the various taxes exacted by the Government of Spain amount to one third of the receipts from the yield. Even under the existing liberal tariff of the United States—liberal only as contrasted with that which its enactment repealed, and the method in which trade is conducted between the slaveholding States and the European consumers of their staples, it is questionable whether, if a nice calculation were made, the Southerners would not find themselves almost as severely taxed as the Cubans.

The question has probably been millions of times asked, or turned over in reflecting minds, Why, with respect to one and the other, was Providence so prodigal of its favors to the Chesa-

peake Bay and Milford Haven? The answer seems at last to be satisfactorily furnished. As if by some mysterious arrangement of pre-concerted scientific thought, the locomotive is about to visit each, taking with it the valuable products of the populous and rich interior, simultaneously with the discovery of a quick and cheap plan of ocean conveyance for those products to their consumers; *for it must be distinctly observed that in no other water in Europe or America can a vessel of the magnitude of the* Great Eastern, *and of her immense capacity for carrying, enter and depart where there is a reasonable assurance that freights can be procured in sufficient abundance to fill her, but that of the Chesapeake Bay or Milford Haven.* It is almost needless to remark that with all that steam has so beneficially accomplished on the ocean, it has done but little in transporting any of the chief heavy articles of Southern or British export.

What point on the Chesapeake bay will be selected for the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line landing, cannot yet be determined. It will, however, assuredly be that which in all respects is the most suitable; and there, without necessarily building up a populous city, a store-house of such importance will establish itself as never was created before, from which the slaveholding States, if not also a number of the non-slaveholding ones, will draw their supplies at moderate prices. In like manner Milford Haven will become the storehouse of American products, which products will be conveyed at low rates, and expeditiously, to every part of Europe. As if in anticipation of this, an Anglo-French Company is in the course of successful formation for constructing a large nnmber of steamers to engage in the European coasting trade.

No principle in steamship architecture is better established than that length and size are essential to the attainment of speed. Therefore, such vessels as the *Great Eastern*, engaged in the contemplated service, will command most of the travel between Europe and North America, as well as the mail carrying; and with the greater certainty, because of their security from casualties.

The more opulent families of the slaveholding States, or rather many of them, usually leave their homes during the summer and early autumnal months. A few, compared to the vast number, repair to the delightful springs of Virginia, and to other southern retreats; but they go in the main to the watering places and more populous cities of the North. Such, instead of loitering on shore, confining themselves in close rooms during the hot hours of the day, where they languish for want of pure air, or fatigue with the tedious *ennui*, would repair to the Atlantic Ferry, and crossing it, as if on the wings

of the wind, in a well-appointed hotel, enjoy the invigorating effects of a sea-passage. Touching Europe at one of its most interesting points, they would travel up to London by trains which have no equals, and on a route which is not surpassed for adjacent wild scenery and gay rural beauties. Nor would the wealthy and mere pleasure-seeker alone have an incentive to proceed on the voyage. The man of smaller means—the frugal agriculturist—would want to see, when he was brought within eight days distance of him, what sort of person consumed his surplus produce, and made the articles which he required for consumption. He would take his wheat, cotton, and tobacco to market, and buy his supplies as the industrious husbandman of Accomack takes his vegetables across to Norfolk, and returns with his coffee, tea, and sugar.

The Atlantic Ferry steamships, when filled with outward passengers, would personify a southern town of four thousand inhabitants, each family occupying the dwelling best suited to its condition in life. While the decks, an eighth of a mile in length, would emphatically be a village "commons," the compartments would be as distinct from each other as different houses of abode.

The *Great Eastern* is intended for the Australian trade. It is expected that she will make the passage from Milford Haven to Port Philip, by the Cape of Good Hope, in thirty-five days. The distance is 11,828 miles, shorter by about 1000 miles than any route yet traversed. The most direct line would be overland, and *via* Diego Garcia—a low flat island among the coral reefs of the Chagos Archipelago; but the navigation in that region is extremely perilous, the channels so narrow and difficult of entrance as not to be attempted except in broad daylight. This precludes the adoption of it as the highway from here to the British possessions in the East. The chances are, that even the *Great Eastern* will be unable to steam from Milford Haven to Melbourne in thirty-five days. The distance is so long, that on a consecutive run she must probably tire before she reaches her terminal point.

It may not be out of place here to remark that the British Government has just closed a contract with a Steam Company to carry the mails from Southamptom to Melbourne, *via* the Isthmus of Suez, in fifty days.

The distance, as has been stated, between Milford Haven and the Chesapeake Bay, is 3,150 miles. The passage across it would be as frequently under seven days as over seven, by the Ferry Line. From the Chesapeake to the Pacific the travel, as soon as the connecting railways shall have been completed, will be easily performed in five days; and from thence to Melbourne in sixteen days. Thus there would be a

diminution of six days upon the contemplated time of the *Great Eastern*. Travellers engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits would, consequently, choose the American route for its expedition, as would also the mere pleasure-seeker, for the interesting and diversified scenes which it would present to his view. And still greater than to Australia would be the diminution in time from Europe, by the American Line, to Southern China, Japan, &c. The Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea would be measurably abandoned, and San Francisco would become the great central rendezvous for Europeans and others voyaging to and from the East. It would be brought within eighteen days of London, and within twelve of the Chesapeake Bay, which time would be again shortened five days, if ever the Pacific railroad should be made.

By means of such an undertaking as that of the Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, no stretch of the imagination is required to foretell that the Chesapeake Bay would be the mart of the largest travel and transportation of industrial products ever known. From thence they would radiate in every direction, to the benefit of all who came within the sphere of their movement. The gold of California and Australia, the silver of Mexico, the mails from every civilized part of the globe, would also concentrate there for distribution and expedition to their respective destinations. Neither ice nor snow would ever suspend communications for a day, on the direct line.

It is obviously the policy of the slaveholding States to leave no efforts untried to make their railroads and canals produce the largest possible income. Each has expended its millions of dollars, or is expending them, in internal improvements, and never was money better appropriated, if these improvements shall find profitable employment. They will, if judiciously encouraged, be a source of perpetually growing revenue. Traffic is all in all to them, and should be secured at any reasonable cost.

The history of the railroads of Great Britain abounds with interest. Those roads have achieved results which would have been regarded as marvellous in other ages. The first line, that between Stockton and Darlington, was opened to public use in the year 1825. It was not, however, until the year 1830, that the majestic locomotive commenced treading the earth like a mighty "thing of life." Now there are 8,300 miles completed in this realm, (of which fifty are tunnel,) constructed at a cost of $1,500,000,000, and employing 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 carriages, and 90,000 officers and servants. The engines consume annually 2,000,000 tons of coal, and convey during that period 120,000,000 passengers, each averaging twelve miles. The accidents are in the proportion of one to every 7,195,343

travellers. The entire receipts from traffic, per annum, are something like $120,000,000. According to reliable estimates, if railroad communications were suspended, the same amount of traffic could not be carried on at a less expense than $300,000,000 annually. It is worthy of remark that, such is the peculiarity of legislation at London, the Acts of Parliament which authorized the construction of the different existing lines were obtained at the enormous cost of $70,000,000. In addition to this amount, $150,000,000 were allowed to proprietors for the right of way and the buildings thereon. The aggregate value of the landed property in the United Kingdom is believed to have more than doubled since the locomotive commenced its operations.

Like results, if not vastly more favorable ones, will, under the same influences, display themselves in the slaveholding States, and perhaps in a quarter of the time. The railroads in those States, including such as are under contract, measure full as much as the railroads of Great Britain. There is no agent that can be employed in facilitating or augmenting intercourse between the citizens of a State that is not moralizing in its character. The love of home is one of the most ennobling attachments, and that love mostly proceeds from the enjoyment which home affords to its possessor. Science has invented the means of carrying with almost Ariel-like velocity, to every husbandman's threshold, not only the supplies demanded by him for necessary use, but also those of elegant luxury, from every clime—carrying off to market in return his surplus products. What formerly were considered secluded country abodes are becoming as highly favored as though they were sea-board cities. The tiller of the earth more than ever is justly proud of his avocation, and by his example excites industry and an upward-aiming spirit in those with whom he has intercourse in indigent circumstances: consequently the value of land is steadily equalizing itself, and the danger to a redundant unemployed city population in the South diminishing. Rural employment is the natural one to the citizens of the slaveholding States, and the facilities multiply day by day for rendering it more and more desirable.

Four such vessels as the *Great Eastern*, departing weekly from the Chesapeake Bay, would convey to Milford Haven in a year, 1,250,000 bales of cotton, or more than their equivalent in weight in a less bulky article. An opinion cannot be formed at this time with any degree of accuracy, as to what length of distance ponderous articles would bear transportation on railroad to the Chesapeake Bay, *with the certainty of conveyance across the Atlantic in seven or eight days, at unprecedented low rates.* It was estimated that, on account of the suspension

of navigation by unusual law water in the rivers of the slaveholding States during the latter part of 1854 and the early part 1855, the producers of cotton and other staples of exportation experienced a clear loss of at least $20,000,000. Cotton might possibly travel to the Chesapeake Bay, to avail of the advantages there offered for its speedy transit to Europe, from as remote a region as the interior of Texas. So with other articles. Should this transpire, there are doubtless those who have advanced to the meridian of life who will not have passed away from earth without seeing a daily, instead of the proposed weekly, Ocean Ferry Line in successful operation.

There is not a year perhaps elapses, even the most favourable one, that $10,000,000 are not lost to the slaveholding States from unavoidable detentions in the shipments of their surplus products; nor is the mere delay in the receipt of their value the heaviest of the losses consequent thereon. Those products arrive at their respective markets in such quantities at the same time, as to occasion what is termed a "glut," and its ever-attendant depression and depreciation in prices. This would be obviated by the regularity with which supplies would be moved by the Steam Ferry Line.

While at least three-fourths of the value of the products shipped from the Union to foreign markets are of slaveholding States' origin, scarcely a fiftieth part of this amount, if I am not misled by statements before me, is carried in bottoms owned by citizens of those States. The non-slaveholding States of the North, chiefly the more rabid national demoralizers of them, not only monopolize to a great extent the coastwise carrying of the slaveholding States, but they are protected against the participation of foreign ships in that carrying. It is not enough for the North that foreign vessels may not carry between New Orleans and Baltimore, but Massachusetts, Maine, &c., are so exacting as to require, that no foreign vessel shall be allowed to be *purchased* and *naturalized* so as to carry from a Southern port to a foreign one. Under such laws were it desirable to buy the *Great Eastern* for the proposed Atlantic Steam Ferry Line, a special Act of Congress would have to be passed before she could receive an American register. This species of *protection* has profited immensely the ship-building and navigation interest of New York and New England. Heretofore it has been tacitly submitted to by the slaveholding States, but, as is now evident, in *too broad a spirit* of national generosity, since for the "bread" given a "stone" is returned. By this spirit, proud of our growing navigation, I have been actuated until recently myself. But if Northern navigation and Northern shipbuilding are to affiliate with Northern free-soilism and Northern abolitionism in their unwarrantable cru-

battle ship, with a thousand hands on board, cleft in two as swiftly as the apple by the shaft of Tell!" The number of such vessels required for the weekly ferry service would inspire the utmost respect for the American flag in the Atlantic. Either could carry half our army, with the necessary artillery and horses, from any one point to another. Practical naval schools might be established in each of them, as relates to the attainment of knowledge of steam navigation. The young officers, in prosecuting their studies, could be as retired and as much to themselves, together with their instructors, as they are at Annapolis.

The idea of connecting the Chesapeake bay, by speedy steam communication, with a port facing it in Europe, has been cherished by me for the last thirteen years. But I had fears that such an enterprise would not be remunerating, inasmuch as the fuel consumed by steamships which make quick passages, weighed them down to such a depth as to prevent them from carrying cargo to a greater than a mere nominal extent. This is the case with all that have been running to the present time. When I heard that the father of Atlantic steam navigation had arranged his plan of the "big ship," I fancied that I beheld the proximate realization of my hopes for the glorious future of the slaveholding States—in one of which I drew my first breath, and in which, I trust, I may be permitted to draw my last—and I was seized with an unrelaxing solicitude to examine her gigantic proportions. The petty employment of petty office became as tedious to me "as a twice-told tale;" and after a number of vexatious efforts to be relieved of them, I finally succeeded in getting the President to accept my resignation on the 8th of May, 1855. Quitting Washington soon afterwards, and tarrying nearly a month at Richmond, Norfolk, Old Point Comfort, and other places on the James River and Chesapeake Bay, and a few weeks in New York, I embarked for Liverpool late in July, and in August found myself, with a friend, at Millwall, in the presence of the most interesting object, as far as completed, ever conceived by science—an object that was essential to inaugurate a revolution in the material and political well-being of the slaveholding States.

The mind of Washington was anxiously exercised to devise a plan for the development of the advantages which the Chesapeake Bay contained as an unequalled haven in the United States for commerce. "The Father of his Country" supposed that the Dismal Swamp and James river canals would render that water of infinite value to the South. He lived not, alas! to behold the steamer ploughing the main, or the locomotive walking over the earth. But may not his immortal spirit be looking with affectionate interest to the early realization of the

bright prospects which are now revealed to that region which he so much nourished and cherished in his retirement?—a region, to its glory be it ever said, in which the Anglo-Saxon banner was first planted on the American Continent, and in which the final blow was struck that won the independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

In the preceding address it has merely been my object to explain the nature of the proposed enterprise, and its paramount importance to the slaveholding States. In another communication I shall enter into minute details relative to the manner of carrying it into successful operation. I will now state, however, that every southern citizen who chooses may become a co-partner in it; that the shares will be issued for $100 each; that no person shall be permitted to subscribe for two or more until all shall have had ample time to subscribe for one; and that each slaveholding State and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to one manager in the concern.

FINANCIAL CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

The Central Commitee of the Belgian Association for the removal of Restrictions upon Trade, has called an International Congress, to be held at Brussels on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of September, to which are invited the scientific and practical men of all countries who are interested in the important questions raised by the commercial relations which nations sustain to each other. The object of this assembly will be to continue and complete the work of the Congress of Economists, which met in 1847. The circumstances under which that Congress met may be briefly stated.

The triumph of the Manchester league, and the reforms instituted by Sir Robert Peel, had aroused public opinion all over Europe, particularly in France and Belgium, and a warm controversy agitated the partisans of free trade and protection. Some Belgian economists, at whose head were Messrs. Hardy de Beaulieu and Ch. de Brouckere, conceived the idea of assembling, in one Congress, economists from all countries, where the question might be thoroughly discussed. One hundred and seventy economists, comprising political writers, manufacturers, agriculturists, merchants, members of the British Parliament of the French and Belgian Chambers, of the Institute of France, &c., responded to the appeal, and assembled in the Hotel de Ville at Brussels.

The discussion which took place during the three days' session of the Congress, resulted in the following declaration of principles: "The Congress of Economists, having examined

and discussed the general effects of free trade, as well as all the special questions which attach to it, are of the opinion that freedom in commerce is a necessity of human society, and that its effect will be, 1st, to draw into closer union nations, who, instead of becoming tributary to each other, will lend each other mutual support; 2d, to extend production and to protect industry against those violent shocks to which the restricted markets of prohibition are inevitably subject; 3d, to ameliorate the lot of the laborer by increasing the enjoyment to be obtained in exchange for his labor; 4th, to eliminate a constant cause of demoralization."

At this time, of all the European powers, England alone had frankly adopted the principles of free trade. The other nations seemed little disposed towards the doctrines of Cobden and his continental disciples. It will be of interest to trace the progress of public opinion on this subject during the nine years which have succeeded, and ascertain whether free trade continues to excite that repugnance which made Bastiat say, in a moment of despondency, "They are all against us."

In England, free trade has become a settled policy, which no one thinks of opposing to this day. The leaders of the protectionists, Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli, have ceased all efforts to arrest the movement, and by their own confession, it would be impossible to re-establish the former restriction in England. Indeed, since 1846, another fresh step has been taken in the direction of free trade, the act of June 26, 1849, regulating the merchant service, which effaced the last traces of Cromwell's famous Navigation Act, having completed the series of reforms inaugurated by Huskisson in 1825.

Two nations have almost literally followed England's example. Since 1849 Sardinia has completely revised her commercial maritime legislation. Holland had long been a convert to the principles of free trade, and the repeal of the Navigation act in England, a measure devised for her especial injury, determined her to modify the protectionist laws with which she had surrounded her merchant service.

France had been most hostile to the free trade reforms. In 1851, a proposition made by Sainte Beuve to revise the tariff was summarily rejected. In 1852, such was the distrust excited by the doctrines of free trade, that the *Senatus Consultus* of December 25th, 1852, giving to the Emperor the right of concluding treaties of commerce and of executing them without the previous action of the legislative body, was considered as a means by which the government could modify, without control, the custom-house taxes, and in order to dissipate the anxiety thereby occasioned, the President of the State issued a declaration, in which he eulogised the protective system.

Notwithstanding this declaration, the Imperial government has within three years modified the tariff system very considerably; many articles having been entirely stricken from it, while others have been materially reduced. Among the latter may be mentioned coal, iron, steel, tallow, and wood, any hint of a reduction in the duties on which would formerly have excited the most formidable opposition. The scarcity of food has furnished a reason for suspending the restrictive laws upon the importation of cereals and cattle, a suspension which may be indefinitely prolonged.

The restrictions on wines have been reduced in order to meet the deficit on home production, and imported rails made free in order that the railroads in progress may be sooner completed. The prohibition of the purchase of vessels abroad has been suspended, as also the duties on nearly all articles needed by shipbuilders. To complete the list of reforms, the draught of a law destined to remove from the French tariff every trace of prohibition has been sent by the government to the legislative body.

Other nations have, like France, been revising their tariff system. Since the conclusion of the peace, Russia seems disposed to enter upon the most complete reforms, and to open her frontiers entirely. In Sweden, the tariff was modified in 1852; in 1855, further changes were effected, and among others the duties on bar iron and clothing stuffs were removed. Norway adopted a similar policy in 1854.

Considerable changes have been made in the custom-house legislation of the Roman States, and of the kingdom of Naples. In Spain, the tariff of 1849 marked a step towards reform; and since the revolution of 1854, the various ministers of finance who have sought a remedy for the financial crisis of the Peninsula, have based their projects on a modification of the custom-house duties. A bill for the reform of the tariff was under discussion by the Cortes previous to the late disturbances. In Portugal, a Commission has been recently named to prepare the outline of a complete revision of the tariff of 1852. In Germany, the Zollverein is participating in the general movement, by removing all the interior custom-houses.

In Belgium, the Government has suspended the differential duties to which merchandise imported under a foreign flag was subject. The revision of the tariff is also seriously agitated; assemblies of citizens, interested in reform, have been held in many places, resolutions are voted, addresses are signed, and everything indicates that the Government will yield to the pressure of opinion.

The progress of the United States toward free trade is tolerably familiar to our readers. This tendency of the chief civ-

ilized nation of the world to remove the restrictions with which economists have insisted upon fettering commerce, is scarcely less remarkable for its unanimity than for the rapidity of its growth. Within a period of less than ten years, the system of protection, once universal, has apparently received its death-blood, and legislators and financiers seem now to differ only as to the expediency of a speedy or gradual reduction of prohibitory and protective duties. How far the Brussels Congress of 1847 has contributed to this result, it would be difficult to say. It certainly is entitled to a share of the credit, and will meet now under far more encouraging circumstances than on the former occasion, when its aims were deemed impracticable, and even revolutionary by the very governments which now most strenuously advocate them.

Undoubtedly the nine years which have elapsed between the two Congresses form one of the most important epochs in financial history; and it will prove a study of no little interest to trace minutely the causes which have contributed to bring about the reforms in the various countries in which they have been effected. The Congress will convene with more inclination to institute further reforms from the readiness with which all their previous suggestions have been finally adopted, and their proceedings may be looked for with unusual interest.

There never was a more favorable time than the present for an international discussion of the great commercial questions which unite and separate the great nations of the earth, and we trust measures will be taken to secure a suitable representation of the doctrines of commercial freedom from the United States, in the Brussels Congress.

BREADSTUFFS.

The returns from the wheat harvest of the United States are now complete, and it is settled that the crop is of most excellent quality, and if not the largest ever gathered since the settlement of the country, is at least above the average, and will yield a large surplus beyond the supply of our domestic wants. With the certainty of such abundance, the probable reliance to be placed upon an active export demand is a subject of much importance, and deserving serious attention. Our imports of foreign goods and merchandise for the eight months of the current year are larger than for any similar period in our history, the total being upwards of $150,000,000; and although much of this increase has been in consequence of large exports of domestic produce to this date, yet, if these exports are to cease with the ingathering of the present harvest in Europe, it might take a larger portion of the receipts of gold than we could conveniently spare, to balance the ac-

count. Great Britian has always been the best customer for our surplus breadstuffs. To most other countries which take breadstuffs of us, our shipments of flour have been comparatively uniform, whether the crop was large or small, but to British ports the shipments have varied with the quantity we have had to spare, although averaging nearly half the total clearances for all foreign ports.

Brazil and the West Indies are regular customeres for our flour, as they purchase about the same quantity every year, and after Great Britain, take the largest quantity in a series of years; but a large portion of our shipments of grain (with wheat and corn) go to British ports. Thus of 18,583,151 bushels of wheat shipped to all ports from July 1, 1849, to June 30th, 1855, 14,061,212 were sent to Great Britain; and of 43,757,597 bushels of corn exported to all ports within the same period, 36,563,951 bushels had the same destination. We annex a tabular statement showing the exports from all ports of the United States to all foreign ports, of wheat, wheat flour, and Indian corn, both in quantity and value, from 1849 to 1855 inclusive, with a comparison of the quantity of each sent to Great Britian. The totals are all taken from official documents and may be relied upon as authentic, although it must be noted that of many direct clearances to Great Britian for orders, there are sometimes considerable quantities directed from thence to Continental ports. The "famine" of 1847 led to large shipments of breadstuffs, and to the inauguration of free trade in England, and we commence therefore with 1848–9, when the buisiness had become settled under this system. The periods noted are the fiscal years, ending June 30th:

Exports from the United States, of Wheat, Wheat Flour, and Indian Corn, from 1849 *to* 1855, *inclusive, for the year ending June* 30.

1849.	To Great Britain. Quantity.	To all For. Ports. Quantity.	Value.
Wheat, bush.....	1,072,780	1,527,534	$1,756,848
Flour, bbls.....	953,815	2,108,013	11,280,582
Corn, bush.....	12,396,242	13,257,309	7,966,369
1850.			
Wheat, bush.....	316,926	608,661	$643,745
Flour, bbls.....	370,777	1,385,448	7,098,570
Corn, bush.....	5,957,206	6,595,092	3,892,193
1851.			
Wheat, bush.....	592,583	1,026,725	$1,025,732
Flour, bbls.....	1,004,783	2,292,335	10,524,331
Corn, bush.....	2,760,329	3,426,811	1,762,549
1852.			
Wheat, bush.....	2,049,557	2,694,540	$2,555,209
Flour, bbls.....	1,532,094	2,799,339	11,869,143
Corn, bush.....	1,894,700	2,627,075	1,540,225

1853.	To Great Britain. Quantity.	To all For. Ports. Quantity.	Value.
Wheat, bush.....	3,574,248	3,890,141	$4,354,403
Flour, bbls.....	1,388,065	2,920,918	14,783,394
Corn, bush.....	1,653,840	2,274,909	1,374,077
1854.			
Wheat, bush.....	6,058,903	8,036,665	$12,420,172
Flour, bbls.....	2,026,121	4,022,386	27,701,444
Corn, bush.....	5,965,850	7,768,816	6,074,277
1855.			
Wheat, bush.....	396,215	798,884	$1,329,246
Flour, bbls.....	189,712	1,204,540	10,896,908
Corn, bush.....	5,935,284	7,807,585	6,961,571

The ordinary shipments in the past have not included anything direct for France. In the first year named above (1849) there were no exports of flour to French ports, and only 108 bushels of wheat; in 1852 the total includes 2,700 bbls. of flour and in 1853 only 8,784 bbls.; but in the year ending June 30. 1854, there were shipped direct to France 1,041,086 bushels of wheat, 728,279 bbls. of flour, and 39,400 bushels of Indian corn. In the following fiscal year (1854–5) the shipments of flour to the same ports had dwindled down to 8,557 bbls., and there was no shipment of wheat, but the exports of corn increased to 312,740 bushels. During the year 1855 the partial failure of the crops on the Continent of Europe, led to large direct shipments, and the total exports to France for 1855–6, not yet officially compiled, have been larger than ever before recorded to the same ports. As soon as the threshing of wheat commenced in the west and north of France in 1855, its bad quality and light weight created a general panic, and prices continued to advance up to the first of January. The abundance caused by the large receipts from this country, Spain, and other sources of supply, caused a downward tendency in prices throughout January, 1856, and everything was promising for the next harvest until the inundations in May. These checked the decline without wholly arresting it, but as the harvest approached, the hopes of an average crop became less sanguine, and it is now generally admitted that the supply will be deficient from five to ten millions hectolitres, that is, from fourteen to twenty-eight millions of bushels.

The quantity of arable land in France, is set down at 56,810,000 acres, of which fourteen millions hectares, or 34,580,000 acres are devoted to the culture of grain. The average annual product is 495,000,000 bushels of wheat, oats, rye, maize, and meslin—of which about one-fourth are oats, and two-fifths, or 198,000,000 bushels are wheat. With an average crop, France has heretofore been able, not only to supply her own wants, but to furnish about 5,500,000 bushels

of wheat (or its equivalent in flour) for the consumption of Great Britain. It is evident that this export trade must be cut off or greatly reduced during the current year, as the crop in France is below the wants of her own people. Indeed, the total exports to Great Britain from all French ports, for the year 1855, amounted to an equivalent of only 880,000 bushels, or about fifteen per cent. of the usual shipments, and this was all foreign produce, shipped from bond.

In Great Britain, the crop this year is very good, but it is never sufficient to supply the wants of the people. The total imports of breadstuffs into the United Kingdom for the last three years, (reckoning flour, &c., at its equivalent in grain,) are as follows:

Calendar Year.	Equal to bushels wheat.
1853.....	84,419,632
1854.....	63,267,240
1855.....	50,227,608

The high prices have contributed to reduce the imports into the United Kingdoms during the last two years to the lowest possible point; but for the first six months of the current year the total imports amounted to 1,859,000 quarters, showing an increase of 161,000 quarters, or 1,248,000 bushels, and must continue at about this rate throughout the remainder of the year. Even with a good harvest, the kingdom must need at least 40,000,000 bushels grain, or its equivalent in flour, for its own consumption. Of this amount, Russia, (Northern and Southern ports,) whose supplies were cut off during the war, can now furnish 10,000,000 bushels; Prussia (whose harvest is this year below the average) 10,000,000 bushels; all other countries, 5,000,000; leaving 15,000,000 to come from the United States. If prices rule at a comparatively low rate, the consumption will be increased, and the quota from this country may reach twenty or twenty-five millions of bushels. Spain and Portugal have hitherto exported to both France and England, the shipments to the latter, last year, being upwards of 4,000,000 bushels. This year, the harvests are there so poor that the export is prohibited, and supplies for consumption in the Peninsula are going forward from this port.

We see, therefore, that in addition to the demand for the breadstuffs from regular customers, we are likely to have an increased export trade to Europe, making the aggregate probably more than 40,000,000 bushels wheat and corn, or its equivalent in flour.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact production of the United States. The total arable land under actual cultivation is given in the Census of 1850 at 113,032,614 acres, of which 51,700,000 acres were producing breadstuffs. The following was the total production of grain as given in Census returns for 1840 & 1850:

$29 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad.
$57 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati and Marietta Railroad.
$36 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cincinnati, Wilmington and Zanesville Railroad.
$28 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of the Cleveland, Painsville and Ashtabula Railroad.
$27 00 more than a 1st mortgage bond of Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad.
$34 00 more than 1st mortgage bond of the Cleveland and Toledo Railroad.

The following table represents the excess in value of the State Bonds of the several States and of the United States over and above the value of the Bonds of the respective Railway Companies named in the margin:

	N. York	Ohio	Mass.	Maryland	Tenn.	Kentucky	Maine	Georgia	N. Car.	La.	Virginia	U. States
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Balt. & Ohio 1st mort...	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Chicago & Rock Island..	30	24	26	21	20	19	18	16	13	10	9	32
Illinois Central.....	40	33	35	30	29	28	27	25	22	19	18	42
Michigan Southern.....	34	27	29	24	26	22	21	19	16	13	12	36
N. Haven & Hartford...	36	29	31	23	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Alabama & Tenn. River.	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Northern Indiana.....	36	29	31	26	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Central Ohio.....	50	43	45	40	39	38	37	35	32	29	28	52
Cin., Hamilton & Dayton	36	29	31	26	25	24	23	21	18	15	14	38
Cincinnati & Marietta...	52	45	47	42	41	40	39	37	34	31	30	54
Cin., Wil. & Zanesville..	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Clev'd Painville & Ash..	34	27	29	24	23	22	21	19	16	13	12	36
Indianopolis & Cin.....	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
Cleveland & Pittsburg...	35	28	30	25	24	23	22	20	17	14	13	37
Racine & Mississippi....	42	35	37	32	31	30	29	27	24	21	20	44
do. 2d Mortgage.....	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Cleveland & Toledo.....	41	34	36	31	30	29	28	26	23	20	19	43
Chicago & Mississippi...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Covington & Lexington.	55	48	50	45	44	43	42	40	37	34	33	57
Del. Lackawana & West.	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Ft. Wayne & Chicago...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Great Western.....	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Galena & Chicago.....	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
G'n B. Milwaukie & Chic	41	34	36	31	30	29	28	26	23	20	19	43
Jeffersonville.....	52	45	47	42	41	40	39	37	34	31	30	54
Indiana Central...	37	30	32	27	26	25	24	22	19	16	15	39
Indianopolis & Belfont'n.	46	39	41	36	35	34	33	31	28	25	24	48
Lacross & Milwaukie...	44	37	39	34	32	32	31	28	26	23	22	46
L. Erie, West'n & St. Lou	54	47	49	44	43	42	41	39	36	33	32	56
Little Miami.....	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Michigan Central.....	38	31	33	28	27	26	25	23	20	17	16	40
Milw'ke & Mississippi...	29	25	27	19	18	17	16	14	11	8	7	31
Ohio & Indiana.....	38	31	33	28	27	26	25	23	20	17	16	40
Ohio & Pennsylvania....	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Pennsylvania Central...	31	25	27	22	21	20	19	17	14	11	10	33
Stubenville & Indiana...	47	40	42	37	36	35	34	32	29	26	25	49
Terrehaute & Indianap'	29	22	24	19	18	17	16	14	11	8	7	31
Terrehaute & Alton.....	50	43	45	40	39	38	37	35	32	29	28	52
Gal. Houst'n & Hend'son	62	55	57	52	51	50	49	47	44	41	40	64
Galveston & Red River.	67	60	62	57	56	55	54	52	49	56	45	69

The foregoing tables will, I think, plainly show to the minds of most men, and more especially to the minds of the planters, the propriety of using State Credit in the construction of Internal Improvements. The great expenditure necessary to be incurred in order to relieve, and give cheap transportation to the interior and back portions of the State, demands the adoption of the strongest financial agency. The right course, whatever it may be, should be boldly adopted by the State, and prosecuted to a successful termination.

I would think as much of a General, who on the eve of a battle, would dispirit his men by acts of cowardice or indecision, as I would of the politician who has "ideas" enough to perceive the right course on an important question of State policy, but from any cause would hesitate to pursue it. By resorting to a well guarded State credit as the agency for constructing Improvements, there can be saved, on the average, as the foregoing tables plainly show, more than *forty cents on the dollar*. From this we see that while States can construct *one hundred* miles of railroad with a given amount of their credit, *only sixty* miles can be constructed by *Corporate Companies* with an equal amount of *their* credit.

But this is not all; by keeping our public lands and reserving them from sale until the improvements are made, they will be of five-fold more value to pay off the debt, than they would be if sold *in advance* to raise money for expenditures. These considerations alone must make evident to all minds the great advantages which the State System has over corporate works in point of *economy*.

But the planter may ask, what is it to *me*, how much corporate companies pay for their roads, and whether these are more or less costly than those undertaken and built by the State? If the planter will only reflect for a moment, he will see that the tolls on his cotton, sugar, and plantation-supplies, pay for the roads at last, and also pay the income which the companies derive from their investment; and that it is a matter of very serious importance to him whether the road cost (say) $4,000,000 when it might have been built for 40 per cent. less, (that is $2,400,000,) and whether he shall be taxed in the shape of tolls to raise a yearly income, (say from four to seven per cent., as the case may be,) on the $4,000,000, or on the $2,400,000. If the planter wants cheap transportation, or low rates of toll on all that he sells and buys, he must see that the roads are built upon the most economical plan, and that is the State plan, as the foregoing tables plainly show.

I have in my hands full reports of the *Georgia State Road* from 1848 to 1855 inclusive. The history of this road is familiar to many, more especially to gentlemen coming from that

State. The lines of road in Georgia, which were of easy and cheap construction, and sure to pay handsome dividends, were constructed by incorporated companies. But the road from Atlanta to Chatanooga, a distance of 131 miles over an expensive route, was a scheme too discouraging for companies to undertake, and was therefore urged upon the State as a measure of State policy, though it was not expected that a revenue would be derived from the road at once. It was necessary in order to open to cultivation a large section of country, heretofore so remote from market as to be of little value. The road was built under many disadvantages, and we can now see not only its advantage to the State, but also that the State is reaping, as the fruits of its enterprise, a handsome income from the receipts of the road.

The following extracts are taken from the late report of the fiscal year, ending with the 30th of September, 1855.

Table, showing the income of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, during the fiscal years, ending September 30, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, *and* 1855.

Years.	Freight.	Passengers.	Mail.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1850–'51....	$183,371 59	$89,656 85	$12,000 00	.....	$285,028 44
1851–'52....	249,221 59	112,955 01	13,000 00	.....	375,176 62
1852–'53....	321,888 43	141,158 38	14,000 00	$1,829 25	478,876 06
1853–'54....	395,956 31	169,335 10	13,983 20	11,880 17	591,154 78
1854–'55....	493,379 94	179,336 90	16,134 52	79 20	688,930 56

In another place, the report says:

"The very low ratio of working expenses to receipts, is a gratifying evidence of the fidelity and economy which have been practiced in the several departments of the road, producing a result which challenges comparison with the showings of the best conducted railroads, and would seem to refute the very general allegation, that so long as the proprietorship of a railroad is in a State, its affairs cannot be profitably administered. It need not be apprehended that too large a share of these expenditures has been carried to capital account, as it will be shown in the sequel of this report, that even when swollen by these additions, and others yet to be made to perfect its organization, the cost of the road will be but a meagre indication of its value, if that may be measured by the profits it is capable of earning.

Cost of the road and outfit—its value.

Under this head, the report says:

"To arrive at this interesting item, (see Mr. George Young's report, October, 10th, 1856:)

We have amount expended up to September 30, 1853.....	$4,578,544 80
Add amount expended during the year, ending September 30, 1854.....	324,542 34

Add amount expended during the year, ending September 30, 1855.....	239,308 12	
Amounting to.....		$5,142,395 26
Adding to this the estimated cost of work yet to be done toward permanent improvements, equipment yet to be procured, bonds to be redeemed as per aforegoing estimate, say...	$761,500 00	
And we have an aggregate of.....		$5,903,895 26

as the actual cost of the road and outfit, fully completed. The road has already earned an income equal to seven per cent. on that cost, and when it reaches five hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($550,000 nett) annually, as it assuredly will in 1858, it will yield a dividend of nine and one-half per cent. upon the investment.

"Why should it be valued then one dollar below that outlay? The estimates contemplate the road permanently improved, amply equipped for business, the outstanding bonds all redeemed with full allowance for depreciation of rails, decay of perishable structures, maintenance and renewal of machinery.

"The probably income is set down at a figure quite within a safe calculation, justified by receipts already realized, with moderate additions for the great accessions of trade, future, but not conjectural. Why, then, it is repeated, should Georgia value this splendid property of hers at one per cent. below its cost? If ever there was a reasonable question of its success, it cannot be doubted now that it is realizing the high destiny for which it was projected."

Had this splendid work been undertaken by private enterprise, discouraging as it was in the commencement, the probability is, that it would have bankrupted company after company, and its bonds would have been forced on the market, to raise money for construction, at 70, 60, or even 50 cents on the dollar. Instead of the road costing (as it now has cost) $45,000 to the mile, it would have equalled in cost the Erie or Hudson River Railroads, which cost from $71,000 to 85,000 *per mile*. The work in the hands of the State, has been carried to a successful and happy termination. Thus it is seen that Georgia saved her public spirited citizens from individual sacrifice, prosecuted a work which injured no one, but benefitted all; and the citizens of that State can look with pride upon the success which nothing but the superior financial resources of the State could have achieved. Such will everywhere be the result under a State system properly devised, and steadily and perseveringly prosecuted.

I have often heard the politician, the speculator, and even men sincere in their remarks, hold forth to the public that the Georgia State road was a *failure, and a heavy expense upon the State—that the Legislature had tired of its management and advised its sale.* But, from the foregoing report, it can be seen that such is not the fact; on the contrary, the road is now paying 7 per cent, (nett) profit to the State upon the investment, and will in the year 1858, pay 9½ per cent.; at which time, the State can well afford to reduce the tolls, giving to the planting interests of the State the benefit of such reductions in the cost of transportation.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, June 25, 1856.

SENTIMENTS OF THE SOUTH.

In our May No. was published a short account of a Kansas meeting held in New Orleans, in which the Editor of the Review was enabled to take part. That meeting was, we are glad to find, but the forerunner of a very large and enthusiastic one, in which all parties united, and in which the most wholesome Southern views were taken. We may hereafter refer to the speeches of Messrs. Christy, Chilton, and General Morse, and to the patriotic letter of Maunsel White. At present we can only give some of the resolutions which were adopted:

1. That the scheme organized in New England under the pretense of settling Kansas, but really with a view of driving from its territory all settlers who are not in favor of the prohibition of slavery, is indirectly in violation of the mutual good faith between the Northern and Southern States, on which the Constitution rests, is injurious and insulting to the Southern States, and is not only calculated, but deliberately intended to disturb if not wholly to destroy, the fraternal relations hitherto cherished between citizens of the free States and slaveholding States of the Union.

4. That for every drop of Southern blood murderously shed by Northern emigrants upon the soil of Kansas, the South ought to devise such mode of redress as will punish the outlaws, aiders, and abettors thereof and to adopt such retaliatory measures as will "plague the inventors" of "emigrant aid societies," and to avenge the numerous victims of their diabolical designs.

5. That a committee be appointed by the President at his leisure, with general powers, and especially to solicit subscriptions of money and other "material aid" to be applied to the payment of the expense of emigrations from the South to the Territory of Kansas, of such persons as desire to acquire pre-emption rights there and who are also willing and able to defend that article of the Constitution which says: "A well regulated militia being necessary for the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

6. That we recognize and will entertain no feeling of amity or plan of compromise with such of the Northern States as systematically assail our institutions, and encourage the spoliation of our rights; and that we regard them, so long as they persevere in this unwise and unjust course, as the irreconcilable enemies of the Southern States.

7. That if the Northern States persist in their present crusade against Southern rights, it is the duty of the Legislature of each Southern State to take such steps as will divorce the South from the North, "peaceably, if they can; forcibly, if they must."

8. That the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby, requested to correspond with the Governors of all the Southern States, with the view of creating a concert of action among the several Legislatures thereof, upon this subject, and if necessary, in his opinion, to convene our Legislature for the purpose of deliberating and determining upon the measures necessary at the present crisis.

The readers of the Review are aware that we have felt constrained of late to indulge in very strong language in relation to the peculiar state of the times. On this account we have received a large number of letters from all sections of the country, endorsing, with but one or two exceptions very fully our course. These exceptions are scarcely worth a moment's consideration. No truth can be so obvious, and no principles so clear, but what there will be found, if pains is taken to hunt him up somewhere a skeptic. Thus a writer in Louisiana cuts our acquaintance: "Deeming the articles you publish, and to which you admit no reply, on the subject of the relations of the North and the South, incendiary in their character, and calculated, if not intended, to familiarize the idea of a dissolution of this Union, I can no longer conscientiously contribute to its support."

Another writer from Texas objects to the article in our August number, entitled "The Union and its Compromises," that it erroneously refers to the Constitution. We cannot see, however, that the argument of the author, which we have neither approved or disapproved, is at all affected by this, since every one will admit it to be quite as impossible to revive the slave trade by act of Congress as by amendment of the Constitution.

Our Texas friend says: "If the author of that article will examine, he will find that the African slave-trade is prohibited, not by the Constitution, but by law. Congress had no power, under the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution to prohibit the importation of such persons prior to the year 1808, but there is no provision which required them to pass such a law at any time; and the act of 22d March, 1794, and the subsequent acts which render the slave-trade piracy, are subject to be repealed at any time, like any other laws, by a bare majority of Congress."

Having given the exceptions, we would take up a few from the mass of approvals which cheer us in our course. A writer from Cheraw, S. C., says: "I wish you every success in your laudable objects, and take occasion to congratulate you upon the zeal and ability with which your work is carried on."

Another from Linden, Alabama, says: "Please continue to send it, as I would regard its loss as a serious gap in my leisure readings. I regard it as the most noble work of the kind ever published in this country."

Another from Pickens county, Alabama. "I appreciate the effort you are making in defence of Southern institutions in these 'perilous times,' but alas, what tide of abolitionism has been turned away by your earnest appeals to the magnanimity, the justice of the North."

Another from Plymouth, North Carolina. "I value your Review as the best paper now published in the United States, and look on it as the only expose of Southern views and Southern interest, and should be liberally sustained."

Another from Autauga, Alabama. "My situation is such, that I feel that I should curtail all my expenditures possible. I will get you *two more* subscribers, and hope to be one again in two years from this time. With the greatest desire for the widest circulation of the great Southern work."

One from Richmond, Virginia, writes: "Your Review meets my entire approbation in principles so far as the *South* is concerned; I read it always with much interest; by the way, allow me to repeat a remark of a friend of mine which has frequently been my own—'The Review will talk more *sense* in one number than &c., &c.' I shall endeavor toinduce others to read and subscribe to it."

Another from Alabama. "I shall continue to subscribe for your Review as long as it continues to be what it now is, the most valuable periodical published in this or any other country."

Another from Georgia. "I have continued to take it for its able defence of the South upon the slavery question, as well as the valuable statistical information it contains."

Another from Louisiana. "I need not particularize. It is well that you give such articles as often as possible to raise the sphere of circulation for your work, so that it may answer the ends of a quarterly in the great elaboration and extent of the articles."

Another from New England. "I have read it in former years, with much satisfaction, but now like it still better. If we can but force (the Review) it into New England, it will do great good, and root out the benighted and horrid prejudices that have seized the land. Since taking this number in hand, I have resolved to appropriate $50 or $100 this year in fertilizing the land. If you will have the goodness to send me a list of your New England subscriptions (which I think are few and far between) I shall not run the risk of sending to any that already take it."

Another from Milledgeville, Georgia. "No party in England ever designed or wished to injure us half so much as the majority of the present generation of Northern men do. Sir, I am for Union with friends; war with enemies. This is my household politics, and though I may not swear my sons to Hamilcar's oath, yet fidelity to the principles of my forefathers, requires of me the duty to send forth the eight children of my house well imbued with this doctrine.

"Sir, if no good change comes over the North, I am satisfied that our malicious and ambitious brethren of New England will very soon force us to seek the more profitable and more enduring and more inviting friendship of our cousins of Old England and of France. England and France are the natural allies of the South. We are their customers, the Northern States are their rivals. England and France want and must have our cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, while we want their manufactures in return.

"Provincialism is all that the Northern majority now offer us for the Southern States. I rebel against any proposition, open or covert, to turn the Southern States into *Provinces* of a great Northern dominion.

These sentiments of approval in our labor combined with those of Members of both Houses of Congress from the South, to be found in the card on the fourth page of our cover, are sufficient encouragement, and are such as impel us to renewed efforts.

EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

Household Mysteries; A Romance of Southern Life, by Lizzie Petit, of Virginia; Author of Light and Darkness; New York, D. Appleton & Co., 346 & 348, Broadway.

In these times, when sectional questions are so active, the mere title of a book will attract attention, when otherwise it would pass without notice. Sketches of Southern or Northern life hinge always upon slavery or its opposite, and such is the taste for this class of reading, that books of the kind continually multiply. We have not read the one before us, but are willing to admit it to be quite as interesting as any of the class.

Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell; hitherto unpublished, with an appendix, consisting of Mr. Jefferson's bill for a complete system of education, and other illustrative documents; and an introduction comprising a brief historical sketch of the University, and a biographical notice of Joseph C. Cabell. J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Virginia.

A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise, with a History of the Political Campaign in Virginia, in 1855; to which is added a Review of the position of parties in the Union, and a statement of the political issues, distinguishing them on the eve of the presidential campaign of 1856, by James P. Hambleton, M. D. J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Virginia. 1856.

Mr. Randolph has now the merit of being the largest Southern publisher. He deserves unlimited encouragement; it is our misfortune to have few such men. In our advertising pages appears a list of some of his publications. The works are all of a standard and valuable character. The History of the University of Virginia, as embodied in Mr. Jefferson's letters, is full of light and instruction. The University is a monument to Mr. Jefferson that will be as lasting as the Declaration of Independence. It is an institution now flourishing beyond any example at the South; every year adds to it larger numbers and greater influence. Its faculty increases. Let the South look to it as the English do to Cambridge or to Oxford. It is time to call home our youth from north of Mason & Dixon's line. Subject them no more to the poi-

son of Yale and Amherst, and even Harvard. Their Professors sign incendiary addresses, or vote Sharpe's rifles. The volume of Wise's Biography and the Virginia Campaign, is also a book full of political wisdom. Mr. Wise, with much of the erratic genius of Randolph, has proved himself capable of Herculean labors, and a southern patriot without blemish. In periods of great peril, such men find their high mission.

The London Quarterly Review for July, 1856. Leonard, Scott & Co., New York, send us regularly their reprints of Foreign Reviews; the works are cheap, and may be read with profit by every class of persons. They are comparatively free from offensive references to our people and their institutions.

Bankers' Magazine.—The Publisher of the Bankers' Magazine has in preparation for the press a List of Private Bankers in the various towns and cities of the United States, and will be glad to receive early information as to the recent establishment of responsible banking firms in any of the States—particularly in California, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, &c., where the most frequent changes take place. The list, which will be contained in one of the early numbers of the Bankers' Magazine, when published, will be a valuable one for all banking firms.

Letter from Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, to the Bishops of the other Southern States. The Bishop, with great power, argues in favor of educating our Southern ministry at home, and in favor of a great Southern university for that purpose. His letter is marked with patriotism no less than religious zeal; we may yet publish it entire. He says, "Our children are expatriated or sent off to an inconvenient distance, beyond the reach of our supervision or parental influence, exposed to the rigors of an unfriendly climate, to say nothing of other influences not calculated, it is to be feared, to promote their happiness or ours.

Maryland and Delaware Railroad. We are indebted to Gen. Tilghman for a copy of his report as President of the company, with a report of Walter Gwynn, the engineer, and shall make some use of its statistics hereafter.

Barnes' School Books.—A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, whose advertisement appeared in our last number, sends us several recent issues of their valuable School publications, to wit: "Self Culture in Reading, Speaking, and Conversation, by William Sherwood."

"The Word-Builder, by Richard G. Parker, A. M." "Brookfield's First Book in Composition, on a new plan." "Elements of Logic, by Rev. James R. Boyd, on the basis of Wm. Barron." "School Arithmetic, Analytical and Practical, by Charles Davies, LLD." "Elements of Criticism by Henry Home, Lord Kame, edited by James R Boyd." "An Improved System of Geography by Francis McNally." Messrs. Barnes also furnishes us their Catalogue of Standard School publications, which embraces the most popular works in every branch of knowledge. We shall refer to it again more fully.

"*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses*," by Agnes Strickland; vols., 3 and 4; New York, Harper & Brothers. More elaborate notice reserved for our next.

"*The Home Circle*," Nashville, Tennessee;

"*The Farmer and Mechanic*," Nashville, Tennesse;

"*The University Magazine*," Charlottsville, Va.; are welcomed to our editorial table; they are enterprises of comparatively recent date, and are entitled to encouragement from the Southern public.

The Female Poets of America, by Rufus Wilmot Griswold. Illustrated with Portraits from original artists. New edition; revised, enlarged, and brought down to the present time. 1 vol. 8vo. Cloth. Philadelphia; Parry & McMillan.

A splendid volume, and one which ought to be found in every good collection of American Works.

We shall again refer to these volumes of Mr. Griswold.

We have received a copy of the *Banker's Almanac* for 1856, published by J. S. Homans, New York, containing—

1. A List of Private Bankers in the United States and Europe, South America, etc. January, 1856.

2. Table of Monthly Quotations of Stocks for 1855, at New York.

3. Premium Essay on Banking—"Suggestions to Young Cashiers on the Duties of their profession."

4. List of Banks in the United States; Names of President and Cashier of each; Amount of Capital of each.

5. Usury Laws of every State in the Union, with penalties for violation thereof; Rate of Damages on Protested Bills of Exchange, allowed by statute of each State, (including the recent Laws of Illinois, Georgia, California, Wisconsin, etc.)

☞ Copies forwarded by mail, to order. Price, $1.12, including postage prepaid.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We want advertisements; they help us to pay expenses and support the Review. We want Southern advertisements; and, if we take any others, it is because the Southern people, though frequently solicited, have given us few, or none. Do not the merchants of Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, and Memphis, desire to extend their business into the interior as much as the merchants of the North do. Do not our Schools and Colleges want students, our machinists want orders, our watering places guests? Gladly would we occupy all our advertising pages with the cards of Southern men. Our prices are low; they will be found stated on the last pages of the September No. We take a limited number of advertisements, let them come from where they may, except from freesoilers or abolitionists.

OUR SUBSCRIPTION DUES.

Nearly all of our subscribers have been addressed by letter on this subject. The Volume began with July, and the rule of prepayment is an essential one. Northern publications all insist upon this, and get it. Ought not the South to be as equitable to its own laborers? Thanks to those who have promptly responded. Will not every true friend of the South feel it a duty to do the same? Hundreds of our subscribers are indebted for several years. If errors creep into our accounts, we correct them upon the statement of the subscribers. If we are earnest in pressing collections, it is because the matter is one of vital consequence. Drafts upon merchants, payable several months hence, can be used by us as cash. Friends, give this your prompt attention, and if you approve our work, help us, too, to extend its circulation.

TREDEGAR ROLLING MILLS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

We call attention to the advertisement of Messrs. Morriss and Tanner in another column. For many years these Works have supplied most of the Chain Cable used by the Navy of the United States, together with the Iron required for constructing Vessels, Docks, &c.; and from many tests instituted by the Government in its various Departments, it is the strongest rolled iron ever submitted to tests there. In addition to Bar Iron of all descriptions, every article, required by Railroad Companies, made of iron, is manufactured at these Works, and supplied on as good terms as by any Northern establishment, and of superior quality—say, Railroad Spikes and Chairs, Bridge Bolts, Railroad Axles, &c. And we would advise our Railroad agents, before contracting for these articles, to call on Messrs. Morriss & Tanner and examine those manufactured by them, and think we hazard nothing when we assure our friends that no manufacturers in this country are more reliable than they are, either as to punctuality and fidelity in executing contracts, or in the quality of the work they supply. In addition to this, the signs of the times admonish us, that it is our true interest to encourage Southern enterprises, especially when we can do so on advantageous terms.

ERRATA.

The article on the Union and its Compromises, in our August number, is from the pen of *James F.* Lyles. On page 184 of that article, read "there are some points of agreement between both the North and Great Britain *and the South and Great Britain.*"

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1856.

SLAVERY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY*

Political Economy thus takes utility as the test of right. It does not set—this is the libel put upon it—utility above right. It does not say utility *is* right, but only brings utility to prove the right. The sense of right man receives from no argument or system of proof; it is instinctive with his nature. But in so far as it is susceptible of being clouded and misled, no test can be found other than God's approbation; and God's approbation where man is not guided by special revelation can only be read in results. All moralists agree, and all common sense confirms, that sound morality must always result in general good; and although we must do right for the love of right, and avoid wrong for the hatred of wrong; although the impulse of conscience is a guide to all men, not entirely extinguishable even in the most depraved, still general results must determine by the rule of cause and effect where and how man's instincts have gone astray. It is a common expression that the good man must act independently of consequences. But this abbreviation of speech, which is a truth only so far as it means that he must act independently of *personal consequences*, has led to many errors, and is, if taken literally, the grossest of fallacies. No sane man ever acts independently of consequences; no good man can for a moment deem it his duty so to do. There can be no virtuous action done without virtuous intent; and criminal intent makes the best action a crime. It is an innocent action to steep opium in alcohol. It is a right action to do this with the object of trade and to gain a livelihood. It is a virtuous action to do it with the intent of relieving the agony of a wounded or suffering creature. It is a criminal action to do it with the intent of poisoning a brother.

* Concluded from our last Number.

The consequence aimed at makes the deed right or wrong. We do not contend that good intent always makes a good act, and that poisoning our brother with the good intention of sending him to Heaven would be a virtuous action. But neither would it be a vicious, though a most lamentable and mischievous one. It would be simply the action of a madman, of a being whose reasoning powers are ineffectual to his guidance, and incapable of properly estimating consequences, and who would thus commit wrong ignorantly. The same man might possibly in another phase of his madness commit the murder without any calculation of consequences, or he might save the victim's life from some unexpected danger, equally without consideration of consequences. In either case the madman is no more a responsible agent than are the inanimate means which he has used. In neither case is he either criminal or virtuous, precisely because he has not the power of calculating consequences or of estimating the importance of so doing. A sane man thus acting (if a sane man could thus act) would be guilty of criminal thoughtlessness; and on the other hand, however beneficial might be the result of his action, has no merit in it, because he has acted independently of consequences. Consequences (not personal but general) are the sanction or condemnation of God upon any course of action. Paley is to be condemned, not because he gives consequences as the aim of virtuous action, but personal consequences. To act from the hope of reward and fear of punishment (i. e. from consideration of personal consequences) is prudence, but certainly no higher virtue. To act with the hope and aim of doing all the good we can to our fellow men, considering and weighing consequences with the best judgment God has given us, is virtue, is the highest reach of morality, and as we have already remarked, the result, or accomplished consequence, is the truest test we can have of the correctness or faultiness of our judgment. A man may be conscientiously right, and yet being of misguided judgment do what is in itself wrong and leading to evil; thus committing not a sin, but an error; and being thus, though innocent in intention, the cause of ill. The only corrective of such misguided judgment (except in cases of distinct revelation) is the test of utility or ultimate good.

Herein then lies the great defence of American negro slavery which Political Economy (the science which considers the weal of nations) cannot on due investigation fail to pronounce. We do not say what has been done, but what inevitably must in the future be done. Men and prejudices have gone against us; but science cannot be swayed by prejudice or outcry; and however its advocates may, leaping to crude conclusions, often join in the chorused "hip hurrah" or the wild "halloo" of riot

and fanaticism, at last she bears aloft the banner of truth, and points her worshippers to the rising sun of knowledge. All that is now needed for the defence of United States negro slavery and its entire exoneration from reproach, is a thorough investigation of fact, an investigation which will force sight into eyes that now will not see, and hearing into ears that now will not hear. We want a broad exposition of fact! fact! fact! Fact without coloring and without distortion; fact whose simple truth shall put slander to the blush, paralyze the tongue of falsehood, and taking the system and its results in their entire development, expose both in their fullest breadth and depth. So soon as our opponents can be forced to look into the fact of this system, instead of taking it on hearsay from works of fiction and the mawkish sentiment of that class of "feelers" in philanthrophy which we have endeavored in the earlier part of our article to depict, so soon as the public mind can be brought to a sufficiently sane condition on this subject to receive such testimony as would be decisive before any court of law or equity, our cause will be conclusively and triumphantly determined in our favor; and Political Economy (call it by what name we may, "social science," "national economy," "political science," what you will, still always the noble science, not perhaps too justly named Political Economy) will and must be our judge. Let hasty prejudice declaim as it may, that science, whose object is the weal of nations, itself the physician of social disease, must be called upon to pronounce our system (as we have endeavored to prove it) no disease, but the normal and healthy condition of a society formed of such mixed material as ours.

We think the reviewer of "Slavery and Freedom" has carried quite too far his idea that an established slavery is the preferable condition of all society, for although he says, (page 86.) "We will not maintain that slavery is the sole rightful condition of labor," he tells us elsewhere, (page 82,) speaking of free labor, "This is comparatively a recent innovation, a social neoterism. It is not one of the universally and necessarily recuring types of social organization, but in great measure, a new thing under the sun. The universal and necessary institution is slavery. This has appeared in all ages and in all countries, and apparently refuses to be eradicated from the earth—a strong presumption that it is a natural growth." And again, "Free labor is then the exceptional procedure of some nations in late centuries; the prestige of human experience is adverse to it." Again, (page 84,) "It is sustained by no philosophy, but only by the most fallacious and pernicious sophistry; and the works which constitute our text supply the evidence that it can claim no presumption of right from its consequences

tion of the English laborer. Who dares say that the laborer is free when no effort on his part, no debt nor extravagance on the part of the landholder, can release land from such a monopoly as the annexed extract exhibits? "Five noblemen are said to own about one-fourth of all the landed property in Scotland. They are the Marquis of Breadalbane, and the Dukes of Argyle, Athol, Sutherland, and Buccleugh. About two thousand proprietors are said also to own one-third of the land and total revenue of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

This, if not exact, is essentially correct; and this tenure is not under a simple right of possession which mismanagement on the part of the landholder would set aside by purchase and sale, and the natural process of exchange; but by a stringent law which forbids all possibility of exchange, and condemning the laborer never to be a landholder puts him at the mercy of the owner of the monopolized article.

Who again dares say that labor is free when the cost of royalty is such as the following extract shows?

"Cost of Royalty.—The Liverpool Association, composed of merchants in that city, have published various financial reform tracts. From one lately issued called 'the Royal Household, a model to Parliament and the Nation,' republished in part in the New York Tribune, we make some extracts, showing the amount paid to the Queen.

"In December, 1837, Parliament settled on the Queen for life the sum of £385,000 a year—with £10,000 additional for "home secret service money." The particular application of the money was provided for by the statute as follows: 1. For her Majesty's private purse, £60,500. 2. For salaries for her household, £131,260. 3. Expenses of the household, (i. e., what Paddy would call "the best of eating and drinking,") £172,500. 4. Royal bounty, alms and special services, £13,000. 5. Pensions to the extent of £1,200. 6. Unappropriated moneys, £7,040.

"What is called 'The Civil List' of Ireland and of Scotland add £115,000 per annum to the £385,000 in question—the Duchy of Lancaster also yields £12,000 per annum net addition to the Queen's income; there is £38,000 extra every year from the Duchy of Cornwall, (which ought to be, but is not kept for the future use of the Prince of Wales, to whom it belongs,) and there are also annual accessories of revenue from counties Palatine of Chester and Durham, the amounts of which can only be approximated by striking an average. On the whole, however, independent of the waifs which occasionally fall into the Queen's lap from other sources, (for instance, she is heir to all persons without legal heirs, who die intestate in any part of her empire,) Queen Victoria's annual income is

£668,000, or nearly double what even George IV. luxuriated upon.

"She has likewise the use of various palaces, which are kept in repair at the public cost. When she travels by land it is at no cost, and when by sea the admiralty furnish her a steam yacht, man and provision it.

"Prince Albert was allowed by parliment, £30,000 as the Queen's husband, in addition to which he receives emoluments from different offices given him by the Queen, amounting to £30,000 more.

"By the above figures, it will be seen that the Queen and Prince Albert cost the British Government, for their personal and domestic expenditures, the sum of £977,695, or nearly $4,700,000."

This is not yet perfected free labor. These are the obstacles which men put in the way of the natural progress of events, and the result is a system neither of pure slavery nor pure free labor. All Europe is boiling up in this transition state—a state of slow revolution. Labor is making itself free, but is not yet fully so. We believe that it is to be, for its time has come. When the noble and master has no distinction but the cut of his coat or the fashion of his air to distinguish him from the crowd—when even this distinction is kept up only by legal privileges which can find no foundation in right—when the man can face the man feeling his rights and daring to ask them, the time has come when those privileges must be abolished and those rights listened to.

This progress has been retarded, not more perhaps by the opposition, determined as it may be, of the one class, than by the faults of the other. The hitherto lower classes, as it were a blind man restored to vision, are dazzled by the light, and stumble in their way, even from its excess. They see their rights and knowing these withheld, fancy them greater than they are, and grasp beyond them. Thus come the outcries for freedom of the soil, right to labor, communism, woman's rights, fraternity, and equality, all men born free and equal, and all the divers follies of the day which, like vaulting ambition, o'erleap their aim,

"To fall o' the other side."

Free labor is indeed so new a thing that as yet it scarcely knows itself. Its trial is to come in revolutionized Europe. Great and fearful has been the struggle; great and fearful it may yet be. But one thing is certain. In proportion as the rising classes are fitted for the position which they claim, the horrors of the struggle, which exists only in their weakness, will be diminished. The firm demand which thoroughly knows its own limit,

is irresistible and oftenest not resisted. An enlightened civilization is the only equalizer among men; and in as far as it is permitted to act without interference, acts always peacefully. We hope, we believe even, that the world has seen such horrors as no future circumstances can renew, and that the inevitable progress of the system of free labor, will be peaceful and prosperous precisely in such proportion as the present and future man of Europe is and will be raised above the past. We speak here of the man of Europe, and only of Europe. For him of Asia little has been dreamed of liberty or free labor. His fate would seem to be bondage; and for him of Africa, savagism. As yet theory has interfered so little with these, that in questions such as the one before us, they are scarcely counted as of the world whose fate is in discussion. They have apparently accomplished that destiny of which they are capable, and tacitly they are left aside for future ages to determine, whether such condition may be permitted to continue in a progressive world, or whether the irresistible impulse of a civilization which they are incapable of following, must sweep them to extinction. When we speak of the world of men, Asia and Africa are for the most part forgotten. But the young giant, the offspring of Europe (for the man of America has already met that destiny which we anticipate as possible for him of Asia and Africa, and the transplanted energy of Europe has now become a new world) the young giant of America, shall it too follow in the wake of its parent, and show a unity in the form of modern civilization? Is the system of free labor also our destiny?

Most decidedly we answer—this is impossible, now and forever impossible, except by the total and entire eradication of a race, which transplanted at the same time with ourselves, has grown with us and become a dependent limb of our system, or rather a vital organ, to sever which is death. America has grown to her present point of maturity with the established system of negro slavery. The strong race and the weak, the civilized and the savage, him by nature ruler, protector, master, and him by nature subject, dependent, slave, are here not only cast together, but have been born together, grown together, lived together, worked together, each in his separate sphere, striving for the good of each, and together beautifully exemplifying the developed utility, which earlier in our article we endeavored to indicate as the perfect condition of slavery; that condition which, fully exhibited, could not fail to elicit from Political Economy its sentence of approval, as the one in which these two races of men are mutually assistant to each other, and contributing in the largest possible degree, consistent with their mutual powers, to the good of each other and mankind. This system is in no way a laggard from that of Europe. It

is a system quite as perfect in its kind, much more perfect in its development.

The results of the free labor system, so far as developed, truly do, as our reviewer has argued, teem with a wretchedness and misery, vice and crime, unknown to our quieter social condition. This is precisely because, (as we have just remarked,) our system, equal in kind, is more perfect in its development. Both are, with a progressive world, in a state of progress. Both are advancing to meet the highest tone of a fully developed christian civilization. Neither is, in itself, better or worse than the other. Each is proper, necessary, inevitable, in the phase of society which has called it forth. To force either into the place of the other is equal madness in either case, and in either case must lead to such fearful atrocities as must inevitably follow all human efforts to resist divine laws. The attempted enslavement of the English laborer would equal in folly (and nothing more) the attempted liberation of the American negro. Either, seriously undertaken, and with sufficient power to oppose the natural current of events, could but produce chaotic anarchy. Either would drown in blood the civilization of the continent wherein it might be attempted. Each of these systems works well its part, each has made noble progress—each is destined to further improvemennt—each to be perfected in its kind. Let but the unnatural animosity, whose source is ignorance, cease, and the social millenium will show that both are right, for both are in accordance with the laws of nature and necessity, (which are the laws of God,) and both must work together to the world's great progress. Both have indeed already done so. What century of man's world-history, developes such forward impulse as the last? And candid investigation must prove that in this, a strong laborer has been the American negro slave. His labor has opened the new world of American agriculture with its great staples, cotton and sugar, which are the wealth not of his master only, not of one country only, but of the world. Even the lowest peasantry of Europe profits by them. Even benighted Asia, even savage Africa profits by them. Comfort and wealth, circulating through the arteries of commerce, extend from shore to shore, and every pulsation of the world's great heart, sends further and further with new comforts and new joys, the glad tidings of a constantly progressing improvement, of a world ever moving onward, ever happier, better, and more enlightened. These are the results of slavery, thus always blessing the slaves even with the increasing abundance and comforts of which he is himself at once the producer and the recipient.

We have said that nothing but the extinction of the negro race in America can eradicate slavery. The negro can never

be the white man's equal; and were slavery truly the evil, the moral sore, which our opponents suppose it, its cure could only be in the amputation of the limb. If the negro's fate be worthy of consideration, for his sake slavery should be maintained. But charity is an individual, not a national virtue. Nations are not and cannot be good Samaritans. The only conceivable national charity is that wise policy which continually seeks the greatest good of the greatest number. The negro's cause then must be pleaded on the grounds of policy; and as we have already repeated, Political Economy stands here to prove that christian charity is national policy. Slavery, which is the negro's protection, is the world's wealth.

The reviewer of "Slavery and Freedom," had he been a political economist, would have seen the immense power of this argument, and would not have thoughtlessly thrown it aside, confessing thus a weakness in our system which not only does not in truth exist, but which would logically prove its inevitable destruction. After telling us truly that the great moving cause of emancipation has always been the pecuniary interest of the master, and that the slave is only turned loose when his free labor can be purchased more cheaply than his slave labor can be maintained; he, by a most unfortunate *non sequitur*, concludes that because certain nations have abolished slavery when become less profitable than free labor, that slave labor is therefore in its nature less profitable than free labor. He says, (page 87,) "The principle which occasioned the substitution of free for slave labor was the prospect of diminished expenditure and increased gain. It is, after all, the sole motive which has upheld and extended the change. It is also, in the ultimate analysis, the sole ground on which the abolitionists have waged the war against slavery, and advocated the exclusive propriety of free labor. Look into their declamations, contemplate their tactics, survey the whole literature of Political Economy, and it will be manifest that the real argument is simply that free labor is cheaper and more productive or profitable than slave labor. This we do not doubt, if the maximum of profit is wrested from the laborer; but are government, and society, and the human family, created and ordered singly for the production, augmentation, and accumulation of wealth? We think not. The free labor enthusiasts maintain, practically, that they are; the defenders of slavery assert, both theoretically and practically, that they are not."

Now we assert unhesitatingly, (and not only Political Economy but common sense will bear us out,) that if free labor is cheaper and more productive than slave labor, slavery is a

wrong.* If the slave is kept to a less profitable system of labor than he could exercise being free, there is injury done, not to him only but also to society, of which he is thus made the unprofitable servant. "Government, and society, and the human family," are certainly not "created and ordered singly for the production, augmentation, and accumulation of wealth," and we presume that there never was folly so gross as to assert that they are; but any government or society (individual charity is a thing entirely distinct) which voluntarily chooses a less, in preference to a more profitable system, thus injuriously affecting the interests and comforts of its citizens of every grade, acts by a peculiar logic of its own, proving the true influence neither of christian charity nor philosophic wisdom.

Such is, however, not our case, as the reviewer, in spite of the incautious admission we have quoted, goes on to prove. He says, (page 87,) speaking of slavery: "It multiples and strengthens the links which bind society together, and it affords the largest practicable amount of happiness and comfort to the largest number—nay, to all the members of the community." And again, (page 88,) "All the evils which the feverish avidity of the times has occasioned in free communities, would be more rapidly and certainly introduced into slave societies, if the interests of the master ceased to be identified with the comfortable existence of the slave." "The interests of each must be advanced by the connected and reciprocal interests of all. Slavery, as any other social institution, is just only so long as it conforms to this law, and advances the interests of the slave concurrently with the interests of the master. We do not contemplate any equality of interests, but only their just proportion, agreeably to the prescriptions of distributive justice; for in this case, as in all others, the remark of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, is perfectly true, that the greatest equality is the greatest inequality. Whatever would diminish the interest, the tender and considerate interest, of the master in his slave, is calculated to frustrate all the alleged advantages of slavery, and would produce, as it has heretofore produced, greater evils than have been occasioned by the ominous conjunction of free competition and free labor, in the most civilized nations of christendom, where the progress of events has composed a terrible commentary on the ancient text, that the nations of Europe were led astray by the fierce appetite for gain."

These, passing over the constantly recurring prejudice of the writer on the subject of the "ominous conjunction of free competition and free labor," are plain truths. A master's *interest*

* And if it be cheaper as the reviewer asserts when the maximum of profit is wrested from the laborer, it must equally be cheaper under all co-incident circumstances.

must be in his slave—must be identified with the comfort of the slave. It must be more *profitable* to him to have healthy and happy slaves than sick and wretched ones. It must be more *profitable* to him that they should live than that they should die; and this can only be, so long as the slave's labor is more profitable to him than any other which he can attain. Certainly there may be found individuals (thank God! not a few) whose philanthropy, generosity, or charity, would lead to self-sacrifice, often limitless, for the sake of certain other individuals. But (however it may perhaps be a proof of the weakness or limited perfectibility of human nature) it is a very plain truth that admirable as are the individual, Howards and Florence Nightengales, who pass, meteor-like, spreading a benignant and purifying influence through a contaminated atmosphere, a would-be nation of Howards and Nightengales would be but a sickly specimen of human development. If our duty is to do good, it must always be remembered that the good of to-day is not always the good of to-morrow; that the good of the teacher is not the good of the learner, and that according to the homely proverb, circumstances alter cases. Men must make bread before they can give it. They must have clothing and food before they can take thought of the wants of others. To make possible the existence of the Howards and the Nightengales, there must have been *workers* before them; hard-handed men, looking into the necessities as well as the charities of life; stern reasoners who could see that alms giving is rather a beautiful incident in the life, than its first duty, and that the stern practicalities of life must come before its sentiment, however amiable the latter may be. Charity covereth a multitude of sins, and none less than ourselves would under-rate the beautiful and softening influence of this great christian virtue. But men must labor and strive before they can assist; they must accumulate before they can give; they must cease to be savages before they can be christians; they must have formed themselves into enlightened societies before the Howards are conceivable. The widest charity which labors not for individuals but peoples, the truest philanthropy, which would heal the wounds of nations, must look beyond the limits of "men of feeling," and if (as we have contended throughout our article) that which is right must bring the greatest ultimate good, of necessity ultimate good, though it cannot make right, must be a proof of the right. It is God's blessing upon man's actions; the fire from Heaven acknowledging his sacrifice. We say, then, that the world's progress is man's duty as well as instinct; that were negro slavery really injurious to the world, abolitionists would be right, and although individual charity would, like angel visits,

strive to soothe the sorrows of the doomed race, and to lighten the horrors of its extinction, that the negro's doom would be pronounced, and (horrible as it might be) rightly pronounced; for it would be the lesser evil. Better (did a mysterious Providence make the alternative) a race of savages swept from the world than the world doomed to retrograde barbarism. And the alternative would be presented were our antagonists right in contending for the comparative unproductiveness of negro-slave labor. Were this labor really comparatively unproductive it would be in truth an incubus upon society, a burden upon the nation's efforts, and a certain impediment to its progress; and slowly but surely would that nation, held back by such impediment, fall from the civilization of its contemporaries, becoming as it were a running sore among the nations, soiling with its disease their healthier growth.

But thus it is not. The results of United States negro-slave labor are such as no other system of labor yet known upon earth could have accomplished. It has explored regions under whose miasmatic influences the white man sickened and died. It has drained swamps and made habitable the pestiferous marsh. It has conquered the pestilence and opened to a growing world a garden of hitherto unknown comforts and luxuries. It has called the hungry to be fed and the naked to be clothed. It has given a home to the homeless and a new world to progressive and aspiring man. Who dares call this unproductive?

It may well be that the most capable negro may dig a ditch, or run a furrow, or shape a stone less rapidily and skilfully than the white man of the same grade, and most certainly he will fall far behind him in all work requiring intelligence and continuous effort; but he can stand a sun under which the white man faints; he can be healthy in a swamp where the white man dies; he can make a sugar and a cotton crop where no white power can ever effect it. He does this under the white man's direction, and his labor is (thus employed) not only cheaper than any other, but no other can be found to replace it. No money and no price could buy such labor from the white man; for the white man can no more become a negro, than the negro a white man. No money and no price could extract it from the negro himself, he being free; for the negro cannot work without the white man. Each is needed to each, and glorious has been the result of the system under which they have been brought together. Happy it is for the negro that it is so, for so soon as slavery ceases to be profitable its days as a system are numbered; and with slavery the negro, except as a savage, in his native wilds, perishes. The negro then finds his refuge in slavery, and slavery its justification in

utility—in the good which results from it at once to master and slave.

The reviewer of "Slavery and Freedom" may here answer that this is his own argument, and so in many parts of his article it is. He says: (pages 93 and 94) "It is expedient to trace in the past history of the world, the mode in which slavery has operated as the prime instrument in the civilization and education of the different races of men, and how largely it has contributed to the progress of the human family. In respect to African slavery in particular, many writers have occupied themselves with showing that the Africans have been released from a state of the most savage barbarism, and admitted to the enjoyment of the protection, tranquillity, and other advantages of civilized life, (so far as they were competent to participate in the last,) by the fact and consequences of their enslavement. The horrid cruelties and beastly depravities from which the negroes have been rescued, and the infinite amelioration of their condition, even under the worst form which slavery has assumed on this continent, have been elucidated in a manner which should have arrested the denunciations of abolitionists, if they had been as willing to listen to reason, as they have been anxious to indulge in calumnies. But, hitherto, or at least until the last few months, no sufficient attention has been paid to the prospective advantages and the prospective necessity of negro slavery, for the future welfare of humanity. The rapid increase of population in the older countries of the world has pressed so heavily upon subsistence, and even on the means of production, that it becomes much more essential to enlarge the area of cultivation than the area of freedom. New lands must be reclaimed for human use; dense forests must be cleared off, and additional space acquired for the productive industry of men; crowded populations must be dispersed, and distributed over the regions now unoccupied, where the exuberant energies of nature waste themselves in unheeded luxuriance. The richest countries of the globe remain uninhabited and unemployed. They offer an abundant support to all who will avail themselves of their bounty, and a sufficient surplus of production for the sustenance of all the starving myriads of the earth. The interior of South America, which is still almost a terra incognita, despite of the hurried explorations of Messrs. Herndon and Gibbon, would alone support more inhabitants than the population of Europe numbers, and postpone for centuries the irremediable starvation and pauperism which menace annihilation to the millions of that continent."

"The only agency which can be effectually applied to the cultivation of the feracious lands of the torrid zone is negro

slavery. Under its operation, the laborers would be supplied with the necessaries and necessary comforts of life; the owners of the slaves would be rapidly enriched, and the whole of humanity would be relieved by the diminution of population where it was too dense, and by the simultaneous increase of markets and alimentary products."

Here is sound argument, and we advance with open hand to greet the enunciator of it. But he will none of us, for we are of the politico-economical school, and he will not beleive that any good can come out of Nazareth. We would entreat our reviewer to glance over the text-books of his reviled science, and we think he will find that his sounder argument is always of a good, solid, politico-economical turn, while on the contrary his errors may be easily traced home to the socialistic school. Hear him, for instance, (page 91,) on the poverty of the laboring classes in France, after noticing the smallness of the sums appropriated to their maintenance. "Nor is this all: it has been shown that this is not the consequence of any special iniquity, but the legitimate consequence of the operation of the laws of modern society; and that the tendency is daily to abridge these rations."

"It has been shown," where? by whom? Would the general reader imagine that this authority, brought so placidly forward as conclusive in judging the operation of the laws of modern society, is the notorious Proudhon? a man of talent doubtless, but strange authority for any but a French revolutionaire. Again, (page 78,) to prove the deterioration of modern society, he quotes Horace Greeley!

"Human labor," says Mr. Greeley, and he speaks truly in this instance, "is efficient beyond example, but the laboring class is hardly benefitted thereby. Houses multiply with extreme rapidity, but the number of the houseless is not diminished. The prolific earth yields larger and larger harvests as wilds are reclaimed and science is applied to agriculture, but millions pine and thousands starve for lack of food. Our roads and means of transit are visibly improved from season to season; but our road makers are no better circumstanced than their grandfathers were. Each year sees the number and value of arable acres increase, while the proportion of those who possess any land in their own right steadily diminishes. Each year produces more and more fuel and cloth, yet witnesses more and more shivering and nakedness. While new inventions and processes are daily rendering material life more smooth and comfortable to the affluent, the number of the destitute, squalid, and miserable is steadily on the increase."

Greeley, the ultra-radical reformer, the advocate of every "*ism*" of the day, who as our reviewer says, truly "is neither

a great man, nor the shadow of a great man," tells us in the face of all authority and of common sense, that food and clothing are scarcer than of old; that while millions on millions of coarse and cheap manufactures are scattered over the globe the poor man wears fewer shirts; that in proportion as corn is abundant, he starves! and on Mr. Greeley's authority we are required to believe. We must decline throwing ourselves under such wild guidance, and retain our opinion, that if cotton is spun into cloth, and if corn is ground into flour, the cloth is worn, and the flour is eaten; and that if coarse cloths and cheap breadstuffs are consumed, they are consumed not by the affluent, but by the needy, and this is what American negro slavery has accomplished to a hitherto unheard of degree, not for every individual man and woman, not for the wretched groups which incumber the streets of over populous cities, not for the brutified populace of a misgoverned Ireland, not alas! for many and numberless wretched exceptions, but yet for millions on millions of the masses all the world over, slave and free. Suffering and wretchedness must be; but suffering and wretchedness are daily diminishing wherever an enlightened Government, under the guidance of just economical principles, has left free play to the natural action of man's instinct of self-improvement.

One more instance we must be permitted to give of our reviewer's unlucky quotations; and in this case there is even (we are sure from unintentional oversight) a perversion of his quite sufficiently objectionable authority. He says, (pages 69–70,) "The outrageous denunciations of slavery and slave institutions appear preposterous when uttered from the midst of such free societies as those whence the complaint of the labororer unable to procure work simultaneously proceeds, declaring in the heart of Paris that the free labor system 'strangles the whole class, and would let a man die of starvation on a sack of wheat, or of cold on a bale of wool;' and where such a complaint is left without a denial of its truth, without excuse, and without redress."

And in a note he shows us his quotation: "Il (l'argent) nous jugule tous; il laisserait mourir un homme de faim sur un sac de ble, ou de froid sur un allot de laine: cette anomalie n'est que trop exacte," as cited by the journal des Economistes, No. 97, 15 Avril, 1849, p. 104.

Now in the note we perceive that the antecedent of the pronoun "il" is *l'argent* (money) but in the text we have the "free labor system." Surprised at this discrepancy, we refer to the "*Journal des Economistes*" and find that the line quoted is a half sentence taken from a red-hot socialistic pamphlet *which* the journal notices only to ridicule, and which contends

for *mutualite* in the results of labor, declaiming against money in a manner worthy of a Diogenes. The sentence quoted is precisely its strongest fling against that obnoxious article, and the journal cites it to show to what preposterous extremes the rabid and at that time rampant spirit of reform was forcing on its votaries.

"Sans la *couardise de l'argent*, le monde eut épargné la moitié au moins de ses ébranlemens calamiteux. Il nous jugule tous; il laiperait mourir un homme de faim sur un sac de blé, ou de froid sur un ballot de laine; cette anomalie n'est que trop exacte."

Any further argument here would be out of place. We can only say, in all kindness, that the reviewer has mistaken his authority. Were he serious, we could but recommend him to the charity of the anti-money fraternity for a comfortable tub wherein to indulge his further speculations. The day has long since past when "*la couardise de l'argent*" can become a subject of serious discussion.

This proclivity of our reviewer to socialist authorities, accounts for another constantly recurring weakness in his argument, i. e. a continual harping upon that most mischievous fallacy, the antagonism of labor and capital. It is one of the triumphs of Political Economy to have shown that no such antagonism exists, capital and labor are as essential co-laborers and auxiliaries, as head and hand. There is no antagonism, but constant and mutual assistance which even passion, avarice, and crime, cannot force into opposition. The farmer needs his tools, his seed, and his store-houses (which are capital) as much as his power to labor, and to the journeyman who owns nothing but his strength of arm, it is quite as essential that his employer have the means of payment; otherwise his labor is worthless. He starves before its proceeds can be forthcoming. Capital is the nurse and nourisher of labor, and labor in return the builder up of capital. The economy of to-day feeds the labor of to-morrow, and so beautiful is the connection, that even avarice cannot force these into opposition. What God has joined, man cannot put asunder. The miser's hoards, even in his own despite, feed the hungry; for credit, the necessary accompaniment and consequence of capital, making it more profitable to him to invest his money than to lock it up; even the love of gain, induces investment, and investment is the payment of labor.

That a natural jealousy exists between man and man, it were folly to deny. That he who has not, is, and always has been, inclined to covet from him who has, the decalogue forbidding us to covet, as it forbids us to give way to other mischeivous passions and impulses, brings proof. But this has

nothing to do with antagonism between labor and capital, and only proves that a man's natural impulse to improve his condition may be indulged in an improper way, as when hunger makes him steal rather than work. Let but two men be together, the one having bread and the other not, the breadless one will envy the other and devise means for getting his bread, or a portion of it, whether by honest or fraudulent means. Now, if he having bread have a sufficiency for both, the breadless one, may in exchange for labor or service rendered, receive his neighbor's surplus, and thus is the better of his neighbor's reserved capital; whereas were the capital reserved too small for the payment of labor, he may starve, though a strong man, for want of such compensation. Again, if there be two breadless to the one owning a reserved supply, and if that supply suffices but for one besides the possessor, is it not evident that the breadless laborers are worse off than if the capitalist were more wealthy? Both now must necessarily give their labor, or so much of it as the capitalist needs, in exchange for a deficient supply; whereas where there was but one breadless laborer, (and his labor sufficiently efficient to induce the exchange,) he could receive the whole in exchange for his efforts. Or, again, if the capitalist have enough for two besides himself, they might each receive for efficient labor, a sufficiency of bread in exchange, instead of one or the other being necessarily doomed to starvation, or both to stinted existence, (no matter what their efforts or what their power of labor,) until by their labor they may possibly lay up for themselves, or others may lay up for them, a supply of capital.

Thus the real antagonism is in truth between labor and labor, and capital and capital. The greater the accumulation of capital, the better chance is there for the laborer to receive a full portion in exchange for his labor; and *per contra*, the greater the supply of labor, and the smaller that of capital, the smaller is the share that falls to the laborer. Precisely as in all other exchanges, where the supply is full, the article is cheap, and *vice versa*. Capital and labor fall under the common law. Whether the article exchanged be hats, shoes, corn, sugar, cloth, land, tools, money, labor, or whatsoever else, it is cheap in proportion as it is abundant, and those giving anything in exchange for it, receive a proportionably larger compensation. Like only competes with like. There can be no competition but between similar things, things at least in so far similar that the use or the gains of the one interfere with the use or the gains of the other. Thus there may be competition between jewelry and cashmere chawls, or fine lace; because according to the veering of fashion, the same class of customers may seek or discard either of these articles; and thus, (the

number and means of customers being equal,) in proportion as cashmere shawls or lace would be purchased, jewelry would be neglected, and *vice versa*. Likewise between coarse woollens and coarse cotton goods there may be rivalry, because the poorer classes who consume them preferring one, would proportionably reject the other. Even there may be rivalry between coarse cloths and the cheaper bread-stuffs, because when the poverty of a people is such as to prevent a full supply of both food and clothes, the question might arise of preference between them. But between coarse woollens and cashmere shawls, or coarse cottons and jewelry, or lace and cheap breadstuffs, there can be no rivalry, because the same consumers would never seek them; and it could never benefit the lace maker or the importer of jewelry that the vender of coarse goods and cheap bread-stuffs should lose his market, while it migh much benefit the importer of jewelry that the lace merchant should lose his.

Thus between capital and labor rivalry cannot exist, for the one can never be benefitted by the decline of the other, but on the contrary much injured. That the capitalist tries to get the most labor for his money, and the laborer the most money for his labor, is nothing more than the inevitable result of the common instinct of trade, to buy cheap and sell dear, an impulse perfectly natural, legitimate, and right, (to be modified by charity, but never, as indeed it cannot be—discarded,) and no more indicates rivalry between capital and labor, than there is rivalry between boots and shirts, knives and plates, or corn-beef and gutta-percha walking canes, because the venders and purchasers of each mutually make with each other the best practicable bargains. We dare not, however, enter further into this discussion, as our article already threatens to exceed all reasonable limit.

In our defense of Political Economy we must now only suggest to its opponents to remember, that no science is responsible for the natural tendencies which it studies and explains, but never produces; that Political Economy, in discovering the laws of society, in no wise creates them, and that it is (no more than the ordinary physician) responsible for the incurable ills of its patient. Let that impulsive kindness which condemns the coolness of its investigation pause at least to doubt if there be not oftenest truer charity in the action of the steady hand which guides the scalpel, separating vein from vein and nerve from nerve, even while the patient writhes under the infliction, than in the sentimental weakness which shudders and faints, daring not to look upon the anguish, and would even at the expense of the sufferer's life, shading its eyes from his agony, hand the opiate which brings him at once relief and death.

Political Economy is the physician which the unthinking in his restlessness condemns. Look again, you who in earnest truth have thought him wrong, look again, and you may find a heart quite as warm as your own, a charity quite as true as your own, patiently striving to work out the problem which you have failed to read—to untie that Gordian knot which you have vainly thought to cut asunder. The true question is not, are the positions of Political Economy charitable or uncharitable? but, are they true or false? An inscrutable Providence has made an imperfect world, and in the exercise of a wisdom incomprehensible to us, has created man a strange bundle of faults and virtues, passion and reason. Governed alternately by truth and error, he gropes his way midst phantoms of darkness. Sophistry parades before him her twilight theories, strutting in the robes of wisdom. Folly peeps from behind her harlequin mask, while fanaticism stabs with a prayer, and hand in hand with hypocrisy dares call down Heaven's blessing upon deeds of Hell. Knee-deep in error, man works out the truth only by patient investigation and laborious research; and society must find its way to the goal of such perfection as earth permits only by the study of itself. Political Economy is this study Commenced, but not accomplished, the investigation needs to be patiently followed up; and if our predecessors have sometimes erred, we may learn wisdom where they have stumbled.

In defence of slavery our plea is, that under certain combinations of circumstances (and United States negro slavery presents all these circumstances) it is defended by the soundest truths of Political Economy, and this is logically shown by the entire failure of proof, and the absurd conclusions to which all political economists have been reduced when attempting any thing like argument against us. The science thus convicting its own disciples of error, precisely as geometry sets its blundering student right, by showing him in his imagined solution of a problem, only an absurdity. In an article "Esclavage" * to which we some pages back referred as an example of the abuse sometimes heaped upon us by political economists, the writer after giving a table of produce showing its falling off after emancipation, remarks, (pages 720 to 722,) "These figures prove how fatal emancipation has been to the material prosperity of the West Indies." "In the Mauritias alone, production was sustained, thanks to the importation of Indian Coulis."

"Looking at the actual prosperity of the colonies and the interests of the metropolis, English emancipation was a disastrous operation."

* We would gladly give pages of extracts, but must, owing to the length of our article, limit ourselves to detached sentences. We refer our readers to the work itself. "Dictionnaire d'Economie Politique, publié sous la direction de M. M. Coquelin et Guillaumin à Paris."

"In France as in England emancipation has proved a bad economical operation."

"As a compensation for this, liberty has been given to a million of human creatures, and truly we would not say that this had been bought too dearly, if the result of emancipation had not unfortunately been to increase elsewhere in an equal, if not greater proportion the development of slavery." "Thus the emancipation that England and France have with so much effort and so many sacrifices accomplished in their colonies has resulted simply in a *displacement* of slavery, and this displacement has been made in favor of nations the least accessible to feelings of justice and humanity. Lamentable result of so noble and generous an enterprise!"

"This result has not escaped the attention of the abolitionists, who have strenuously exerted themselves to combat it. No sooner did they perceive that the sugar produced by the labor of Brazilian and Cuban slaves had taken the place of that of the emancipated colonies, than they demanded differential duties in favor of free grown sugar."

"But the insufficiency of the supply furnished by the colonies and by the free growing countries having kept up prices, the distinction between free and slave grown sugar was abandoned, notwithstanding desperate efforts on the part of the abolitionists." "This law which was a new victory for the principles of free trade was energetically attacked by the abolitionists, and with reason, for it was in direct opposition to the philanthropic measures adopted for the emancipation of the negro race. What motive had actuated England in devoting, since 1819, large sums to the repression of the slave-trade? She wished to prevent the increase of the number of negro slaves in America. What motive had induced her to spend 500,000,000 to free her colonial slaves? She wished to diminish the number of negro slaves; and now in suppressing the duty which forbade the entrance of slave sugar into the British market, what was she doing? She was undoing for the sake of free trade what she had already done for the abolition of slavery." "The discussions which this question raised in Parliament were of the most animated nature. The abolitionists easily proved that the lowering of the duty would act as a *bonus* to the production of slave grown sugar; but their adversaries, particularly Mr. Macauley, showed still more forcibly how absurd and injurious would be the maintenance of such a prohibition." "Parliament decided in favor of free-trade, refused to continue to legislate in favor of free grown, to the injury of slave grown sugar, and equality of duties was declared." "Recently opinion has advanced a step further. Some of the most important papers, particularly the 'Times' and the 'Economist,' solicit Govern-

ment to take a decided step, and to suppress the cruisers established for preventing the slave-trade. Is it not indeed absurd to continue to oppose obstacles to the trade when there has been granted by the diminution of the duty on slave grown sugar an enormous *bonus* to the importation and increase of negro slaves in America."

Thus writes a political economist, who with all the prejudice of the day is arguing against slavery. We would beg the reviewer of "Slavery and Freedom," here to remark, that free-labor and free-trade are far from being, as he continually supposes them, part of one and the same system; that they were in fact in this struggle in direct opposition to each other, and that the true principles of Political Economy carried the day *in favor of slavery*, and in spite of the strongest prejudice even on the part of those who were thus obliged to acknowledge the folly of their own previous action. Surely it is unnecessary to attempt further to prove that it is only the diseased action of a prejudiced mind which could induce the writer of the Dictionnaire d'Economie, from whom we have just quoted, to go on and imagine new devices for the abolition of negro slavery. This is not the effort of science, but truly rather of another Paul who kicks against the pricks. "Lamentable result" (exclaims the writer) "of so noble and generous an enterprise." Natural result, answers science, of a blindly miscalculated undertaking. To use a quaint comparison we have seen lately, it is like the combat of the bull with the locomotive—"pluck good, discretion bad."

The great prophet of abolitionism, Wilberforce, a most well-meaning man in his way we do not doubt, was nevertheless in his ignorant self-conceit, the propagator of a disease fatal to millions, and the whole world is yet sick with the moral taint that he and such as he have scattered through it. From him and such as him comes all this pseudo-philanthropy which at every turn confounds the best reasoned conclusions; from him and such as him comes all the pestiferous tribe of canting sentimentalists which continually butt against common sense, ("pluck good, discretion bad.") From him this kind of teething fever that beginners in philanthropy seem now-a-days obliged to go through before they cut their wisdom teeth. We cannot too much lament that our Southern reviewer should to the smallest extent have thrown himself on such a side. He will find in the arguments of the abolitionists and their declamations against the thirst of gain, many of his own, while the political economist, as we have seen, cannot blind the spirit that guides him, and even trying to condemn is obliged to defend us. "In France, as in England, emancipation has proved a bad economical operation." Like Balaam

of old, when he tried to curse, the spirit of truth was upon him, and behold he blessed them entirely!

Even now echoing in our ears there comes across the Atlantic the best and unanswerable defence of United States negro slavery. Political Economy, fairly appealed to, pronounces it right by the test of utility, and now behold the proof. A difference arises between England and the United States, which under ordinary circumstances would result in war. The British Minister is dismissed. Expectation is on tiptoe for the result. Will the ministry in retaliation dismiss the United States Minister? Will it declare war? What will be its action? The people does not wait for its action. War must not be! War would be their ruin! The cry rises from Manchester—"No war with America!"

"No War with America.—Fellow-Countrymen: You have hardly escaped from war with Russia before you are threatened with a far more serious war with America! How long is this system of diplomatic irritation to go on? How long are the vital interests of the country to be placed at the mercy of men who care for nothing so much as the gratification of official pride?

"Consider, for one mement, what ruin a war with the United States would entail upon the greater portion of the trade and commerce of Great Britian. The latest returns from the Board of Trade give the annual imports from that country, consisting chiefly of corn and cotton, at upwards of thirty millions; and the exports at from twenty-five to thirty millions sterling. To carry on this princely commerce between the two nations, there are employed more than three thousand ships, with nearly three million tons burden. Of the entire annual imports of Great Britain that of raw cotton alone amounts to more than twenty millions and the cotton manufactured goods exported to upwards of twenty-five millions sterling. Upon the trade which this commerce creates there are depending for their daily subsistence nearly or quite three millions of people, chiefly in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

"Now, are you prepared to see this hive of industry—this vast population—factory hands, tradesmen and manufacturers, men, women, and children—thrown out of employment, deprived of their regular resources, and in large numbers driven to beggary or to the commission of crime for their daily resources? Are you prepared to encounter the pauperism, the gaunt famine, the depredations on property, and the civil commotion which less than twelve months war with America would inevitably produce? To say nothing of bloodshed among men of the same race—of the disgraceful carnage between the two foremost Christian nations of the world—or of the squandering of the

It cannot have escaped the observation of even the most casual reader of the daily press, or of business men, that great and surprising changes have been made, of late years, in the mode and manner of, and celerity in, the transportation of goods and produce between the Atlantic seaboard and the upper part of the Mississippi river. Not many years ago, all the heavy goods destined for the trade of the States bordering on the Mississippi river, were transported from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, in sailing vessels to New Orleans, and thence to the ports of destination in steamboats. The lighter goods were, to some extent, carried in wagons across the mountains, down the Ohio, and thence to St. Louis in steamboats. Since that time, however, the industry, the ingenuity, and the wealth of our citizens have effected a complete revolution in trade, and we, who live upon the banks of the Mississippi, have been compelled to witness it. Relying too much, we fear, upon the cheapness of river transportation, and failing also to adopt such measures as were within our reach, to counteract this abstraction of our trade, we have lost a portion, and are liable to lose still more of it, if our citizens do not wake up to the necessity of more vigorous action to retain it. Artificial modes of communication—the canal and the railroad, are new and powerful improvements in the transportation of goods and produce, and, in proportion as their ability to transport cheaply is every year demonstrated, just in that proportion will they be able to divert trade from us. There are drawbacks upon this mode of conveying freight which must operate against it, in the inability of the road to send through an invoice of goods or produce at any one time, thus subjecting the consignees to great trouble and responsibility, but even this may be corrected in time. What is most to be considered by our merchants and business men, and citizens who have an interest in the town, at this time, is the absolute necessity of adopting such a mode of transportation as will place us on an equal footing with any other city of the West. This cannot longer be delayed, and without entering into minutæ, it will, perhaps, do to give an outline of a plan for this purpose.

Time and safety in the transportation of goods are absolutely necessary. As a general thing, freight is placed here by the railroad in fifteen to twenty days from the Atlantic cities, but the price is greater than is paid for river transportation. River transportation is unquestionably cheaper than transportation upon the railway. All things considered, it may be made quite as speedy. These positions being admitted, all that is incumbent on us to keep and secure the carrying trade of this river, is to establish a line or lines of steamboats between this

city and New Orleans, and a line or lines of propellors to New York and Boston, in which all the freight going to or coming from those cities may be shipped. The trip from New York to St. Louis can be made with regularity and ease in twenty days, and freight can be laid down here at a less price, by 25 per cent., than if forwarded by any overland route. In carrying out this plan, magnificent steamboats, designed for the special accommodation of passengers, need not be used, but boats specially adopted to the carrying of large amounts of freight on very little water. Let such lines be established, and placed in competent hands, here and at New Orleans, and it must inevitably result in restoring this as the proper and cheapest route of trade, and in satisfying the public that goods can be delivered as speedily as by any other means of transportation.

But this plan cannot be carried into effect without a concentration of effort and of capital here and at New Orleans. Boats will have to be built and propellors secured, and then a daily or tri-weekly line kept up, with as much regularity as is observed in the departure of a railroad train. We can, of course, do no more than to bring the matter to the attention of our merchants and steamboat men. There is not a man of the latter class, who will not say that the plan is entirely practicable, and ought to be adopted. But it wants somebody to take the lead in carrying it out. Who will do it?

TRUE POLICY OF THE SOUTH:

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF OUR SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES.

Without concurring in some of the positions taken by the author, we regard his paper as one of interest and value, and therefore give it to our readers entire.—Ed.

There is a pioneer spirit, which, content with having seen the fertile frontier reduced to civilization, departs anew, intent upon other explorations, and ambitious alone to secure for the country the advantages of a fuller and more perfect development of the advantages which nature has bestowed upon it.

It is thus, that having seen the railroad system of the Southern and Southwestern States established in the approbation of the public, it becomes proper to consider the more general and incidental advantages to arise from combining this system in a common line, and extending it to the waters of the Pacific ocean.

The resolutions under consideration have been introduced, to obtain from the Commonwealth of Virginia a declaration that the proposed work is practicable by the united efforts of the States and corporations interested, that it will increase the

value of all those investments, and that it will promote the prosperity of the particular section to which it relates, and thus perpetuate the Federal Union by establishing the ability of its members to maintain their independence against any demand whatever.

To obtain the sanction of the legislature, it will be necessary to establish the following propositions:

1. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean may lawfully be constructed through the States and Territories of the Union.

2. That the Southern and Southwestern States possess the right and have the means to construct such a road.

3. That the El Paso or southern route is the most eligible of construction, and, as the common communication of the southern system of railroads with California and the Pacific ocean, ought to be undertaken and constructed by southern capital and enterprise.

4. That the construction of this road would strengthen the position of the Southern States: 1. By opening commercial relations with the interior of Northern Mexico. 2. By promoting the acquisition of territory suitable for the production of certain great staples indispensable to the comforts or luxury of civilized man. 3. By basing the Union upon the independence, commercial reciprocity, and harmony of the States which compose it.

It will be observed that the resolution only expresses in effect the opinion that the construction of the railroad under authority of the Federal Government is inexpedient. This has been done that it may imply no dereliction of principle upon the part of any who compose this legislature. There is now no party which advocates the direct construction and control of highways by the Federal Government. The patriotism of our statesmen impelled them to advocate, in the earlier history of the Republic, measures necessary for financial relief, for postal and military intercourse, and for industrial independence; but the occasion for the Federal care of these great interests has passed away with the rapid growth, the improved resources, and the more matured systems of the several States. But there are few who desire to see the powers of the Federal Government enlarged—to see the patronage of the Executive more splendid, or the legislative duties of Congress made more onerous. And though the question of constitutional power over internal improvements is a subject of abstract discussion, it may be well to remember that a railroad is an institution unknown to the founders of the Republic, and that it often comprehends influences having little relation to the ostensible object of its construction. Congress may undoubtedly open and repair roads for the movement of military men and mu-

nitions. It may build them of earth, stone, wood, or iron, but they must afford a free way for the use of the people of the United States without tax or restriction. The authority, however, which owns the railroad, owns also the exclusive right of transportation upon it. This would involve, in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific, not merely the exclusive right of way across Territories and States, but the right to fix and regulate freights, tolls, and transportation, upon the products and people of States and Territories. It would imply, also, the right to enforce these regulations, and to punish, by penalties, those who violate them. How far the power indispensable to operate a railroad efficiently would extend the power of Federal legislation over the Territories, or how closely it would trespass upon the dangerous power to define the rights of property, are questions rendered unnecessary of discussion here, by the general conviction that a Federal railroad is inexpedient. Yet it may not be amiss to add, that the Federal Government, as the owner of a railroad to the Pacific, would occupy the same relation to the public as if it held in ownership and use not only the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, but also every steamboat, flat-boat, raft, or other vessel that floated upon their waters.

It is conclusive against the policy of committing such a work to the Federal Government, that it would be intrusted with the disbursement of hundreds of millions in construction, receipt, and expenditures; it would control principalities of the public domain; it would command armies of operatives, and dispense lucrative contracts. It could raise or depress freights and fares, fix gauges, or embarrass connections. It could discriminate against sections or cities, and pour the rich treasures with which it was freighted into the laps of obsequious friends, or withhold their just rights from intractable opponents.

All this, the administration of a public work, built and managed by the Federal Government, might do; and when we consider the great sectional contest now existing amongst us, and the irresponsible nature of party government, we should hesitate long before entrusting the ownership of such an institution to the hands of a party caucus, to become a weapon of political power, or furnish a fund for political corruption; the more especially that the location and construction of such a work, by the Federal Government, would be rather determined by the interests of the legislators deciding the question, than the comparative merits of the routes presented for adoption. The future embarrassment of such an ownership of such a work, within populous and growing States, can be readily imagined by supposing the Federal Government was at present

the owner of, and common carrier upon, the whole line of communication, from Maine to New Orleans. But it is only my purpose to suggest the most conclusive arguments against the expediency of such a measure, and not to provoke any discussion of the constitutional power of Congress upon the subject. As it would be impolitic to commit the management of a road, so long and so expensive to a single administration, the interests of the public would be best promoted by constructing it of continuous and separate sections, with uniform gauge, fares, and freights upon through business. They should derive the authority of incorporation from the Southern States; the right of way across the territorial domain from the Federal or Territorial governments, and should be subject to the local jurisdiction of the States and Territories within which these sections lie. In a word, it is proposed to make this railroad precisely like all other extended lines, and thus give to the public the benefit of local vigilance, instead of committing them to the arrogant menials of a distant and irresponsible monopoly, or award perhaps for broken limbs and wasted merchandise the indemnity of a vote at the polls against the political party under whose administration the wrong may have happened. The plan proposed presents no legal difficulties. Already has the legislature of Louisiana convened the States of the South as corporators in a great Southern Pacific Railroad Company. Already has it invited corporate, individual, and State subscriptions to the work. It has domiciled the company in the city of New Orleans, and may, at any time acquire the right of way across the sierras of New Mexico, or through the cañons of the Gila, or amongst the mines of Arrisona, just as companies domiciled in New York may traverse the lakes and Isthmus of New Granada, or Nicaragua, or navigate the waters of the Amazon.

The difficulties have been reduced still further by an act of incorporation granted by the State of Texas, for a section extending more than seven hundred miles across her territory; and California has authorized another through her territory, leaving the right of way upon a comparatively short section within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government or the Territory of New Mexico.

The legal obstacles to the construction of this road have been thus removed, and no exception can be taken by any one to the authority under which it is proposed to make, maintain, and administer it.

Having demonstrated an adequate and unobjectionable authority for the construction of the road, it will be proper to consider the comparative eligibility of the competing routes presented for adoption.

In this connection it may be proper to say, that no comparison is intended, as no competition is understood to exist between the railroad across the continent and the world-ways around the capes, or across the Isthmus of Central America.

The competition amongst these last routes will generate a patronage adequate to maintain them all. The business intercourse of the world will employ them all. The open ocean for cheap transportation; the Isthmian routes, completed or contemplated, for the business of the coasts and localities interested in a speedy and direct transit; and the several roads projected across the continent, and within the limits of the United States, for the domestic purpose of intercommunication, development, and defence. There will be enough for all.

Those completed will be an auxiliary to the construction of others; and if there be any rivalry amongst them, it will be—which shall serve the purpose of the public best. It were better there were many ways of communications—better, indeed, there were an open ocean-way, where the rock-ribbed isthmus raises its obdurate barriers between the kindred waters of two mighty oceans. It would destroy monopoly and promote the philanthropic objects of human intercourse.

But in regard to the work at present under consideration, as it contemplates a way of domestic intercommunication which will require the whole resources at present applicable to that purpose, it becomes our duty to show, by comparison, that the route by way of El Paso to California is the most eligible yet surveyed, and that it promises political advantages which cannot be superseded by any other within the limits of the United States. In accordance with the authority of an act of Congress, the Secretary of War, with an honorable impartiality, has directed an accurate and impartial survey of the various routes proposed for a railroad to California and Oregon. The results are now before the public. They present different routes, which no doubt afford the most favorable locations of the various competing interests. It is well known that the determination of this question involved a proposition of great political consequence. If the Northern States can demonstrate the superior eligibility of a route traversing the vast domain of the northwest; if they can open at the expense of the Federal Treasury, an iron conduit, along which can be poured immigrant millions, the question of sectional ascendency will soon be settled—the gift of public lands, the creation of new States, the admission of new Senators, the rapid addition to the number of State legislatures, would soon put it in the power of ambitious or fanatical politicians, not only to overthrow our sectional equilibrium, but to make perhaps the most radical amendments to the Federal Constitution, and thus place the

Southern States in the painful alternative of submitting to a sacrifice of their rights, or resisting the letter of their obligation. These reasons may be referred to their proper place, to show that it is inexpedient to employ Federal authority to construct or administer a railroad to the Pacific.

But an impartial survey of the competing routes was clearly within the incidental powers of the Government; and as it commits the survey of each route to its own friends, there has been no complaint of abused power or of sectional injustice.

The superior authenticity of this comparison, and the elaborate impartiality with which it has compressed in a tabular view all the elements of comparative eligibility, supersedes the propriety of any individual estimate of my own, and is submitted for examination.*

The route now recommended for legislative sanction, is that indicated in this statement as the route near the 32d parallel, "or the El Paso route to the Pacific." All familiar with the comparison involved in the statement submitted, will agree at once that science has but confirmed the physical indication of nature in pronouncing this route the most eligible of construction.

The route upon the 49th parallel is not within the range of competition, as it leads from the head waters of the Mississippi to Oregon, and not to California. Minnesota and Oregon, like Siberia and Tartary, will find railroads indispensable to their development. The route now referred to, though traversing a high northern latitude, is perfectly practicable. Indeed, the mildness of temperature reported is wonderful, and only to be accounted for by the caprice of climate, for though meteorology has established a normal relation between altitude and temperature, it is so often suspended in its application, that mere height of summit or parallel of latitude ceases to be an invariable criterion. The regularity with which the summit height of the Oregon route is distributed along the whole line is remarkable, and it is not to be doubted that in due time a railroad will be completed for the use of the States and sections interested in it. But it is with a more immediate competition that we have to deal. The central route was advocated by an eminent Senator from Missouri, as affording the only eligible way of communication with California, but there are certain physical indications which determine the general advantages of the El Paso route over either of those which he advocated. The Rocky mountains, near the passes chosen for the central route, are the sources from which four principal streams of the continent take their rise.

* The table referred to was published in our Review for September, 1855, page 340, and is therefore omitted here.

It is in this crowning summit of nearly ten thousand feet above the ocean, that these rivers have their sources. It is across this summit, with its "tunnel of two miles" and its "deep approaches"—with its frosts at mid-summer, its hyperborean snow-drifts, and its latitude of 63° by equivalent elevation—that this route proposed by the intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific States must be conducted. It is over an aggregate undulation of more than 50,000 feet, and at a cost of construction so great as to be declared incalculable, that this intercourse is to be conducted. It is, lastly, and as a most conclusive proof of the infinite and indefinite expense to be incurred in its construction along a line of 1,740 miles, presenting not one cultivated section upon which supplies can be at present furnished—a line not crossed by any natural or artificial way of transportation, and therefore to be made like a tunnel or gun-barrel—from each end—that this stupendous enterprise is to be executed.

It is unnecessary to expatiate upon its inclement seasons, its inhospitable heights, or to extol the correctness of that public judgment which has condemned it as unworthy even the compliment of a recommendation.

The El Paso route seems to be the most eligible presented in the comparison referred to, and the feasibility of its construction has been reduced to the practical test, that it has been incorporated and is now under construction. The eastern section of the El Paso route is called the Texas Western Railroad. It traverses a country adapted to the production of cotton, wheat, and tobacco, and to the growth of cattle. The line of location for this railroad will be supplied with materials of construction from the Red river, the settled portions of Texas, and the populous valley of the Rio Grande. The western section will be supplied with materials of construction from the Rio Grande, the Gila, and the Colorado.

But in order that we may estimate the ability of the States, people, and corporations, interested in the construction of a railroad upon this route, it is proper to state that its estimated cost is seventy millions of dollars. Towards this, Texas has given more than 12,000 acres of land per mile. The remainder must be contributed from other sources, or raised by the corporate credit of the companies constructing it.

The railroads interested in this extension will measure more than six thousand miles. They will cost, when completed, not less than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The States directly interested in these roads have an aggregate population of ten millions, and a taxable value of $3,000,000,000. The annual crop of gold in California alone is estimated at not less than sixty millions of dollars. The merchandise consumed

in that State is not less than fifty million per annum; the travel movement both ways is 150,000 persons annually. To these interests and resources may be added whatsoever of the Pacific trade a continental line of railroad could take as against the Isthmian and ocean routes, and the transportation of the men, munitions, and other property of the Federal Government.

From this condensed view of the various interests involved, and the resources to be relied on for the construction of this road, it will be readily seen to require relatively but a small contribution of State, corporate, and individual means to effect the construction of a common route from which such advantageous results must accrue. It is true that much of this great system of railroads is incomplete, but it is in progress, and will ultimately be able to contribute to this design. The Southern and Southwestern States are at this time engaged in the completion of their own roads; but when the advantages of the common extension of these roads shall be made manifest, we may rely upon ample contributions, appropriations of money, or State credit. But in repudiating the authority of construction and ownership of the Federal Government, it will have been observed that it was by no means intended to exclude that Government from such contributions to the construction of the road as will promote its interest and facilitate the performance of its constitutional functions.

It will be, perhaps, lawful for the Federal Government to bestow public lands within the territories, in order that thereby the residuary domain may be rendered more valuable. The transportation of the mails will be a legitimate subject of contract, and such a contract may be negotiated as a basis of construction. The transportation of troops, public stores, and munitions of war, to and from the Pacific coast, will furnish an important resource of construction. The immense value of this great work will also secure subscriptions from the capitalists of the world, whilst the millions of merchandise and passengers, the transportation of mails and treasure, with the local property and business of its several sections, will give a credit to their securities adequate to achieve its construction.

But, having demonstrated these direct consequences, it will be proper to consider the scarcely less important influence which the construction of this road will exercise upon the sectional interests of the Southern States, and thus upon the harmony and duration of the Union.

There has been great controversy during the last few years in regard to the character of the institutions to be established in the new territories of the Union, and this has led to the repeal of a former law of Congress known as the Missouri Compromise.

Whether the repeal of that law was a consequence of the compromise of 1850, or whether it had its origin in the wanton ambition of politicians, does not matter. It has been done, and there exists neither the power nor the purpose to repeal it; because the enemies of the South, who had before announced their position upon that subject by their refusal to carry out the principle in the admission of California, think they will get more under the repeal of the Missouri Compromise than by its restoration. But the legislation of Congress in regard to the organization of Kansas and Nebraska Territories does contain a principle of infinite importance to the South, and one which, if made the established rule of action by the Government, cannot fail to preserve a fair equilibrium of sectional power, and restore the harmony of the States.

To demonstrate the importance of this principle to the South, I affirm the following proposition:

If republican States be admitted into the Union as of right, with or without slavery, as their constitution may determine, the South will always command territory adequate to the protection of its peculiar interests. The acknowledgment of this principle is of far more importance in its future application than in the settlement of the territory in present controversy.

The spread of slavery into territory north of Kansas will be subject to many obstacles, and even if unobstructed would be of questionable policy. The cost of slave labor, the insurance upon its value in the inclement and unproductive region which spreads from Iowa to Oregon, will offer no inducements for its introduction in competition with the milder climate, the more valuable staples, and the superior security of slave property from escape, and legislative confiscation, offered by Arkansas, Texas, and the older States of the South and Southwest. The South will gain no numerical representation by transferring slave numbers from one location to another, whilst the risk of losing their representation in spirit by intermixing slave owners with a preponderant immigrant population, which might even elect an anti-slavery representative, would render it dangerous to surrender a permanent certainty for a chance of probable gain.

It is plain that the South cannot compete in the manufacture of States with the North aided by a foreign immigrant column of half a million per annum. Its true policy is to concentrate its resources, and acquire control of all those staple productions that the world requires.

To show that the South then is in no immediate danger, and in no want of area for the employment of slave labor, a few statistical facts will be necessary.

A comparison of the area of the slave States, with their pop-

ulation, will show that they contain but about 3.75 slaves to the square mile. From this fact it is obvious that there can be no immediate want of area for their employment. But if we consider in addition the various industrial pursuits in which slave labor is now employed, requiring no material area—which employments we may specify as manufactures, the mechanic arts, mining for metals and minerals, the construction and maintenance of railroads, navigation, the fisheries, lumbering, and other miscellaneous occupations, and those menial duties in which slaves are exclusively employed—if we estimate the growing demands of peace, civilization, and commerce, for those staples which the world must have, and which have not yet been produced to any extent except by slave labor—we shall be satisfied of the following propositions:

1. That the South has at present abundant area, and profitable employment for all her slaves.

2. That slave labor is more profitable than it ever has been.

3. That there is an absolute deficiency of that labor to supply the world-demand for articles of luxury and necessity.

Although the prosperity, independence, and material progress of the Southern States, with the immense advance in the value of their slave property, shows that there is no danger, and, indeed, no apprehension upon the part of their citizens, yet statesmen should, like provident farmers, look to the prospective demands of those who rely upon their forethought for protection and employment. Though, therefore, there may be no need of southern territory for many years, yet it is important to provide for its acquisition when needed, and particularly to avoid a blockade of the South by an enforcement of the policy already proclaimed by the Black Republican party in their dogma, that no more slave States shall be admitted into the Union.

If, then, we look upon the region of country lying south of our present possessions, we find it of inviting fertility and of immense capacity for staple and mineral production. That country now borders upon us, and though the property of a neighboring nation may yet lawfully yield us commercial advantages by its development, and may indeed become our own by purchase, or by asserting for itself in some future political arrangement the same rights of self-government which we exercise, it is not then that the acquition of any coterminous territory by force is counselled or contemplated; but there is nothing more immoral in looking forward to the period when it may suit Mexico to cede the soil which we need, and which she cannnot keep, than to have heretofore bought Louisiana from France, or Florida from Spain, for similar reasons.

In the mean time, we are about to develop with this El Paso Railroad a region of country within our own limits hitherto inaccessible from the want of natural avenues. The State of Texas will be opened to settlement along a line longer than from the capital of Virginia to that of Missouri.

If the area of Texas alone, brought into cultivation by this road and its legitimate connections, were planted in cotton, it would bring, at a moderate estimate, more than the whole present crop of the United States. But if passing over this section of the route, we imagine the extension of that road across the federal boundary, we shall find ourselves in commercial connection with an extensive and productive region which can only be developed by railroads.

Let us then consider—1. The political condition of Mexico and the probabilities of our acquiring by purchase, or voluntary annexation, such adjacent territory as we may need from time to time. 2. The extent, population, and resources of the territory immediately adjacent to our southern and southwestern boundary.

The republic of Mexico consists of twenty-one States, which lie around the central and capital State and city of Mexico. Endowed by nature with every delight of climate, with inexhaustible and inestimable mines, with every profusion of fruits, with eternal verdure and perpetual bloom, the energy of that race which overthrew the Aztec empire seems to have yielded to the seductions of abundance and beauty which teem around them.

Whether the physical influence of this glorious region, or the admixture of race—the benumbing apathy of an established religion, or the native incapacity of the Spanish people to appreciate any except a despotic government—have caused the stagnation of Mexico, are not proper subjects for consideration in this connection. But the fact is beyond question, that the attempt of the Mexican people to establish a republican form of government has signally failed. Indeed the experiment of a nominal republic has involved the trial of almost every form of government intermediate between the absolutism of Iturbide or Santa Anna, and the anarchy under which revolutionary chiefs have succeeded each other with the scenic rapidity of the theatre, whilst an adroit priesthood has enjoyed power and accumulated property under every change of this dramatic empire.

The foreign policy of Mexico has been as unfortunate in its results as her domestic administration. Plunged in debt by the necessities of her earliest revolution, she has been prevented, by the rapacity of her rulers, the expenses of her armies, the indolence of her people, and the abuses of her laws, from

applying any fair proportion of her resources to the redemption of her debt. Faithless to her pledges, or incapable of redeeming them, she has postponed from day to day the payment of her obligations; she has assigned her most productive branches of revenue to her most importunate or powerful creditors. She has paralyzed commerce by duties and forced loans, crippled industry by imposts, and, in one word, annihilated all confidence in her ability or disposition to make good her engagements.

Sometimes the flagrant repudiation of her promises, or the wontonness of her tyranny, has compelled foreign nations to threaten reprisal, or to exact indemnity for their citizens suffering under her injustice, or defrauded by her prevarication. England has, from time to time, pressed the payment of public securities held by her credulous merchants, or compounded their just demands for some less but ascertained assignment of value. France has taken the law in her own hand, and demanded, at the cannon's mouth, some pledge, or liquidation of the debt held by her citizens. The United States had, perhaps, as ample cause, in the imprisonment, confiscation, and oppression of her citizens, and the contemptuous refusal of their just demands for the war of 1846, as in the actual invasion of our territory. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that the depreciated public securities of Mexico have been only liquidated by the sale and cession of the national domain; and had not the United States, as a magnanimous conqueror, restored to Mexico her sword, and repaid the charges of her subjugation, she must long since have been protested by all civilized nations as wholly bankrupt and unable to comply with any public engagement. Even now her income falls short by more than five millions of her annual obligations. The proceeds arising from the sale of her territory has been assigned in advance to her creditors, seized by her chief officers, or squandered in civil war. She has no fixed principles except anarchy and insolvency. She has no constitutional government, but must struggle out of one paroxysm of revolution into another, until disunion, or a foreign protectorate, shall terminate her national existence. But for the opportune, but precarious, aid afforded by her sales of national domain, the States of the confederacy, worn out with civil war, wearied with contributions without return, afflicted with savage invasions, and in perpetual dread of foreign aggressions, would have withdrawn from the feeble protection of the central government, and sought, by more limited confederacies and less responsible combinations, rest from strife, and refuge from the dangers to which a rapacious, imbecile, oppressive, and incompetent government has subjected them.

It is at this stage of the history of Mexico, that we find

ourselves obliged to provide by the extension of our territory for the enterprise of our citizens, the preservation of the peace of the Union, and the accommodation of the millions of Europe who are flocking to this country.

The northern States of Mexico, lying adjacent to our boundary, have suffered more from civil war and Federal imbecility than any other portion of that empire. Abandoned by their government to the incursions of those savage and predatory hordes who inhabit New Mexico, the ruthless Camanche roves through deserted towns and fields where the fruits of civilization renew their products long since the care of the husbandman has been withdrawn. He drags the miserable women and children into captivity, and repays the earlier cruelties wrought upon his race, with a bondage the most infamous, and outrages the most appalling to civilization.

The inhabitants of Northern Mexico have been thus compelled to yield the most valuable portions of their territory, and to fall back upon the feudal fortifications of the middle ages. Like those unhappy cultivators upon the borders of Arabia, who plough and sow for the paltry share that the robbers will leave them—who submit to an annual invasion of their fields, and subsist upon the mere gleanage of their own crops—the inhabitants of Northern Mexico only expect to enjoy that portion of life, liberty, and the products of their labor, that their vigilance or the mercy of their invaders may leave them.

It is this country—rich in all the attributes which enterprise can ask—that will be protected by the interposition of the Pacific railroad, and of that American column which will accompany it. It is under this protection that the inhabitants of these States will rally and overspread their fertile valleys, and re-open their valuable mines, closed by the rapacious exactions of their own rulers, or by the irresistible invasion of their savage neighbors.

In this forlorn and abandoned condition, lies the whole of that quarter of Mexico lately spoken of as the "Republic of the Sierra Madre," comprising the States of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, and Coahuila. These are now under the control of the partisan Vidaurri, unwilling to submit to either of the rival factions, each of whom, with no better claim than himself, aspires to govern the whole empire.

These States comprise an area of 530,250 square miles, with a population of less than one million, or about two souls per square mile. To show, however, their commercial capacity—which, upon the system of reciprocal trade opened by the Federal Government with Canada, may properly be made tributary to the power and prosperity of the Southern States

and cities—it will be proper to add a description of their fertility and productions. The first in geographical order are—

SONORA AND SINALOA.—These States adjoin New Mexico on the north, and bound upon the Gulf of California on the west, upon which they hold Mazatlan, Guaymas, and other capacious and excellent ports. The area of these two States is about 254,000 square miles, their population 271,000, or little more than one soul to the square mile. Within these States are the cities of Arispe, population 5,000; Sonora; Sinaloa, 13,000; Culiacan, 10,800; Hostimuri, surrounded by mines; El Rosano, near the rich mines of Copola, population 5,000; Villa del Fuerte, population 7,900, &c. They are well watered by the Sonora, Mayo, Rio Chico, Culiacan, and other rivers. All the ravines, and even the plains, contain gold scattered throughout the alluvial soil. Masses of pure gold, weighing from 5lbs. 2oz. 2pt. 8gr. to 8lbs. 4oz. 12gr., have been found; but owing to the high price of provisions and the Indian troubles, these mines have been little worked. Such is the report of Humboldt; but it will not be uninteresting to add the testimony of Father Vanegas, an earlier and even a more competent witness of the resources of this extraordinary country. "Sonora," says Vanegas, "may be said at the same time to be one of the poorest and richest provinces in America, or of the world. Besides its fruitfulness, in all sorts of useful vegetables, it is everywhere full of veins of silver ore, and mines of such richness, that what is related by some exceeds all credibility; and if the allegations, in suits before the Supreme Council of the Indies, may be depended on, *Potosi*, and other mines, however rich, are no longer to be chiefly admired, *Sonora affording mountains wanting very little of being entirely composed of massy silver*. Several Spanish families, in different camps and settlements, derive considerable advantages from these mines. Yet is this province one of the poorest; and in the whole world there is scarce a more manifest proof of this truth—though but little attended to—that the wealth and power of a State does not consist in gold, silver, gems, and the noble metals, but in the number and industry of its inhabitants, a well-cultivated soil, and variety of manufactures for consumption and exportation, and the exact administration of justice. Sonora, I repeat it, is in extreme poverty, and it is even evident that it becomes every day thinner of inhabitants."

This sagacious author goes on to attribute the want of progress in Sonora to "causes general to all Spanish America, and even to old Spain." They consist in the expense of mining and the charge of transportation, the lamentable want of "almost all necessary and convenient manufactures, trades, and callings. The true riches of a country consist in plenty

of provisions and of inhabitants, and the reciprocal commerce between them."

"The great Cortes used all possible endeavors for introducing into Mexico the whole train of arts and trades to which old Spain owed all its populousness, wealth, happiness, and power.

"The province of Sonora must receive what goods it neither produces nor makes, not immediately from Europe, but from Mexico, after all the risk and charges of 1,800 miles of land carriage. What then must be the value of a yard of cloth carried from Holland to Cadiz, from thence exported to Vera Cruz, thence carried to Mexico, and at last, for the twelfth, or even the twentieth time, sold at Sonora, and perhaps by necessity bought at the price that an unconscionable dealer is pleased to fix upon it."

These obstacles to progress and development still continue. They are the same which oppressed California until it fell into American hands, and it will not be improper to commend the sagacious perception of the causes and remedy for the abandonment of this remarkable country, which, reported to the Spanish government more than a century ago, remains to be impressed upon the public mind at this date.

Durango, Chihuahua, and Coahuila.—"These States occupy," says an author, "a greater territory than the Kingdom of Great Britain, with a population less than that of Birmingham. The Indians have for centuries waged a war of extermination, until villages, farms, mines, and missions have been abandoned, and the population has been concentrated for safety in a few places of defence."

The cities are those of Chihuahua, population thirty; San Juan del Rio, 10,200; Nombre del Dios, 6,800; Durango, 15,000; Salletto, 6,000; Santa Rosa (surrounded with silver mines,) 10,100, &c., &c.

The aggregate territory of these States is about 256,000 square miles, with a population of 38,555, or a little more than one soul to the square mile.

Zacatecas—population 150,000—area 19,950 square miles. Zacatecas: Important for its mines—population 33,000. Chief towns and mines—Fresnillo, Sombrerete, mines of Mesquitas, Mazapil, Negro de Sombrerete "affords a vein of the greatest wealth ever discovered in either hemisphere."

The indications of mineral wealth given by earlier historians are corroborated by the knowledge of thousands who have more recently explored this region, and the more practical examination of American planters has determined that much of it is adapted to the production of those staples in which slave labor is habitually and profitably employed.

But if our commercial connection could be extended still further into the interior of Mexico, and we also could exchange for our products, the immense treasures of silver annually produced in Guanajuato, Michoacan, and San Luis Potosi, which amount to more than forty millions of dollars annually; and if we could secure the trade of the ports of Tampico, Vera Cruz, and Alvarado, the aggregate of these advantages would form a source of power and prosperity infinitely superior to anything that can be found in the wild and inclement steppes of the Laramie, or the narrow valleys of the Columbia river. It is in no violation of the decalogue that a description of the transcendent attractions of an interior province of Mexico has been employed to show the immense advantages which must at some future period be developed, and which cannot but contribute to the commercial wealth of the American Union. Indeed the pictures of profusion with which nature rewards the labors of man are as grateful to the senses, and are as objects of lawful admiration as the fruitful possession of a neighbor. The following description of one of the Central American States opens a paradise to our contemplation:

"The province of Oajaca is one of the most delightful countries of the globe. The beauty and salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the richness and variety of its productions, all minister to the prosperity of its inhabitants, and it has been from remote periods the centre of an advanced civilization.

"It is productive of all the staples, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. The cochineal grows to perfection; the pineapple, orange, banana, and all the tropical fruits and flowers; its valleys are well cultivated, and it presents all the attractions which the beauties of nature and the improvements of society can throw around it."

Such is a brief and meagre sketch of the region adjacent to the Southern States, such its political condition, and such its capacity to contribute to the great object that should inspire every Southern statesman. That object should be *to acquire the lawful control of the world-staples, whose field of products lies within our possession, or within our legitimate grasp.*

Whilst we may acquire and occupy all of that region adapted to our pursuits and labor, commerce will seek our ports and enrich our merchants; and the bold prediction of Humboldt will be realized in an unexpected sense, "that coaches will one day roll from Washington city to Mexico."

This sketch is only suggestive. It is intended to turn the attention of the public to these vast interior resources of our

sister republic, only accessible from our own Southern frontier, and only to be developed by tributary railroads uniting with the great and leading highway of the El Paso road.

Now, if the Northern States of our Union, looking to the boundless area and the congenial attractions of climate and production which spread across the continent, regarding as their own the deep and capacious ports of the Northern Pacific ocean, shall desire to live in harmony with us, what is more obvious in its wisdom than that a new rule of agreement should be announced? Under this agreement, the unwise and unjust principles of the Missouri compromise must be discarded.

The descendant of a common ancestry will not contend for the comparatively narrow extent of territory which existed in 1819; but they will adopt the just and expansive principle that the legal citizens of a State should fix its constitution in full sovereignty, diminished only by a voluntary concession of exactly the same powers to the Federal Government, which were surrendered by the original States. Upon this great yet simple principle, the Confederacy may expand and strengthen, until its aggregate millions, becoming even too dense for the vast space which spreads from ocean to ocean, shall send its gushing current, instinct with liberty and progress, upon a new mission and a new destiny, and passing the space which separates us from the sister half of this hemisphere, the flag of freedom will "stream like a thunder cloud against the storm" of despotism, superstition, and ignorance. Let it not be said that these are the dreams of ambition, or a blind lust for the property of others. It has been shown from the character and condition of Mexico, that the failure of that form of government which she has tried to sustain for more than thirty years is inevitable. The acquisition of her territory, either by the admission of her separate States or by fair purchase, is a legitimate object and a proper policy. We only ask at the hands of the Federal Government that it will warn all foreign governments that no protectorate or other intervention will be tolerated upon this continent. Let Mexico have a fair and independent trial without interference or impediment. If she can maintain herself, we shall be content. If she cannot, let not foreign courts plant upon this continent those baneful doctrines which our fathers crossed the ocean to escape, and which will effectually extinguish all liberty, not only in the nations which adopt them, but embarrass those who are exposed to the contagion of their vicinity.

Let this, then, be our domestic and foreign policy. Let the existing legislation, and especially the invaluable principles of individual and municipal right embodied in the Kansas-Ne-

braska bill, stand as a perpetual canon of the republican creed. Leave to the people of each territorial State the fair, free, and unbiassed choice of their constitution and institutions; acknowledge their right to admission into the Union, with or without slavery, as their citizens may determine; guaranty to them a perfect equality in every respect with the original States of the Confederacy.

Upon this great principle the South can stand in safety. If she cannot expect to occupy the Northwestern Territory, and contend with the free States in the reduction and settlement of that territory, she can secure the right of admission for new slave States, and use it when the time and occasion shall present itself.

In the meantime it will appear, upon examination, that the apportionment of territory between the North and the South is more uniform than might, without examination, be supposed. The South is perfectly safe and independent. It is in no danger of oppression from any quarter, and, with a due degree of prudence, it will be enabled to secure itself against all and any antagonists.

In order to demonstrate the present ability of the South to sustain itself, let us examine the comparative area and population of the two sections.

At the date of the annexation of Louisiana, the whole territory of the United States did not exceed 820,680 square miles. That act doubled our territory, and subsequently produced a quarrel about its division.

As the whole area of the United States was at that date about one-third what it is at present, there might well exist an apprehension on the part of the Southern States that they might be hemmed in, and their rights of property destroyed by a scanty territory and an antagonist interest. The acquisition of Texas, however, gave to the South an additional area of 318,000 square miles. If, then, we compare the area of the free States upon the east side of the Rocky mountains with that of the slave States, we find the following result:

	Sq. miles.
Area of free States east of the Rocky mountains....	456,617
Area of slave States.....	851,508
Excess of area in favor of slave States.....	394,891

	Sq. miles.
Area of free States and territories east of the Rocky mountains.....	958,524
Area of slave States, Territory of Kansas, and Indian country south of Kansas.....	922,635

I have thrown out of this estimate, it will be seen, the area of Pacific States and territory, which amounts to 341,010, and the interior territory of New Mexico, which amounts to 200,000; and Utah, which is 269,170—because from their interior position and limited population, they will not affect the distribution of power at present—and have confined myself to a consideration of the relative power and proper policy of the Atlantic sections, as they are at present divided.

Under the views taken, it is apparent that the present area occupied by the Atlantic slave States exceeds that occupied by the Atlantic free States by nearly one half, while with its fair share of the Atlantic territory, it equals the whole area of the Atlantic free States and territories.

For the present, and with any ordinary rate of settlement, the South is safe. The average density of population throughout the whole southern area is but 11.35 to the square mile. This average is distributed thus: The Southern States have 15.27 souls per square mile; the Southwestern States have but 7.00. Texas, which presents nearly one-third of the whole slave-holding territory, has less than one soul to the square mile.

From this it is obvious:

1. That the chief density of the slaveholding States is in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In these States it is but 15.27 per square mile. The highest densities consistent with prosperity being found in England, Belgium, Holland, France, and Switzerland, respectively, 322.3, 68.60, 259.31, 160.05, and 172.74 per square mile. Even of this population in the Southern States, the proportion of slaves is about as one slave to three whites. The Southern States are then much below the maximum or even the average density of other nations. They are indisposed to part with their slaves, which from the diversity of industrial pursuits, their improved intelligence, and the immense demand of the Northern and Eastern States for the products of the South, other than staples, render slave labor more valuable than it has ever been.* The population

* Extraordinary Sale of Slaves.—The Lynchburg *Virginian* records the sale of a lot of negroes there, on Thursday, at the following high prices: Shadrach, about 70 years old, $100; Samuel, $1,120; Mac, $2,110; Willis, $1,900; Purnel, aged 55, $1,100; Peter, $1,400; Robin, $1,250; John $1,250; Charles, $1,580; Jack, $1,770; Woodson, $1,320; John Mac, $1,640; Pleasant, $1,500; Dick, $1,275. The average price is over $1,400 each, and the aggregate amount, $19,325. They were all bought by citizens of Lynchburg.—*New York Herald.*

The foregoing paragraph proves conclusively the assertion in regard to the increased value of slaves in the older slave States, as well as the confidence in the integrity of their title. It also proves that the industrial development of the South, copied from the North, has rendered slave labor at least as valuable in Virginia as staple labor is in the more Southern and Southwestern States. The city of Lynchburg possesses an enterprising and prosperous population.

of the Southern States are everywhere less inclined to immigrate or to sell their slaves, except for police purposes.

But, if the Southern States are the matrix from whence this immigration is to proceed, we will find that the proportion of souls to area in the Southwestern States is so small, that no immediate or prospective danger of a redundant population need be apprehended, whilst the State of Texas, the great cotton-field of the Union, is absolutely undeveloped for want of population and labor.

Setting out, then, with the proposition that the Southern States are far from having population to spare, and have not even half the density of the Northern States, let us remember that the slaves constitute but one-third of the gross population of the South, or 3.78 slaves per square mile over the whole South, with perhaps only 0.33 slaves per square mile in Texas. Where, then, is the danger that the slave States can be oppressed with an excessive population, and whence can abolition derive the hope that its invidious and abominable policy can impair the security of Southern title? The South is in no danger from that source, present or prospective.

It is not our policy to compete with the Northern States in the production of those articles common to both sections, so much as *to secure the monopoly of all those world-staples upon which the comfort and the political existence of European States so much depend.* It is not our policy to compete in the settlement of territory, uncongenial in its climate, and less productive in its soil than our own. It is plain that the immigration from 10,000,000 of people in the South cannot compete in the occupation of a neutral territory with the immigration from 16,000,000 of people, aided by an immense immigrant column from foreign countries, which almost exclusively goes to that territory, and which resolves itself instantly into an active political power, or becomes the basis of political representation.

It would be unwise that the South should attempt to occupy the higher northern territory with its peculiar labor, or disperse a population insufficient for its own complete development and defence over a distant and uncongenial region. For, in addition to the obstacles and the diminished attractions which such a country must offer to the labor and pursuits of the South, may be estimated the dangers of a total loss of that political influence which slavery exerts over even a non-slaveholding

They are engaged extensively in manufacturing—chiefly with slave labor—the finest chewing tobacco in the world. This city is opening by railroad connections an intercourse with the whole interior of the South and West. It will be observed that the high prices cited have been paid by citizens of Lynchburg, in competition, it may be added, with the buyers of the Southern and Southwestern markets.

people of congenial pursuits and investments, but which would be extinguished by the preponderance of the rival and hostile interests which it would meet in the higher northern territories. Slavery tends to the tropics, because it is perhaps most profitable when employed upon the productions of a tropical climate.

But when it is asserted that the true policy of the South consists in industrial and territorial development, and not in competing for a high northern territory, let it not be supposed that the South is indifferent to the stand taken in the Federal Legislature in regard to the disputed ground of Kansas-Nebraska. The occupation of Kansas by the South is essential to the territorial equilibrium of the Atlantic system of free and slave States. For the principle involved in that law is, as has been shown, not less indispensable to the future progress of the South, than it is to the present equality of States, and the freedom of the whole people of the Union. The principle that every new State is entitled to admission into the Union, with or without the institution of slavery, as its citizens may determine, is one which can never be obliterated until the subjugation of the South is complete, and her statesmen shall have illustrated that bitter satire of the Irish bard:

> ——"Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray;
> And the torch that shall light them on dignity's way
> Must be lit at the pile where her freedom expires."

A period which can never arrive. But the true policy of the South, as has before been indicated, will consist in occupying the obvious vantage ground—in securing the control of all the leading staples, and as far as possible the most important minerals and metals, which the world most needs. If it can succeed by an honest, prudent, and permanent progress in occupying that position, the world will wound itself with the rebound of every blow that it shall aim at us or our institutions. It will find that the coffee of Brazil, the sugar of Cuba and Louisiana, the cotton of Texas and Alabama, the tobacco of Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky, the precious metals of California, Sonora, Guanajuato, and Potosi, are alike essential to the salons of Paris and the shanties of Ireland; to the smoke-wreathed factories of Manchester, the ships of Holland, or to the Exchange of London. They will find that the crown and anchor are not more intimately connected than the sceptre and spindle; and that when the dominion of the master over his slave terminates in Alabama, the authority of the government over the cotton-spinner is imperilled in Albion. These problems are more and more obvious every day, and will, with the first war between the staple-producing States and the manufacturing nations of Europe, be an undoubted principle of the future political relations between them.

Let us not then, in advising the policy here indicated, be supposed to flinch from a contest for a common territory. Let the South concentrate its energies for maintaining the right to that, and also for acquiring one infinitely more valuable either for aggression or defence. Let us not go into action upon a field selected by our enemies. Let us not quit the impregnable position which we occupy. There is a courageous wisdom which fears not to be esteemed even wanting in chivalry, by refusing an invidious challenge when it knows that it concedes a substantial advantage in accepting it.

It has thus been shown:

1. That the South, with its rightful share of existing territory, has ample area for the present.

2. That its course of development should be south and southwest, rather than west and northwest.

3. That its independence will be best promoted by occupying the area exclusively adapted to the great world-staples.

4. That to secure this object, the South must establish and maintain as an indisputable principle the equal right of slave States to admission into the Union.

5. That the Federal Government should so conduct its policy as to secure all just means of commercial development and territorial acquisition in the line of southern progress. That the Federal Government should so far enforce the Monroe doctrine that no foreign intervention in the diplomacy of this continent should be tolerated. Upon these propositions, as the basis of an adjustment, the North and South may cordially agree to a partition of the present and future territory of the republic. Upon such a compromise they may leave the problem of settlement to the attractions of interest, the inclination of social choice, and the inducement of climate. The institutions of the Northern States will tend to the northwest and west; those of the South to the south and southwest. Every day will separate them farther and farther from each other; every day will interpose more and more of conservatism between them; until at last the rival institutions will be only known to each other by the interchange of their commercial products. With this permanent and progressive principle of adjustment the harmony and the perpetuity of the Union will be established, and the great question of self-government satisfactorily solved.

To attain these great objects, and enable us to realize a glorious destiny, the construction of the railroad to the Pacific ocean by the El Paso route will contribute essentially, and it should, therefore, be promoted by all the legitimate influences of the States and people interested.

PATRIOTIC SERVICES OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

It being the fashion among Northern orators to detract from the services of the Southern States in the Revolution, and to assert their incapacity to conduct military operations on account of their peculiar institutions, we give place to the exposition of Col. Keitt, of South Carolina. It makes bare the falsehood of these charges, and as will be seen, carries the war effectually into Africa. What is said of South Carolina, may be said of the whole South. Though we dislike such comparisons, when they are provoked, it is not our part to shrink from them.

I admit that there were Tories, large bands of Tories, in South Carolina throughout our revolutionary war. During that struggle she had at the same time to contend against a powerful foreign enemy and a vindictive domestic faction, while even the horrors of such a conflict were intensified by the merciless cruelty of the savage, subsidized to his fellest warfare. The most awful of all calamities are those of civil war, and the vials of these were in the Revolution unsealed and poured upon the devoted head of my native State. There is not within her limits a rivulet which was not crimsoned with patriotic blood, not a spot which did not witness some memorable deed, not a stone which has not its story to tell. Her patriots, soldiers, and sages—these her grand old men, now housed in the Pantheon of history—before any court on earth will prove her title to Revolutionary peerage.

Was it unnatural that there should be Tories in South Carolina during the Revolution? What does Mr. Sabine say? He says:

"The population of South Carolina, composed as it was of emigrants from Switzerland, Germany, France, Ireland, and the northern colonies of America and their descendants, was of course deficient in the necessary degree of homogeneity, or sameness of nature, to insure any considerable unanimity of political sentiment. It is true, however, that individual men took an early, a noble, and a decided stand against the oppressive measures of the British Ministry. It is equally true that South Carolina was the first State of the thirteen to form an independent constitution, and that she overpaid her proportion of the expenditures of the war in the sum of $1,205,978."

The revolution in South Carolina was conceived and organized by the native population. The Germans knew that the King of England was a Prince of Hanover; the Scotch, always loyal, turned to the Crown; the commercial population, mostly Scotch and English, were opposed to the patriots. The symbol of independence was raised aloft by the native citizens of Carolina, and by them it was triumphantly carried through the war. Nor was her diverse population the only element of distraction. The very causes of the Revolution created division within her limits. How does Mr. Sabine sum up these causes? He says of the legislation which produced them:

"They forbade the use of water falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wood and iron; they set the King's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried; and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms as wore the British flag."

South Carolina suffered no grievance from this legislation; she employed no machinery; she sent out no rival ships; she lost no vessels by capture. Great Britain bought at her wharves all her staples and paid her remunerating prices. When pirates infested her coasts, British fleets swept them away; when Spaniards or savage assailed her peace, British troops repelled them. She was the favored colony of Great Britain, and into her lap was poured the cornucopia of material plenty and prosperity. Her sons suffered alone from disabilities imposed upon native intellect. Great Britain, from immemorial usage, governed her colonies in Parliament. This shut out native intellect in Carolina (I mean both the Carolinas) from those offices and honors to which it aspired, and to which it was capable.

The sons of the wealthy families in those colonies were educated in the universities of Great Britain, and were eminently qualified for civil and political trusts. From these they were excluded, and they threw off the tyranny upon intellect. Massachusetts embarked in the Revolution for water-falls, spindles, and merchant craft; South Carolina engaged in it for the royalty of mind.

Is it surprising that, with a diverse population, and an appeal only to native mind and ambition, and that too against pecuniary and commercial interest, there should have been division in South Carolina? Division there was; but the constituted authorities of the State committed her, from the first, to the Revolutionary movement, and she neither wavered nor faltered throughout its progress.

Are the claims of a State to be adjudged by its settled policy or by opposition to that policy? Can a State be known otherwise than through its constituted authorities? Can history claim jurisdiction over other than its organized action? How, then, can a vindicitive, domestic faction within her limits qualify the claim of South Carolina to revolutionary nobility? The imputation upon her because of this faction is grossly unjust.

It is fashionable in Massachusetts to claim the whole credit of beginning the Revolutionary struggle. It is fashionable in Massachusetts to regard the battle of Bunker Hill as the whole Revolutionary war. Obliging historians and a self-gratulatory parish have mutually complimented each other into this conviction. The only difficulty is to *drug Truth*, so that she shall slumber forever. Let us appeal to facts.

In Charleston, November 15, 1773, a public meeting resolved to seize the tea then in Charleston harbor; and they did seize and prevent its sale. The citizens of Boston threw the tea overboard into Boston harbor afterwards; but they disguised themselves as indians, and did the act in the darkness of night. The citizens of Charleston had already done a similar act in daylight, and in the eye of the sun. Were their different modes of action in this matter indicative of a difference in the character of the two people? Since then a secret party, organized in mystery and plotting under "cavernous archways," has ruled Massachusetts, but in South Carolina it found no resting spot.

In 1775, Col. John Ashe and Col. Waddell, of North Carolina, with a band of brave compatriots, seized a British sloop-of-war with stamp-paper on board, and carried the stamp-paper in triumph to Wilmington. They publicly burnt it; then forced the royal Governor to yield up the stamp-master for that colony to them, and compelled him to take an oath not to execute his office. Here was an act of heroism and magnanimity greater than that of the Boston tea party or the battle of Bunker Hill.

At Charlotte, on the 20th of May, 1775, the Mecklenburg declaration of independence was made. This was the prototype of the Declaration of Independence of 1776.

The first victory in the Revolution was won at Moore's Creek, North Carolina, on the 27th of February, 1776. Well may the Old North State, her head pillowed upon her laurels, sleep soundly. Soundly she has slept—so soundly that Massachusetts has filched from her the honor of her earliest achievements.

Into James River, too, did the gallant sons of Virginia throw British stamp-paper.

These acts have been celebrated in no orations and embalmed in no poem; but the famous tea party of Boston is—

"Pealed and chimed on every tongue of fame."

Those who performed most of the achievements of the Revolution have not written its history.

Now, I will proceed with the charges against South Carolina. Mr. Sabine says:

"The whole number of regulars enlisted for the continental service from the beginning to the close of the struggle was 231,950. Of these, I have once remarked, 67,907, were from Massachusetts, and I may now add that every State south of Pennsylvania provided but 59,493; 8,414 less than this single State; yet did 6,660 Whig soldiers exhaust her resources of men? Could she furnish only 752 *more* than Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Confederacy; only one-fifth of the number of Connecticut; only one-half as many as New Hampshire, then an almost unbroken wilderness? She did not, she could not, defend herself against her own Tories; and it is hardly an exaggeration to add that

more Whigs of New England were sent to her aid, and now lie buried in her soil, than she sent from it to every scene of strife from Lexington to Yorktown."

I affirm there was not a single New England company in South Carolina throughout the Revolutionary war. I affirm that there was not a single soldier from Massachusetts in South Carolina throughout the whole progress of that conflict. Let us appeal to history.

When Charleston was first assailed in June, 1776, though Charles Lee was sent to take command of her defences, he brought no troops. The battle of Fort Moultrie was fought and won by General Moultrie and Colonel Thompson with only the native militia of South Carolina. From behind a slender breastwork, hastily constructed, General Moultrie shattered a British fleet, and with five or six hundred militia Colonel Thompson drove back two thousand British regulars.

When Lincoln was sent to take command what was the order given to him by Congress? It was "to take command of all their forces to the southward." (Ramsay.) What constituted the regular army of General Gates when he moved on Camden? Fourteen hundred Continental troops, consisting of the Delaware and Maryland lines. (Johnson's Greene.) With these were militia from Virginia and North Carolina. The remains of this army constituted the nucleus of that of General Greene, for which he received no reinforcements of regulars, except the legion of Colonel Lee, most of which were Virginia and Maryland recruits, and a legionary corps also from Virginia, commanded by General Lawson.

These are all the Continental troops which were in South Carolina throughout the Revolutionary war. Thirty bloody battles were fought upon her soil, but they were all fought by Southern men. Sir, in the darkest hours of the Revolution, when the cloud of defeat hung from all the arches of our sky, her partisan leaders, in swamp fastnesses and on mountain top, kept the fires of independence brightly burning. In the wildest storm of that struggle the Palmetto ship of State was held, with unconquerable firmness, to its path of revolution, beaconed right onward by the eternal stars of resistance and liberty. While British fleets darkened her coasts, and British armies ravaged her soil; while marauding Tories and Indian bands wrapped her in flames and drenched her in blood, there sprang up, all over her, that brilliant race of partisan warriors who have never been surpassed in the history of human warfare. From her native militia there sprang up Marion and Sumter, Pickens and Lacy, Adair and Hampton, Mayhem and Thomas, Bratton and Roebuck, and a host of others, whose deeds rival even the legends of Spartan daring and Roman prowess. Sir, for four years South Carolina was the theatre of

conflict for both the American and British armies, and from her wasted soil and through the labor of her slave population was sustenance provided for both the contending parties. I repeat the declaration that not a single private soldier from Massachusetts was in South Carolina throughout the whole Revolutionary war. The thirty battles within her limits were fought by *Southern men*.

Mr. Sabine also says: "South Carolina, with a northern army to assist her, could not or would not preserve her own capital."

I have already said that there was not a New England company in South Carolina at any period of the war, and I pronounce the above statement to be a fraud and falsehood.

What are the facts of the case? Three times during the war was Charleston assailed. What was the conduct of the Carolinians during the first assault? Ramsay says:

"In South Carolina particularly every exertion had been made to put the province, and especially its capital, in a respectable posture of defence."

When it was first attacked alarm guns were fired, and Ramsay says:

"The militia of the country very generally obeyed the summons of President Rutledge, and repaired in great numbers to Charleston."

The capital was defended, and the British were beaten off, *wholly by South Carolinians*, in one of the most sanguinary battles of the war. This was one defence of the capital.

"Another occasion followed, when General Lincoln, withdrawing all the regular troops away into Georgia, left its (South Carolina) whole seaboard open, and its capital city liable to a *coup de main* of General Prevost. What, then, was the course of the Carolinians? We find Moultrie rushing to the rescue with twelve hundred militia from one quarter, and Governor Rutledge with another body of native militia pressing down for the same object from another quarter of the interior, while Lincoln, with similar speed, was marching from a third direction."—*Simms.*

A second time were the British baffled in their attempts.

A third attack was made, and it succeeded; but under what circumstances? General Ashe, with the Georgia Continentals and fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, had been defeated and dispersed by General Prevost; and this disastrous event had been followed by the still more disastrous assault upon Savannah, in which the combined forces of d'Estaing and Lincoln were defeated with great loss—a loss falling heavily upon the Carolina troops, who alone succeeded in planting their standard upon the enemy's works, a barren but an honorable achievement. (Simms.) In addition to this enfeeblement of our forces the small pox raged in Charleston. Science had not yet disarmed this enemy of our race of its terrors, and then it smote more consternation into the hearts of men than now. The Indians, too, in the upper portions of the State were un-

easy and restless, and showed signs of an approaching outbreak. The mountaineer who left his home for the defence of the capital felt that the war-cry of the savage and the shrieks of his butchered family might companion him on his soldier pilgrimage. But even then there was no lack of patriotism or courage in the defence of Charleston.

In February, 1780, Charleston was a third time approached. The force with which the city was invested consisted of about twelve thousand disciplined troops, and a fleet of about fifty sail of vessels of all classes, ranging from the sloop-of-war to the ship-of-the-line. McIntosh says:

"On the 13th of April all the general officers were called by Gen. Lincoln to his head quarters, where he gave us the *first* idea of the state of the garrison—the men, provisions, stores, artillery, &c., in it; the little hopes he had of succor of any consequence; and the opinion of engineers respecting our fortifications—that they were only field-works or lines, and could hold out but a few days more. With every information he could obtain of the numbers, strength of the enemy, &c., he was compelled to take up the idea of evacuating the city," &c.

The same writer says:

"On the 19th of April the council adjourned in the evening to Gen. Lincoln's quarters, when Col. Larney, representing the insufficiency of our fortifications, (if they were worthy of being called so,) the improbability of holding out many days longer, and the impracticability of making our retreat good as the enemy were now situated, carried it for offering terms of honorable capitulation first. The Lieutenant Governor, with four of his council, (Messrs. Ferguson, Hutson, Cattle, and Dr. Ramsey,) coming in a little after, used the council very rudely; the Lieutenant Governor declaring he would protest against our proceedings; that the militia were willing to live upon rice alone rather than give up the town upon any terms; and that even the old women were so accustomed to the enemy's shot now that they travelled the streets without fear or dread."

Gen. Moultrie was the only general officer who objected to a capitulation. He was in the service of South Carolina. Gervais says that the rumor of a capitulation "occasioned great discontent as well among the regulars as militia, who wish to defend the place to the last extremity, are in high spirits, and so resolved as to offer to receive only half rations a day if necessary." Gen. Moultrie, on the 26th of April, says: "As soon as Gen. Duportail (a French officer) came into garrison and looked at the enemy and at our works, he declared that they were not tenable, and that the British might have taken the town ten days ago." Gen Moultrie also says that when the "British saw the number of our men they were astonished, and said we had made a gallant defence." Colonel Rochfort said: "Sir, you have made a gallant defence." Charleston was defended by five thousand troops, and of these more than fifteen hundred were Carolinians. The supplies of provisions and ammunition were insufficient; this was owing to Gen. Lincoln's neglect. The city fell more through starvation than assault. The British approached it on the 9th of February; it capitulated the 11th of May. True, it might have

been defended better, but we will see whether Massachusetts has a right to reproach South Carolina.

Mr. Sabine admits that South Carolina overpaid her proportion of the expenditures of the war in the sum of $1,205,978. Let us see the contributions of men. South Carolina had 93,000 inhabitants; Massachusetts had 352,000. The following is Seybert's table, which was laid before Congress the 5th December, 1811. It shows that South Carolina furnished 35,503 men during the Revolution, and that Massachusetts furnished 88,183. Taking their respective population as a basis, South Carolina should have furnished only 23,000 men instead of 35,503, or Massachusetts should have furnished 134,376 instead of 88,183. The table speaks for itself:

Southern and Northern Troops in the Revolutionary War.

	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.	1780.	1781.	1782.
N. Hampshire.	2,824	4,019	4,483	1,783	1,222	1,767	700	744
Massachusetts.	16,444	20,372	12,591	13,437	7,738	7,889	5,298	4,423
Rhode Island..	1,193	1,900	2,048	3,056	1,263	915	464	481
Connecticut...	4,507	13,227	6,563	4,010	3,544	3,689	3,921	1,732
New York....	2,075	5,344	5,332	2,190	3,756	4,838	1,178	1,195
New Jersey...	–	9,086	2,908	2,580	1,276	1,267	823	660
Delaware.....	–	754	1,299	349	317	556	89	164
Maryland.....	–	3,329	7,565	3,307	2,849	2,065	2,107	1,280
Virginia.....	3,180	6,181	11,013	7,836	7,573	6,986	6,119	2,204
N. Carolina...	2,000	4,134	1,281	1,287	4,920	6,132	3,545	1,105
S. Carolina...	4,000	6,069	2,000	3,650	4,500	9,132	3,000	3,152
Georgia.....	1,000	2,300	2,173	3,873	837	1,272	750	1,326
Pennsylvania..	400	10,395	9,464	3,684	3,476	3,337	1,346	1,265
Total.....	37,623	89,651	68,720	51,052	41,584	42,826	29,346	18,006
South of Pennsylvania....	10,180	23,013	24,032	20,033	20,679	26,187	15,521	9,067

1775.—The numbers are those in continental pay. The Virginians were six and eight months' men and State troops; the North Carolinians were three months, and Georgians nine months. All others enlisted to 31st December, 1775.

1776.—The returns are actual, and approximate and include militia and continentals; 8,000 of the men from Northern States averaged but four months; 7,000 from the Carolinas averaged six and eight months.

1777.—Includes militia and continentals: 1,113 New Hampshire men were for three months, 2,200 for two months; 2,775 Massachusetts, three months, 2,007 two months; 1,500 Rhode Island men, for six months; 2,000 Connecticut, two months; 1,500 New Jersey, two months; 2,481 Pennsylvania, five months, 2,000 three months; 3,420 New York, six months; 1,000 Delaware, two months; 1,535 Maryland, three months, 4,000 two months; 1,269 Virginia, five months; 4,000 two months; 350 South Carolina, eight months.

1778.—Includes militia and continentals; 500 New Hampshire militia were for two months; 4,500 Massachusetts, two months; 1,000 New Jersey and 2,000 Virginia, two months; 2,000 South Carolina, three months; 2,000 Georgia, six months; part of Massachusetts and Virginia militia were for guarding convention.

1779.—Includes militia and continentals; 1,500 New York militia, for three months; 3,000 Virginia, two months, 1,000 six months; 1,000 North Carolina, eight months; 4,500 South Carolina, nine months.

1780—Includes militia and continentals: 9,000 New York militia, for two months; 1,500 Virginia, twelve months, 3,000 three months; 3,000 North Carolina average twelve months; 5,000 South Carolina, average four months, 1,000 eight months.

1781.—Includes troops and militia. All the Massachusetts and Connecticut men are enlisted for four months.

1782—South Carolina militia for four months.

1783.—All continentals. Army at the North discharged 5th November, 1783; at the South 15th November, 1783.

Supposing the average period of enlistment for all the years to be about the same, North and South, it will be seen that in the first years of the Revolution, when the war was chiefly at the North, the Southern States supplied each year about one-third of the whole number of enlistments. As soon, however, as the war extended southward and became general, the Southern States rapidly advanced, supplying one-half, and for 1780, 1781, and 1782 *more than one-half* of all the enlistments. Mr. Seybert refers to a paper presented to Congress in 1811, which shows the regular troops raised in the Revolution, number serviceable in camp, and expenses of the army.

	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
Total men	27,443	46,891	34,820	32,899	27,099
Serviceable in camp	15,000	25,000	26,000	19,000	18,000
Expense	$20,064,666		24,986,538	24,986,386	10,794,625

	1780.	1781.	1782.	1783.
Total men	21,015	13,292	14,556	13,476
Serviceable in camp	19,000	10,000	11,000	12,000
Expense	$3,000,000	1,942,452	3,631,745	3,775,063

Total expenses, including sundry items..... $135,103,703

De Bow's Industrial Resources of the South and West, vol. 3, p. 127.

The above statement was laid before Congress 5th December, 1811, and is contained in Seybert's statistics. The militia of each State is not included; and Mr. Seybert supposes this amounted to about half as many as the regulars.

From De Bow's Compendium of the Census.

Population.	1701.	1749.	1775.
Connecticut	30,000	100,000	262,000
Delaware		Incl. in Pa.	37,000
Georgia		6,000	27,000
Maryland	25,000	85,000	174,000
Massachusetts	70,000	220,000	352,000
New Hampshire	10,000	30,000	102,000
New Jersey	15,000	60,000	138,000
New York	30,000	100,000	238,000
North Carolina	5,000	45,000	181,000
Pennsylvania	20,000	250,000	341,000
Rhode Island	10,000	35,000	58,000
South Carolina	7,000	30,000	93,000
Virginia	40,000	85,000	300,000
Whites			2,303,000
Slaves, estimated			500,000
All classes	262,000	1,046,000	2,803,000

TROOPS IN MEXICAN WAR.

From Non-slaveholding States.		Men.
Massachusetts	1 regiment	930
New York	2 regiments	1,690
New Jersey	1 battalion	420
Pennsylvania	2 regiments and 3 companies	2,117
Ohio	5 regiments and 3 companies	5,334
Michigan	1 regiment and 1 company	970
Indiana	5 regiments	4,329
Illinois	6 regiments and 1 battalion	5,971
Wisconsin	2 companies	146
Iowa	3 companies	229
Total from the free States		22,136
From States South of Mason's and Dixon's Line.		
Maryland & Dist. of Col.	11 companies	1,274
Virginia	1 regiment	1,182
North Carolina	1 regiment	895
South Carolina	1 regiment	937
Georgia	1 regiment and 12 companies	1,897
Alabama	3 regiments and 13 companies	2,981
Mississippi	2 regiments and 1 battalion	2,235
Louisiana	7 regiments, 4 battalions, and 1 company	7,041
Tennessee	5 regiments	5,090
Kentucky	4 regiments	4,694
Missouri	69 companies	6,441
Arkansas	16 companies	1,312
Florida	4 companies	298
Texas	99 companies	6,955
Total from the South		43,213

South Carolina may challenge comparison with Massachusetts on the muster-roll; on the pension list she yields to her supremacy. The citizens of the latter, whatever their achievements may have been on the battle-field, have always fallen with alacrity into hollow squares before the Treasury, and have been more formidable to it than an "army with banners."

Now let us see something of the gallantry of Massachusetts in the war of the Revolution, which has been so noisily vaunted here. The following correspondence occurred while the British were in possession of Boston and the American forces under Gen. Washington were beleaguering it. Gen. Washington, in a letter to his brother, John Augustine Washington, dated "Camp at Cambridge, July 27, 1775," says:

"I found a mixed multitude of people here, under very little discipline, order, or government."

In a letter to the President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, dated August 7, 1775, a month after he arrived there, Gen. Washington says:

"By the general return made to me for last week I find there are great numbers of soldiers and non-commissioned officers who absent themselves from duty, the greater part of whom, I have reason to believe, are at their respective homes, in different parts of the country; some employed by their officers on their farms and others drawing pay from the public while they are working on their own plantations or for hire. My utmost exertions have not been able to prevent this base and pernicious conduct."

In a letter to the President of Congress, dated September 21, 1775, he says:

"The necessities of the troops having required pay, I directed that those of Massachusetts should receive for one month upon their being mustered and returning a proper roll; but a claim was immediately made for pay by lunar months, and several regiments have declined taking up their warrants on this account."

In a letter to the President of Congress, dated November 11, 1775, Gen. Washington says:

"The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army is really inconceivable. Many of the officers sent in their names to serve in expectation of promotion; others stood aloof to see what advantage they could make for themselves; whilst a number, who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve. So great has been the confusion, arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances, that I found it absolutely impossible to fix this very interesting business exactly on the plan resolved on in the conference, though I have kept up to the spirit of it as near as the nature and necessity of the case would admit. The difficulty with the soldiers is as great, indeed more so, if possible, than with the officers. They will not enlist until they know their colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, and captain; so that it was necessary to fix the officers the first thing, which is at last in some manner done, and I have given out enlisting orders."

In a letter to the President of Congress, dated November 28, 1775—when the year for which the men had enlisted was near its close—he says:

"The number enlisted since my last is two thousand five hundred and forty men; and I am sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of public spirit which reigns here. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time. Those that have enlisted must have a furlough, which I have been obliged to grant to fifty at a time from each regiment."

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of date November 28, 1775, he says:

"Such a dearth of public spirit, and such a want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement I never saw before, and I pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. What will be the end of these manœuvres is beyond my scan. I tremble at the prospect. We have been till this time enlisting about three thousand five hundred men. To engage those I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment; and the officers, I am persuaded, indulge as many more. Such a mercenary spirit prevades the whole that I should not at all be surprised at any disaster that may happen. In

short, after the last of this month, our lines will be so weakened that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy the little subordination I have been laboring to establish, and run me into one evil whilst I am endeavoring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment or any subordinate department would have been accompanied by ten times the satisfaction and perhaps the honor."

This was whilst the enemy had possession of their capital and a large number encamped in full view of the American army.

In a letter to Gen. Schuyler, dated December 5, 1775, Gen. Washington says:

"I know that your complaints are too well founded; but I would willingly hope that nothing will induce you to quit the service, and that, in time, order and subordination will take the place of confusion, and command be rendered more agreeable."

General Schuyler, in the letter to which this was a reply, had said:

"Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago unable to do any duty; but as soon as I administered that grand specific —*a discharge*—they instantly acquired health, and, rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity."

General Washington says, in a letter to Gov. Reed, of Pennsylvania:

"In the two last weeks we have enlisted but about two thousand men, whereas I was confidently led to believe, by all the officers I conversed with, that we should by this time have had the regiments nearly completed. Our total number amounts to ten thousand five hundred; but, as a large portion of them are returned not joined, I never expect to see them. As an order has once been issued, another is now going forth peremptorily requiring all officers, upon pain of being cashiered, and recruits of being treated as deserters, to join their regiments by the first day of next month, that I may know of my real strength," &c.

A month later, when the danger had increased, and with it the solicitude of Washington, when every applicance he was master of had been exhausted to augment the army, he says:

"So far from my having an army of 20,000 men well armed, &c., I have been here with less than one-half of it, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and these neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such that I have been obliged to use arts to conceal it from my own officers."

He charges them with even carrying off the arms of the country. He says:

"So many have been carried off, partly by stealth, but chiefly as condemned, that we have not, at this time, one hundred guns in the stores of all that have been taken in the prize ship and from the soldiery, notwithstanding the regiments are not half completed."

I might multiply similar extracts, but I do not care to press this subject further. I am content that history shall adjudge

the claims of South Carolina and Massachusetts. Of blood and of treasure my State furnished her share. After 1777 at no time were there more than 6,000 British troops in New England. Why were they not swept away? Why did not the 88,000 valiant heroes of Massachusetts alone scatter them with their daring courage? Sir, where were these valiant men? If you can find out where they were, Mr. Speaker, you can do more than the British ever did.

I pass now, sir, to another point. We have waged two wars with Great Britain during our brief existence as one of the Powers of the earth. Let us invoke history to show the course of Massachusetts in the last war, the war of 1812.

In alluding to the aggressions of Great Britain against us, the memorial of the Boston Merchants to Congress says:

"Unless the present disposition of the British admiralty courts and navy officers can be counteracted and removed, a widely-dispersed and unprotected commerce extending to every region of the globe, will serve to invite depredation, TO BANKRUPT OURSELVES AND ENRICH OTHERS, until such commerce will be swept from the face of the ocean."

They further state that "a tacit submission to pretensions thus lofty would be an abandonment of rights openly recognised, and a dereliction of the most important commercial interests of our country." And they add: "Reason and the most powerful considerations of equity enjoin it as a duty on the United States to oppose these pretensions;" and that "these pretensions are 'unsound in point of principle, offensive in practice, and nugatory in effect."—June 20, 1806.

The Salem memorial to Congress says:

"It would in their opinion, if established, create greater evils than it professes to redress by perpetuating strife, destroying the emoluments of trade, embarrassing commercial intercourse, and LETTING LOOSE THE PASSIONS TO PREY ON THE MISERIES AND PLUNDER THE PROPERTY OF THE INNOCENT. It would subject neutrals to hazard nearly as perilous as those of actual hostilities, and independent of its influence in stimulating to revenge and retaliation, IT WOULD TRANSFER THE BENEFITS OF PEACE TO ANY VICTORIOUS USURPER OF THE OCEAN.

"Your memorialists wish to take no part in the contests which now convulse the world; but, acting with impartiality towards all nations to reap the fruits of a just neutrality. If, however, conciliation cannot effect the purposes of justice, and AN APPEAL TO ARMS be the last and necessary protection of honor, they feel no disposition to decline the common danger or shrink from the common contribution.

"Relying on the wisdom and firmness of the General Government in this behalf, they feel no hesitation to PLEDGE THEIR LIVES AND PROPERTIES in support of the measures which may be adopted to vindicate the public rights and redress the public wrongs."—*January* 20, 1806.

The memorial of the merchants of Newburyport, December, 1805, says:

"In many cases our vessels and cargoes have been captured, tried and condemned, in courts of law, under unusual and alarming pretences, which if permitted to continue, THREATENS THE RUIN OF OUR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

"Having sustained these losses and injuries in the prosecution of our lawful commerce, and the exercise of our just rights, we rely with confidence on the

wisdom, firmness, and justice of our Government to obtain for us that compensation and to grant to us that protection which A REGARD TO THE HONOR OF OUR COUNTRY, no less than the rights of our citizens, must dictate and require."

The aggressions of Great Britain continued, and her hostile legislation was additionally envenomed. Our commerce was confiscated and our seamen were impressed. The latter evil had become so great that the President, in his message, stated:

"The practice is so far from affecting British subjects alone that, under the pretext of searching for these, THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, under the safeguard of public law and their national flag, have been torn from their country and from everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren."

And a committee of Congress said, by the orders in council of the 11th of November, 1807:

"The British Government declared direct and positive war against the United States. The dominion of the ocean was completely usurped by it, all commerce forbidden, and every flag driven from it, or subjected to capture and condemnation, which did not subserve the policy of the British Government by paying it a tribute and sailing under its sanction. From this period the United States have incurred the heaviest losses and most mortifying humiliations. They have borne the calamities of war without retorting them on its authors."

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Senate of the United States, February 10, 1806.

"*Resolved*, That the capture and condemnation, under orders of the British Government and adjudications of their courts of admiralty, of American vessels and their cargoes, on the pretext of their being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain prohibited in time of peace, is AN UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION UPON THE PROPERTY OF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, A VIOLATION OF THEIR NEUTRAL RIGHTS, AND AN ENCROACHMENT UPON THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

These practices continued, and the indignation throughout the country was so great and general that Harrison Gray Otis, in a letter to a friend in London, dated January 14, 1812, wrote:

"You will perceive by the papers that our Government profess the intention to assume a very warlike attitude, and that the sentiment of indignation throughout the country at the continuation of the orders in council is LOUD AND UNIVERSAL FROM BOTH PARTIES! The motives which induce your Government to continue them are quite incomprehensible to the BEST FRIENDS of Great Britain in this country; and the effect will be to make every man ODIOUS who dares to express a wish for your success and prosperity—a sentiment still common to our best men, but which an adherence to this system will impair and destroy."

The Congress of the United States adopted the following resolutions, all looking to war, and only defensible as war measures. Mr. Quincy and the leaders of the Massachusetts delegation, if not the whole delegation, voted for all these resolutions:

From the Journal.

"December 16, 1811.—The question was taken on the following resolution and passed:

"That it is expedient to authorize the President, under proper regulations, to accept the service of any number of volunteers, not exceeding fifty thousand; to be organized, trained, and held in readiness to act on such service as the exigencies of Government may require.

"Same day the question was taken on the following resolution and passed:

"That the President be authorized to order out, from time to time, such detachments of the militia as, in his opinion, the public service may require.

"Same day the question was taken on the following resolution and passed:

"That all the vessels not now in service belonging to the navy and worthy of repair be immediately fitted up and put into commission.

"December 19, 1811.—The question was taken on the following resolution and passed:

"That it is expedient to permit our merchant vessels, owned exclusively by resident citizens and commanded and navigated solely by citizens, to arm, under proper regulations, to be prescribed by law, in self-defence against all unlawful proceedings towards them on the high seas.

"February 19, 1812.—The engrossed bill for authorizing a loan for eleven (11) millions of dollars was read the third time and passed."

The war was declared, and what part did Massachusetts play in this eventful drama? After this declaration of war the lower House of her Legislature declared that—

"The real cause of the war must be traced to the first systematic abandonment of the policy of Washington and the friends and framers of the Constitution; to implacable animosity against those men, and their universal exclusion from all concern in the government of the country; to the influence of worthless foreigners over the press and the deliberations of the Government in all its branches; to a jealousy of the commercial States, fear of their power, contempt of their pursuits, and ignorance of their true character and importance; to the cupidity of certain States for the wilderness reserved for the miserable aborigines; to a violent passion for conquest," &c.

Not to be outdone, the Senate of Massachusetts then resolved that—

"The war was founded in falsehood, declared without necessity, and its real object was extent of territory by unjust conquest, and to aid the late tyrant of Europe in his view of aggrandizement."

Pending the preparations for war, John Henry was sent from Canada on a mission to the Eastern States. His instructions were "to see how far the malcontents would exert their influence to bring about a separation from the general Union." Also, "how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connexion with us," (the people of Canada.) He says, writing from Boston, March 7th, 1809:

"I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected; but, contrary to all reasonable calculations, should the Congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, the Legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighboring States, will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a Congress, to be composed of delegates from the Federal States, and erect a separate Government for their common defence and common interest."

I will not multiply extracts from the same source.

After war was declared Massachusetts exercised all her energies to cripple the operations of the Government and bring

defeat upon our cause. Knowing that the war could not be conducted without money, she obstructed the Government loan in every way. A combination was formed in Boston to defeat it. The author of the Olive Branch, on page 297, says:

"Shortly after the declaration of war there was a combination formed to prevent the success of the loans authorized by Congress. I believe that nearly all those who entered into this scheme resided in the Eastern States, particularly in Boston, which was the grand focus of the conspiracy."

He also says of the scheme:

"The success in the Eastern States was considerable. Few men have the courage to stem the tide of popular delusion when it sets in very strong. There were some, however, who subscribed openly, in defiance of denunciations and threats. Others, of less firm texture, loaned their money by stealth and as clandestinely as if it were treasonable."—*Olive Branch*, p. 300.

Money was then abundant, for John Lowell, in his Road to Ruin, says:

"Money is such a drug (the surest sign of the *former* prosperity and *present* insecurity of trade) that men, against their consciences, their honor, their duty, their professions, and PROMISES, are willing to lend it *secretly* to support the very measures which are both *intended* and calculated for their ruin."—*Road to Ruin, by John Lowell.*

The press too of Boston directed all its efforts against the loan. I give some extracts:

"*Any Federalist who lends money to the Government must go and shake hands with James Madison* and claim fellowship with Felix Grundy. *Let him no more call himself a Federalist and friend of his country!* HE WILL BE CALLED BY OTHERS INFAMOUS!

"It is very grateful to find that the universal sentiment is, that ANY MAN WHO LENDS HIS MONEY TO THE GOVERNMENT, AT THE PRESENT TIME, WILL FORFEIT ALL CLAIM TO COMMON HONESTY AND COMMON COURTESY AMONG ALL TRUE FRIENDS TO THE COUNTRY! God forbid that any Federalist should ever hold up his hand to pay Federalists for money lent to the present rulers! and Federalists can judge whether Democrats will tax their constituents to pay interest to Federalists."

Boston Gazette, April 14, 1814.

"On the whole, we think it no way to get out of the war *to give money to the Government*, when the very thing that prevents them from carrying it on is the want of money."—*Boston Gazette, April* 14, 1814.

"The war-advocates appear very sore and chagrined at the failure of the late loan, and in their ravings ascribe the meager subscriptions to the truths which have appeared in the Federal papers on the subject."

Boston Centinel, March 24, 1813.

"Our merchants constitute an honorable, high-minded, independent, and intelligent class of citizens. They feel the oppression, injury, and mockery with which they are treated by the Government. They will lend them money to retrace their steps, but none to persevere in their present course. Let every highwayman find his own pistols."—*Boston Gazette.*

So odious did they make the war that subscriptions to the Government loan were made secretly. The following advertisement from the Boston Gazette, April 14, 1814, is proof:

"THE LOAN.—Subscriptions will be received through the agency of the subscriber to the 25th instant, inclusive.

"To avoid the inconvenience of personal appearance to subscribe, applications in writing will be received from any part of the State. Each applicant will name the highest rate he will give, and if the loan shall be granted lower than

his proposal he will reap the benefit, but if higher than his offer he will have no share in it.

"The amount, rate, and NAME OF ANY APPLICANT SHALL, AT HIS REQUEST, BE KNOWN ONLY TO THE SUBSCRIBER. All the business shall be transacted and certificates delivered to the subscribers without expense. JESSE PUTNAM."

The author of the Olive Branch well and properly remarks that—

"Men in the 'moral and religious' town of Boston are obliged to lend their money to their own Government by stealth. But in the face of day, within the knowledge of a whole community, they send specie to the common enemy, to support him against their own country! Can human nature sink lower? They are 'too moral and too religious' to rejoice at the victories of their fellow-citizens; but they are neither 'too moral nor too religious' to aid the enemy to victory! An age of penitence in sackcloth and ashes would not efface this foul blot from the escutcheon of Boston.—*Olive Branch, p.* 312.

Not satisfied, however, with crippling the Government and making the war odious, the *patriotic* State of Massachusetts aided the enemy with money. The same author from whom I have already quoted says further:

"To render the stroke at public credit more unerring, and to place the result wholly out of the reach of contingency, there was an arrangement made by some persons, at present unknown, with agents of the Government of Lower Canada, whereby an immense amount of British Government bills, drawn in Quebec, were transmitted for sale to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and disposed of to moneyed men, on such advantageous terms as induced them to make large purchases. And thus was absorbed a very large portion of the capital of these three cities."—*Olive Branch,* pp. 309, 310.

Heavy drafts were drawn by the citizens of Massachusetts against other banks, for the purpose of impairing the credit of the country and degrading the Administration from power. Mr. Carey, in the Olive Branch, says:

"During the winter, when the roads were in wretched order, and when carriage was of course from twenty to thirty per centum dearer than the common freight, the Boston banks made immoderate, continued, oppressive, unprecedented, and hostile drafts for specie on the New York banks. THE SPECIE received for these bills from New York was forwarded to agents of the Government of Canada."

He also says of the banks of Massachusetts:

"The banks of Massachusetts possessed for every hundred dollars of their notes in circulation nearly two hundred and fifty dollars in specie—a state of things probably unparalled in the history of banking from the days of the Lombards to the present time. Notwithstanding the enormous sums of specie drawn into the town of Boston from New York, Philadelphia, &c., so great was the drain away to Canada and Nova Scotia, to pay for Government bills and for smuggled goods, that but a very moderate sum remained at the beginning of the present year, (1815.")—*Olive Branch, p.* 308.

But Massachusetts did not limit her achievements in the war of 1812 to crippling the Government through factious opposition and aiding the enemy with money. She "turned a penny" by smuggling. Mr. Carey says Boston "was supplied with smuggled goods on a very large scale." So great was the demoralization of society that John Lowell, one of its leaders, wrote of smuggling:

"Encouraged and protected from infamy by the just odium against the war, they (the merchants) engage in lawless speculations, sneer at the restraints of conscience, laugh at perjury, mock at legal restraints, and acquire an ill-gotten wealth at the expense of public morals and of the more sober, concientious parts of the community."—*Road to Ruin, No.* 6.

He says, again, in relation to smuggling:

"Administration hirelings may revile the Northern States and the merchants generally for this monstrous depravation of morals, this execrable course of smuggling and fraud, but there is a just God who knows how to trace the causes of human events, and He will assuredly visit upon the authors of this war all the iniquities of which it has been the occasion. If the guilty deserve our scorn or our pity, the tempters and seducers deserve our execration."

Pious Boston, patriotic Boston, well may she exclaim, "Thank God, I am not as others are!" Her prosperity mainly resting upon the African slave trade, loans of money to the enemy in time of war, and smuggling, well may she bedeck herself with finery!

Nor was the pulpit in 1812 in Massachusetts confined to religious duties. It then gave aid and comfort to the enemy as it now preaches insurrection. I submit a few extracts from some of the clergymen of Massachusetts.

From the Rev. I. S. J. Gardiner, A. M., rector of Trinity Church, Boston:

"It is a war unexampled in the history of the world: wantonly proclaimed on the most frivolous and groundless pretences, against a nation from whose friendship we might derive the most signal advantages, and from whose hostility we have reason to dread the most tremenduous losses."—*Discourse delivered July* 23, 1812.

"What consequence is it to you if they be repealed or not, if you are sold to Napoleon, as you have reason to believe, by the slaves who have abused your confidence?"—*Idem.*

"The Union has been, long since, dissolved; and it is full time that this part of the disunited States should take care of itself."—*Idem.*

From the Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D.:

"There is a point there is an hour beyond which you will not bear!"—*Discourse delivered at Byfield, April* 7, 1814.

"New England, if invaded would be obliged to defend herself. Do you not, then, owe it to your God to make peace for yourselves?"—*Idem.*

"How will the supporters of this anti-Christian warfare endure their sentence; endure their own reflections; endure the fire that forever burns, the worm which never dies; the hosannahs of Heaven, while the smoke of torments ascends forever and ever!"—*Idem.*

From the Rev. David Osgood, D. D., pastor of the church at Medford:

"If, at the command of the weak or wicked rulers, they undertake an unjust war, each man who volunteers his service in such a cause, or loans his money for its support, or by his conversation, his writings, or any other mode of influence encourages its prosecution, that man is an accomplice in the wickedness, loads his conscience with the blackest crimes, brings the guilt of blood upon his soul, and, IN THE SIGHT OF GOD AND HIS LAW, IS A MURDERER."—*Discourse delivered June* 27, 1812.

"If at the present moment no symptoms of civil war appear, they certainly will soon, unless the courage of the war party should fail them!"—*Idem.*

"A civil war becomes as certain as the events that happen according to the known laws and established course of Nature!"—*Idem.*

In reply to this desecration of the pulpit and prostitution of the sacred functions of a minister of the Gospel, I will quote an extract from one of the greatest of modern statesmen and political philosophers. Though Church and State were united in England, his penetrating mind saw the utter demoralization produced by introducing politics into the pulpit, and he denounced it in the following noble words:

"Politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement. No sound aught to be heard in the church but the voice of healing charity." [What a divine idea!] "The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by the confusion of duties. Those who quit their common character to assume what does not belong to them, are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world, in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they know nothing of politics but the passion they excite Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

These are the words of Edmund Burke.

I admit that the privateers of Massachusetts did noble duty in the war of 1812; but they roved the seas in spite of the Legislature of Massachusetts and upheld our cause when her constituted authorities were denouncing it. They were fitted out and manned by men who, in defiance of the opposition of their own State, rallied to our common flag. All honor to them; but shame to their rulers who stigmatized their patriotism! The Administration towns then were true to the country; they, I believe, are Democratic towns now. I will close this chapter of the history of Massachusetts with the summary of a writer of that day:

"To sum up the whole, Massachusetts was energetic, bold, firm, daring, and decisive in a contest with the General Government. She would not abate an inch. She dared it to a conflict. She seized it by the throat, determined to strangle it! She was untamable as a lion, or a tiger, or a panther; but she was long-suffering, and mild, and patient, and harmless, and inoffensive, and gentle, and meek as a lamb or a turtle dove when she came in contact with the enemy."—*Olive Branch*, p. 315.

LUMBER BUSINESS OF MOBILE.

In the October number of the Review several valuable statistical tables showing the commerce of Mobile were introduced, and we regret that by a mishap the credit was not given, as it should have been, to the Herald and Tribune of that city, one of the most reliable papers in the country. From its columns we append the following:

LUMBER.—In the beginning of the present season a large stock of all descriptions of lumber had accumulated, particularly at the country mills. This was caused by the difficulty

of procuring suitable vessels to take away this important branch of our industry. The prices then ruled low $8, $9, and $10 per M. for merchantable. Early in January large freight engagements were made and various orders came in from places heretofore unknown to the trade, this caused a very active demand and an upward tendency in prices, which has continued up to the close of this season. Prices have materially improved on the better grades of lumber, we quote $12 per M. for merchantable, for long lengths $15, for clear $16*a*$20 per M.

The exports and value of sawed lumber for the past year have been as follows:

	Feet.	Value.
Toulon	30,000	$600
Cherbourg	7,860	17,000
L'Orient	33,300	70,000
Brest	28,000	70,100
Havana	2,979,409	32,316
Matanzas	100,000	1,000
Cardenas	1,126,014	12,144
St. Jago de Cuba	116,000	1,720
Tampico	344,144	4,120
Other foreign ports	520,402	12,354
Total to foreign ports	5,285,129	$231,354
Boston	200,000	$2,000
New York	120,000	1,200
Baltimore	12,000	120
Galveston	751,000	7,650
Lavaca	420,000	4,110
Matagorda	85,000	850
Louisiana	491,000	4,910
Florida	219,000	2,250
Other coastwise ports	758,977	7,850
Total coastwise	3,056,977	30,940
Total foreign ports	5,285,129	231,354
Grand total	8,342,106	$262,294

Ship Timber has been in great demand, which could not be altogether supplied, as only a few of the mills can cut this description of lumber, as the inspection is very rigid, particularly for the French government. No. 1 deck plank is worth $25 per M., cypress plank is much wanted at $25 per M. The supply and demand for cypress shingles has increased. We have also a good demand for dressed flooring for export. This branch of the lumber trade has also increased, as there are two planing mills in active operation, which are capable of turning out 20,000 feet of dressed flooring, tongued and grooved, in each. Many large and very desirable orders have been recently received from France, England, and other places, which have not been executed in consequence of the difficulty of making freight engagements.

The following abstract from the books of the Custom House exhibits the exports and value of ship timber the past year:

Where Exported.	No. Masts and Spars.	H'n Tn'r Tons.	Value.	Value of other Lumber.
Toulon	134	...	15,000	2,470
Rochefort	137	...	13,205	2,237
Marseilles	54	...	455	.....
Cherbourg	58	34	7,300	200
L'Orient	212	...	17,000	1,208
Brest	158	136	16,254	537
Falmouth	425	245	28,462	1,424
Plymouth	165	...	13,341	1,810
Bocn, (Fr.)	199	180	12,609	318
Havana	50	33	3,000	165
Calcutta	26	...	560	.....
Liverpool	2	...	500	.....
Amsterdam	200	200	23,800	13,198
Cadiz	111	124	14,900	880
Total	1,931	952	166,386	24,442

The Southern yellow pine is becoming in great favor, both in this country and Europe, for ship building. Several fine boats have been built here in the present season, which have fully proved the superiority of the timber over all others, and Mobile ere long is destined to an immense business in the way of exporting pitch pine lumber.

NEW ORLEANS COMMERCIAL STATISTICS.

In our last we presented some of the annual statistics taken from the Report of the New Orleans Prices Current. We continue the subject from the same source. The Editor says:

We congratulate our planting and commercial friends upon the pleasing and profitable contrast presented by the course of business, as compared with the season which immediately preceded it; a season which was marked by extraordinary fluctuations and disasters, resulting partly from the existence of an European war, whose duration and possible complications were out of the reach of human foresight, and partly referable to an extraordinary prevalence of drought, which rendered the tributary streams unnavigable for a length of time seldom, if ever, before known, and kept back, for an unwonted period, an immense amount of produce, which had been mostly advanced upon, in the usual course of business, trusting to the receipt and sale of the produce in question to reimburse the factor. But the good faith of both planter and factor was, to an important extent, baffled by the operations of nature, and several of our prominent and respectable commission houses were compelled to suspend payment of such acceptances as had not, to some extent at least, been provided for by the drawers. The past season, however, we are happy to state, has been

favored with a fair average of natural facilities for reaching market, and with a promptitude and with the integrity which were confidently expected, and which are characteristic of the New Orleans merchants, the suspended houses, almost without an exception, availed themselves of the earliest moment of returning prosperity to resume payment in full, with interest.

The extent of the season's operations, and the magnitude of our trade, are partially indicated by the value of our products received from the interior, and which amounts, according to our annual valuation table, to $144,256,081, against $117,106,823 last year, and $45,716,045 in 1841–'42. This would seem to show a very fair ratio of increase for our-much abused city, considering the extensive diversion of the products of the West into other channels, and also the fact that the last sugar crop was more than 200,000 hogsheads short of the maximum product of 1853. This increase in the value of our trade, however, large as it is, is not as great as it should have been, and would have been, had the railroad enterprises which are now in progress been earlier entered upon and more liberally aided by those having capital at command. We trust, however, that this supineness will soon yield to a conviction of the necessity of more energetic action, and that the speedy completion of the Opelousas and Texas, the Jackson and Great Northern, and the Mississippi and Red River Railroads, and also the Tehuantepec route, will ere long add their contributions to the advancement of our city's prosperity.

According to the Custom House records the total value of exports of produce and merchandize of the growth and manufacture of the United States, for the fiscal year ended June 30th, was $110,353,436, against $83,120,218 last year; showing an increase of $27,233,218, or over 30 per cent. The value of foreign merchandize and specie imported in the same period was $17,183,327, against $12,923,608 last year; showing an increase of $5,259,719, or about 37½ per cent. Of the value of the hundreds of cargoes of domestic and foreign merchandize and produce imported coastwise there is no record, (though there should be by requirement of law,) but we estimate that the value of property, including produce, merchandize, and vessels, that has passed the mouth of the Mississippi river, inward and outward, during the past year, probably exceeds TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

The operations of the Branch Mint during the past year shows a further slight decrease in the deposits, but an increase in the coinage. The total deposits of gold and silver, for the year ended 31st July, were $2,720,032, against $2,938,260 the year previous; showing a decrease of $218,238. The coinage during the same time has been, of gold 67,350 pieces, of the

value of $525,500, and of silver, 8,364,000 pieces, of the value of $2,936,000. Total value $3,461,500, or an increase of $1,255,240.

With respect to the market prospects of the coming crops, and the interests of trade generally, we conceive that the promise is in a high degree flattering. Peace again prevails throughout the leading nations of the world, and commerce and the arts have asserted their ascendency in questions of threatening aspect. Of the crops, those of wheat and Indian corn are known to be unusually abundant, and cotton thus far gives fair promise, but the sugar production must inevitably fall to a very low figure, while that of tobacco will be materially less than the crop of last year. With money unusually abundant, and readily obtainable for all legitimate purposes, all these crops are likely to meet with a ready market, at remunerating prices, and the cost of transportation to other markets will probably range below the average of last year, as a large amount of tonnage will be relieved from the employment of the allies.

Exports of Cotton and Tobacco from New Orleans for four years, commencing September 1, and ending August 31.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	COTTON—BALES.					TOBACCO—HHDS.			
	1855-'56	1854-'55	1853-'54	1852-'53	1851-'52	1855-'56	1854-'55	1853-'54	1852-'53
Liverpool	931541	702541	779021	869835	751172	2931	5272	6390	9458
London	.....	883	.....	50	.....	4600	7571	5048	6092
Glasgow, Greenock, &c	26018	8621	12851	39767	11700	....	....	....	....
Cowes, Falmouth, &c	8605	3460	15611	12484	7211	....	549	573	610
Cork, Belfast, &c	20458	1873	6258	.....	2159	....	....	....	....
Havre	227152	168650	185254	202957	183054	8844	8430	5707	1432
Bordeaux	2811	1814	1285	2317	1554	194	3056	2617	169
Marseilles	8819	3486	2019	5098	4308	1904	6061	4423	1257
Nantz, Cette, and Rouen	6032	4878	5013	1154	7338	....	....	....	....
Amsterdam	7807	1875	4211	1875	259	....	100	624	800
Rotterdam and Ghent	6400	1907	1310	1982	1507	560	....	644	282
Bremen	58238	29451	32849	14621	10248	8240	5293	7970	15053
Antwerp, &c	18147	7877	9010	22232	24562	3747	2492	3926	4084
Hamburg	21382	5661	23709	10581	17694	....	46	....	125
Gottenburg and Stockholm	20167	15861	13152	7392	6634	823	904	768	414
Spain and Gibraltar	83174	47154	58796	51443	47645	14279	7618	6282	10175
Havana, Mexico, &c	17291	18787	24935	20693	11919	....	....	....	....
Genoa, Trieste, &c	78347	43223	52240	76902	75093	4472	4947	1128	1966
St. Petersburg, &c	80534	.....	9634	87502	15046	....	....	....	2647
Other Foreign ports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4324	3714	2479	....
New York	51340	69959	58168	78043	101938	7176	6019	4818	7231
Boston	151469	118675	113851	151580	128629	1408	739	126	1831
Providence, R. I.	2834	1458	.....	16028	4561	....	....	....	....
Philadelphia	10532	8105	14054	19862	15594	410	489	190	688
Baltimore	8173	4070	4057	5126	4745	....	103	50	124
Portsmouth	1540	.....	2139	.....	.....	....	....	....	....
Other coastwise ports	1212	50	258	857	45	102	97	110	147
Western States	.....	.....	.....	1200	1200	....	....	....	....
Total	1795023	1270264	1429180	1644981	1435815	59074	64100	53043	64075
RECAPITULATION.									
Great Britain	986622	717328	813736	922086	772242	7531	13392	11981	16150
France	244814	178823	193571	211526	196254	5942	18147	12447	2908
North of Europe	162675	62632	93375	95685	75950	13370	9247	13932	20798
South Europe, Mexico, &c.	178812	109164	135971	149088	134657	23075	15867	9889	14698
Coastwise	222100	202317	192527	266696	256712	9156	7447	4794	9521
Total	1795023	1270264	1429180	1644981	1435815	59074	64100	53043	64075

Exports of Sugar and Molasses from New Orleans, for two years, (up the river excepted,) from September 1 to August 31.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1855–'56.				1854–'55.			
	SUGAR.		MOLASSES.		SUGAR.		MOLASSES.	
	hhds.	bbls.	hds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.	hds.	bbls.
New York	14,479	3,438	...	45,745	74,970	6,116	62	107,452
Philadelphia	2,840	1	...	10,863	14,352	320	...	20,788
Charleston, S. C.	3,688	9	...	12,932	5,018	10	...	17,529
Savannah	759	54	...	4,001	854	6	...	5,047
Providence and Bristol, R. I.	.....	.....	...	1,201	5	214	...	1,273
Boston	439	.....	...	12,227	2,654	143	204	25,508
Baltimore	11,380	554	...	15,784	14,445	666	...	21,366
Norfolk, Richmond, and Petersburg, Va.	4,618	.....	...	6,087	6,424	.....	..	11,130
Alexandria, D. C.	499	.....	...	591	843	.....	...	749
Mobile	7,696	.....	...	20,208	7,070	.....	...	26,346
Apalachicola and Pensacola	1,161	417	...	3,872	734	226	...	3,016
Other ports	3,459	1,410	...	9,506	2,118	2,565	...	16,940
Total	51,018	5,883	...	142,967	129,487	10,466	266	257,444

Exports of Flour, Pork, Bacon, Lard, Beef, Lead, Whiskey and Corn, from September 1, to August 31.

PORTS.	1855–'56.							
	FLOUR, barrels.	PORK, barrels.	BACON, casks.	LARD, kegs.	BEEF, barrels.	LEAD, pigs.	WHISKY, barrels.	CORN, sacks.
New York	131,591	* 60,622	4,124	154,788	14,147	34,786	1,762	77,906
Boston	200,179	52,624	4,373	122,216	13,998	44,128	4,454	195,660
Philadelphia	.....	.....	.....	1,533	.....	6,471	67	5,049
Baltimore	.....	4,565	.....	.....	.....	.....	187	.....
Other coast ports	108,686	30,707	24,648	26,351	1,346	57	51,402	113,262
Great Britain	99,862	9,863	1,990	130,624	4,949	.....	.....	1,174,374
Cuba	3,947	2,653	1,438	212,771	235	.....	.....	5,075
Other foreign ports	185,177	17,638	442	94,534	1,504	86	754	104,749
Total	729,442	178,682	37,015	742,817	36,179	85,528	58,626	1,676,075

☞ In the above, the Exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

Monthly arrivals of Ships, Barks, Brigs, Schooners, and Steamboats, for two years, from September 1 to August 31.

MONTHS.	1855–'56.							1854–'55.						
	Ships	Barks	Brigs	Schrs	St. Ships	TOTAL	St. Boats	Ships	Barks	Brigs	Schrs	St. Ships	TOTAL	St. Boats
September	27	13	12	21	14	87	153	23	7	8	21	16	75	118
October	99	29	25	30	20	203	204	119	25	11	16	16	187	187
November	134	51	42	39	23	289	291	89	34	17	44	17	201	220
December	90	40	34	34	23	221	352	94	36	19	49	20	218	284
January	130	59	27	49	22	287	296	75	31	18	63	22	209	356
February	62	24	23	39	17	165	287	81	27	20	48	22	198	271
March	80	34	22	42	23	201	335	55	18	17	44	23	157	268
April	104	42	24	40	20	230	311	79	22	14	41	22	178	332
May	43	18	17	34	19	131	270	50	21	14	42	19	146	259
June	68	34	15	25	21	163	185	41	16	14	25	19	115	190
July	27	21	14	28	19	109	155	14	7	14	14	15	64	136
August	10	10	6	18	13	57	97	11	11	14	19	14	69	142
Total	874	375	261	399	234	2,143	2,956	731	255	180	426	225	1,817	2,763

A NORTHERNER'S DEFENCE OF THE SOUTH.

Samuel B. Ruggles, Esq., of New York, a gentleman long and intimately connected with the internal and external commerce of the United States, has, at the request of several prominent merchants of that city, reveiwed the speech of Mr. Speaker Banks, lately delivered from the steps of the Merchants' Exchange.

The review is an ably written paper, and we subjoin a few extracts. After referring to a statement made by Mr. Banks "that the people of the United States in the year 1856 will give to the world as their portion of the industrial product of the human race *forty-five hundred millions of dollars!*" Mr. Ruggles proceeds:

If the North produced the whole forty-five hundred millions and the South did nothing whatever but keep the black race in subjection, it would not follow that the South should be excluded from all participation in the government, for if, as some contend, the black race be nothing but a burthen on the community which contains it, the freeman of the North should be thankful to the South for bearing the whole of the burthen, and thus leaving them unfettered to accumulate the forty-five hundred millions annually.

But unhappily for Mr. Banks and his admiring auditors it is not true that the nation annually produces the 4,500 millions —for look at his own analysis. Fifteen hundred millions, says he, are produced by manufacturing and mechanical industry —sixteen hundred by agriculture. This makes thirty-one—and the residue, fourteen hundred millions, where does it come from? Let the commingled rhetoric and statistics of Mr. Banks answer:—"THE SEAS, that are whitened with the flags of the commerce of New York, each signalising the name, the character, the affluence, the business, the influence of its merchant princes, *contribute to this great product* of 4,500 millions, *fourteen hundred millions* as the share of commerce."

Now, gentleman, what do the seas thus rhetorically whitened, in, fact, produce? That is to say, what articles of commercial value? They produce a good many codfish, many mackerel and here and there a whale; the total value whereof, when caught, barrelled and landed in the United States hardly exceed thirty millions annually, if it amounts to that. The portion of those products exported in the year 1855 was less than four millions. The remainder then of Mr. Banks' imaginary fourteen hundred millions consists wholly of the very products of agricultural, manufacturing, and mechanical industry which commerce had placed on the seas, but which had been previously computed and embraced in the first two

items of fifteen and sixteen hundred millions. And thus we behold the Speaker, in his very first plunge into the sea of figures, going astray to the tune of *thirteen hundred and ninety-six millions*. If this be "the music of the Union" which Mr. Banks describes the Northern ploughboy as whistling, his political psalmody, to say the least, is capable of improvment.

But again: The Speaker asserts that of the 1,600 millions produced by agriculture, the fifteen slave States contribute but 45 per cent. How this assertion is proved does not appear; but if it be true it does not show the slave States to fall short of their just proportion, for they have less than forty per cent. of the total population and only twenty-five per cent. of the white population. Why, then, should their agriculture be required to produce even forty-five per cent.?

But the truth of the statement must be more than doubtful. The very sun of the South, so unfavorable to white labor as to make a black population necessary, is peculiarly favorable to agricultural development. Time is wanting to compute the comparative product even of cereals—but if flocks and herds form part of a nation's wealth, and mankind has held them to be things of value since the days of Abraham, then the South in this important element very far exceeds the North. The census shows nine millions of cattle standing south of the Potomac belonging to six millions of white men, and only eight millions north of it belonging to fourteen millions of whites; and what statesman entitled for an instant to the epithet does not perceive the rapid increase of the cotton crop? It may be true, as the Speaker ventures to assert, that the men of the South abandon agriculture in quest of office, but the official statistical tables do not show it.

But again: Mr. Banks was addressing and affecting to instruct a body of merchants—a commercial community from the steps of their own Exchange—why on such an occasion and with such an audience did he omit to state the respective proportions which the agriculture of the South and of the North contribute to the commerce that whitened the seas? Did he not know that of the 1600 millions produced by agriculture at least 1200 millions are consumed on the spot and never reached the sea at all? For how much of the hundreds of millions estimated as the value of the hay, and cattle, and poultry, and milk, and eggs, which help to swell the aggregate, is carried at all in the vessels of the merchant princes? How much even of the three hundred millions of Indian corn goes to sea?

And above all, does not Mr. Banks know, and do not the New York merchants know, that of every 100 millions of

Statement of Cotton and Rice at Charleston.

Exported to.	From Sept. 1, 1855, to Aug. 31, 1856.			From Sept. 1, 1854, to Aug. 31, 1855.		
	S. I.	Upl'd.	Rice.	S. I.	Upl'd.	Rice.
Liverpool	13,036	159,803	4,473	14,412	186,548	1,544
Scotland	89	4,983	4	118	2,817	4
Other British ports.	89	2,532	1,223	.....	207	1,143
Total G. Britain	13,214	167,318	5,700	14,530	189,572	2,691
Havre	5,509	75,685	3,404	4,150	61,831	1,628
Marseilles	.....	1,355	1	.....	72	.....
Other French ports.	.....	4,847	1,391	.....	4,603	619
Total France	5,509	81,887	4,796	4,150	66,506	2,247
Holland	.....	7,698	1,011	.....	2,611	756
Belgium	.....	2,753	2,054	.....	4,878	314
North of Europe	42	39,234	5,154	.....	6,211	2,295
Total N. of Europe.	42	49,685	8,219	.....	13,700	3,365
South of Europe	.....	53,456	.....	.....	27,020	.....
West Indies, &c	.....	.....	12,204	.....	.....	17,657
Total Foreign ports.	18,765	352,346	30,919	18,680	296,798	25,960
Boston	231	8,827	7,375	120	12,065	4,383
Rhode Island, &c	27	2,640	50	.....	711	.....
New York	9,021	95,755	54,413	5,651	157,106	32,545
Philadelphia	8	16,200	7,156	.....	19,118	5,767
Balt. and Norfolk	.....	9,928	8,478	.....	9,393	7,512
New Orleans, &c	.....	.....	18,828	.....	.....	17,142
Other U. S. ports	.....	118	567	.....	60	236
Total coastwise	9,287	133,468	96,867	5,771	198,453	67,585
Grand Total	28,052	485,814	127,786	24,451	495,251	93,545

Comparative Export of Rough Rice and Lumber, for the Port of Charleston.

Exported to.	From Sept. 1, 1855, to Aug. 31, 1856.		From Sept. 1, 1854, to Aug. 31, 1855.	
	R. Rice, bushels.	Lumber feet.	R. Rice, bushels.	Lumber feet.
Liverpool	27,588	337,245	17,740	663,542
London	21,673	.....	24,000	.....
Other British ports	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Great Britain	49,261	337,245	41,740	663,542
Havre	.....	2,905	.....	28,767
Bordeaux	2,505	231,175	.....	829,239
Other French Ports	.....	854,659	.....	285,296
Total France	2,505	1,088,739	.....	1,143,302

Statement of Exports continued,

Exported to.	R. Rice, bushels.	Lumber, feet.	R. Rice, bushels.	Lumber, feet.
North of Europe.....	67,428	436,238	24,326	467,385
South of Europe.....	.....	710,777	.....	3,038,771
West Indies, &c.....	.....	1,439,677	.....	2,025,653
Total Foreign ports....	119,142	4,012,666	66,066	7,338,653
Boston.....	.....	2,550,770	.....	1,623,466
Rhode Island.....	.....	1,827,733	.....	6,405,655
New York.....	10,975	738,062	6,502	1,135,198
Philadelphia.....	.....	3,851,661	.....	3,535,205
Baltimore and Norfolk.	.....	1,624,068	.....	2,577,531
Other U. S. ports.....	1,000	293,620	500	1,236,709
Total Coastwise.....	11,975	10,885,914	7,002	16,513,764
Grand Total.....	131,169	14,898,580	73,068	23,852,417

SOUTHERN AUTHORS—SCHOOL BOOKS AND PRESSES.

C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, thus addresses the New Orleans Picayune. This gentleman is well known for his advocacy of reform in the whole department of our school literature, and has given his views at several conventions on that subject.

If a dissolution of the Union can be averted, which Heaven grant, nothing can contribute more to warding off the blow than for the South to put herself in a position to set up housekeeping for herself, and stand with "her loins girt about, and her lamps burning," ready for any emergency. Thinking men at the North know that a dissolution of the Union would stop every factory in the free States, while their operatives would mob their Legislatures, and perhaps burn down the towns and cities where the infernal spirits of reckless fanaticism had held their orgies, in revenge for the ruin brought upon their duped, deceived, defrauded sufferers.

They know that, in that event, the ships must forsake their ports; capital be transferred to the vicinity of the cotton fields; the course of trade be wholly changed; the copy-right and patent laws be annulled, and such commercial treaties be entered into with the European powers by the South as would give us repose, and send the manufacturers of cotton goods from New England to Liverpool to purchase a bale of the raw material, if they could carry on their operations at all.

If the South drew her patriotism from the arithmetic, she would not remain in the Confederacy three months longer.

But noble patriots—men who would willingly die to cement the Union in a true, elevated, constitutional brotherhood—are gradually giving up all hopes of its perpetuity. What if that

sad catastrophe should fall upon us, like an avalanche, that scarcely warns of its approach? What condition would our schools and academies be found in, with scarcely a book to study, except such as are written with a view to arraying children against their parents, and consequently parents against their children, or such as are printed and published by establishments which are as hostile to our interests as the maddest fanatic who longs for a brand to fire the temple and sanctuary of freedom. The following statement I extract from your editorial: "It is a fact that almost every other book now sent from the North, where it is possible to make it so, is used as a vehicle for misrepresentation or abuse of us; that nearly every school book, especially those used in private establishments, contains some of the poison; and something ought certainly to be done to prevent this from continuing. The great remedy, the only true and worthy one, perhaps, we conceive to be the establishment of large publishing houses amongst us; but the time appears not yet to be fully arrived when that can be done in New Orleans, judging from the little inclination shown by capitalists to enter upon such undertakings. Yet we think they might do so with advantage."

The state of the case, as you describe it, is generally admitted to be true.

The great question to be solved is, how can we induce "the establishment of large publishing houses amongst us."

My plan may not be the best, but I shall continue to suggest it now and then till something better is offered. It is for our Legislatures to place at the disposal of their Governors from $5,000 to $10,000 to be used in the encouragement of the production of home school and text-books. Let it be provided that any number of States shall co-operate together by raising committees to act as umpires, to be nominated by the Governors of such States. Suppose ten States to adopt the plan. Each State has a committee of say seven; out of that number they elect two to act on a joint committee formed of two of each State committee of the ten States. Then we have twenty scholarly, educated, enlightened gentlemen composing a committee who shall offer premiums for such works as they want. For instance they offer $10,000 for the best work on moral philosophy, adapted to our schools. It would not be many months till such works, perhaps from a dozen pens, would be found competing for the prize.

The day of adjudication arrives. All the State committees have examined the several works and given their votes, and the choice is known. The announcement is made public. From that day on, not an order would be sent for the abolition text-books now used, to the Northern publishers. Any

printer in New Orleans—the smallest job office—the owner of which owns nothing else, and "poverty hourly staring," can easily afford to pay the successful author, (on time, and not very long time,) $10,000 for his manuscripts.

So the author has made $20,000 to start with. And the struggling jobber might safely esteem himself in a safe condition, if prudent and persevering. For, orders for the book would come faster than he could possibly supply them, though he might set a number of Hoe's steam presses at work. Such a book might not be as good, after all, as the committee desired, but it being free from lies, perversions, anti-scriptural dogmas, sophistries, and withal, highly respectable, it might be esteemed not only safe, but an advancement. And they would see that, the ball once in motion, and the authors offered remuneration, and the South bent on having her own books, their services as arbiters would not long be required. The thing would work its own way.

Suppose now, the same true of primers, spelling books, readers, geographies, histories, arithmetics, works on mathematics, languages, &c., &c., and the joint committee pronounces in favor of each as they are deemed worthy. Why, sir, within a year or two your city would concentrate an interest or ownership in some four, five, or six such premium works, and you would see one or two publishing houses of the largest magnitude, and noblest enterprise, engaged in such publications to be found in America.

The fact is we must do something to give a *popular guarantee* of the patronage and sale of our books before we can ask authors and publishers to hazard the labors of a lifetime from mere patriotic or pious philanthropy in their production.

Does not the French Academy of Sciences pursue a similar plan? Were not the Bridgewater Treatises, and many other most valuable works, produced by some such arrangement?

But, some one will ask, why not let authors publish their books and lay them before the people, and leave it to their good sense to judge of their merits and adopt them without prizes and the intervention of committees? For obvious reasons; to not many of which can we now refer. But, in the first place, several authors have tried it and failed. I have numerous letters from such writers and know their difficulties. Teachers generally want the books for their schools, out of which they themselves learned, and sneer at all others—not unfrequently. Then the bookseller has a running account at a Northern or Eastern publisher's, and buys on perhaps twelve month's time, and between the two, the new book is kept entirely out of any town or neighborhood where it might, under other auspices, find a ready sale and valuable use.

Besides, an author cannot, now-a-days, afford to wait the old tedious, tortoise-paced process of letting a book creep into notice and use for the benefit of his grandchildren. He must be paid for his labor. Northern authors grow independent—rich, indeed, by getting their books at once into thousands of schools.

Now, can a Southern book, *printed and published at home*, hope, unaided by some efficient method of popularizing it, to get into so general a use as to indemnify the author and publisher in a reasonable length of time for their toil? I think not. The stone to balance the grist is not only found on the back of the mill boy's pony, but in the pulpit, the marts of trade, and the school-house. The despotism of habit drives the teacher to prefer the books of his boyhood to all others, for boyhood with books. I would heap such books, with some abatement, in a general pile, and pray for Omar with his torch, and if he came not at the call, I would fire the mass myself, and force the teacher to become a learner as well as the pupil; and both should use the books prescribed by the age.

Another difficulty is found in the fact that, without some such *popular guarantee*, as suggested, no publisher could afford to stereotype such books as might be offered, and if so, he could only publish them at the expense of the author, who has no *influential backing* to give the assurance of success; and so feeds the mice with his volume.

I go all the time for not merely getting up, writing, and making books at home, but for printing and publishing them at home, and having them got out from the press by every railroad and every water craft. Suppose $50,000 expended in premiums by the slave States, within seven years it would save those States in the aggregate—to say nothing of any other than the last and lowest *argument*—$5,000,000 per annum.

There are cart loads of manuscripts and books all over this region—designed for schools and colleges—by the first and best pens of our States, from gentlemen and ladies as capable as any in America to write such books, that may never see the light, unless a strong public influence shall breathe upon them the life and energy of promise and hope.

The Legislature of Mississippi will act on this matter, I believe, at its approaching session. It would have done so last winter, I think, but for the sudden and protracted illness of the Hon. Wm. L. Sharkey, who took a warm interest in the matter, and was preparing a bill to introduce when taken sick.

What say the people of Louisiana, and Texas, and Alabama, and the other sister States? It will be remembered that the great Commercial Convention of Charleston, S. C., in 1853, recommended the Southern States to adopt such a plan. The same resolutions were reaffirmed at the convention held in your

city in January, 1855, and seven gentlemen—among whom were the lamented Senator Dawson, of Georgia; D. F. Kenner, Esq., of New Orleans; M. T. Johnston, of Texas; Hon. J. S. Preston, South Carolina; H. W. Hilliard, Alabama, &c.—were appointed a committee to bring the subject to the attention of the several Legislatures referred to. As chairman of that committee, I have done something; but I have been desirous of seeing my own State take the lead, after which I may take courage for further action.

One word more and I close for the present, though too much hurried with other duties to do justice to this subject at present.

We shall never have a widely circulated, influential Southern literature, until we adopt measures for the encouragement of remunerative authorship. Let us awake and rise, as surely we must, or "be forever fallen."

Allow me to add, that while no earthly consideration could induce me to dabble in politics, my life and my all shall be given to the advancement and up-building of our educational interests by every fair and laudable means in which I can coöperate with the numerous and able friends of the cause.

CHINESE SUGAR CANE;

ITS VALUE AS A SUGAR, GRAIN, FORAGE, AND PRODUCING PLANT.

In the winter of 1855, the junior editor of this journal obtained from Boston a few ounces of seed of this plant, then newly imported from France. It came very highly recommended as a sugar-producing and forage plant, but having a vivid recollection of many previous disappointments with new fangled "notions," we concluded to test it cautiously and moderately. In order, however, to give it a fair chance, we distributed small parcels per mail to friends in various portions of Georgia and the adjoining States, and planted for ourselves only 7 or 8 hills, in a poor spot in our garden. At first, it came up like grass or Egyptian Millet, and grew off slowly and weakly; but, in a few weeks, it began to shoot upward, and in less than three months attained the height of 8 or 10 feet, with large and well filled heads of seed, somewhat resembling broom-corn, but covered with a black husk or chaff. Passing by it one day, when the seeds were nearly or quite ripe, we concluded to test the sweetness of the stalk; so, cutting a moderate sized cane near the ground and peeling off its hard outside coat, we found a solid pith of about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, crisp, brittle, and of an exceedingly sweet and pleasant flavor—wholly and entirely unlike anything of the cornstalk family that we had ever tasted. It was, in

fact, ready made candy; and as soon as the younger members of the family and the negroes "got the taste" of it, we were obliged to interdict its further use, in order to save seed. When the latter were fully ripe, we cut off the heads and saved them carefully, noticing, with some surprise, that the leaves or blades of fodder were still as fresh, green, and succulent as ever. The stalks were then cut off near the ground and fed, leaves and all, to our horses, mules, and milch cows—all of which ate of it with the greatest apparent relish and avidity. Considering that crop disposed of for the season, we paid no more attention to the stubble or stumps, until we happened to notice that, millet-like, they were shooting out anew, and pushing on for a second growth. This growth we watched with some interest, until the first frosts checked it; at which time the stalks were six feet high, full of broad and juicy leaves, and with the second crop of seed just making its appearance above the "boot."

Fully satisfied by this time that it was valuable at least for the production of soiling forage and a dried fodder, we next turned our attention to its saccharine properties, and fortunately induced our friend, Dr. Robert Battey, of Rome, Ga., who was at the time pursuing the study of experimental chemistry in the well known laboratory of Prof. Booth, of Philadelphia, to test it. As the result of his experiments, Dr. Battey sent us three small phials—one containing a fine syrup; one a sample of crude, brown sugar; and the other a very good sample of crystalized sugar. This we believe to be the first crystalized sugar made in the United States, from the juice of Sorgho Sucre; and as Dr. Battey's opinion of its value as a plant fully agreed with the reports of the French savans who had investigated its properties, and with our own convictions, we this year disseminated it more widely and planted nearly two acres, for the express purpose of raising the seed and testing the ability of the plant to bear repeated cuttings, like the Egyptian and other varieties of millet. It was planted very late, on poor soil, and has received but imperfect culture; and yet at the present time (August 25) a portion of it has been cut three times, and is growing off finely, while the remainder has ripened its seed, and will yield a full crop of excellent fodder after the present stalks are cut off at the ground and crushed for syrup, or fed out to our stock.

So much for its introduction into this section, and its history among us thus far. It is our deliberate opinion that, for "soiling," (cutting green, repeatedly,) for the production of syrup, sugar, cider, or wine, alcohol, fodder, (and grain at the same time,) it will be found invaluable to the South, and that no plant of recent introduction among us can at all compare with it.

The foregoing paper is taken from the *Southern Cultivator*. Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina, has lately reported upon the subject to the Beach Island Agricultural Society. It is certainly one of great importance to Southern planters. The following account of experiments upon the plant, appears in a circular letter from a very intelligent and experienced agriculturist, Richard Peters, Esq., of Atlanta, Georgia.

I feel it my duty to make known to the Southern public the result of my syrup-making from the Chinese sugar millet, in hopes that others who have sown this valuable variety of the millet may be induced to work it up into syrup this season.

I send you a few joints of the cane and a sample of the syrup, of which I have made several barrels.

I obtained my start of seed during the spring of 1855, from D. REDMOND, Esq., of the "Southern Cultivator." I considered it a "humbug" from its close resemblance in seed and growth to the "Guinea corn," until my children, towards fall, made the discovery of its being to their taste equal to the true sugar-cane.

This year I planted one patch April 15th, and another May 18th, near Calhoun, Gordon county, on land that would produce during a "seasonable" year forty bushels of corn per acre, and this year not over twenty bushels.

The seed were sown carelessly in drills three feet apart, and covered with a one horse plough. I intended to "chop out" to a stand of one stack six inches apart in the row, but failed to get a good stand, as the seed came up badly, from the deep and irregular covering. I worked this out, as for corn, ploughing twice and hoeing once.

At the suggestion of Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina, I determined to give the syrup-making a fair trial, and consequently ordered from the Messrs. Winship, of Atlanta, a very complete horse-power mill, with vertical iron rollers, which has worked admirably, crushing out juice for eight gallons of syrup per hour. It is worked by two mules, with one hand to put in the cane and a boy to drive.

On the 13th of this month, finding the seed fully ripe, I had the fodder pulled and the seed heads cut.

The yield of fodder per acre is 1,100 to 1,300 lbs., and yield of seed 25 bushels, of 36 lbs. to the bushel. At the first trial of the mill, 70 average canes gave 20 qts. of juice. Subsequently, 606 average canes, passed once through the rollers, gave 38 gallons and 1 qt.; passed a second time through, 2 gallons. The 40 gallons and 1 qt. gave 8 gallons of thick syrup.

I carefully measured an eighth of an acre having the best canes and the best stand, and another eighth having the poorest canes and the poorest stand. The result I give below, the canes passed once through the roller.

Best Eighth of an Acre.

Yield of juice from 3,315 canes	253	gals.
Yield of syrup from 253 gals. of juice	58½	"
Rates per acre of syrup	468	"

Poorest Eighth of an Acre.

Yield of juice from 2,550 canes	179	gals.
Yield of syrup from 179 gals. of juice	43½	"
Rate per acre of syrup	346	"
Weight of 30 selected canes	49½	lbs.
Weight of juice pressed out	25⅝	"
Weight of crushed cane	23	"
Loss in crushing	⅜	"
Weight of crushed cane dried in sun	9⅛	"

Obtaining such unlooked-for success with the Chinese sugar-cane, I concluded to try our common corn. From a "new ground," planted 3 by 3, one stalk to a hill, a week beyond the roasting-ear stage, I selected 30 stalks:

Weight of 30 stalks	35¾	lbs.
Weight of juice	15½	"
Weight of crushed stalks	19½	"
Loss in crushing	½	lb.
Yield of syrup	1½	pts.

The syrup was of a peculiar disagreeable taste, entirely unfit for table use.

The following tests were made at the mill by Dr. Robert Battey, of Rome, (Ga.) a graduate of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy:

Specific gravity of juice	1.085
" syrup	1.355
" New Orleans syrup	1.321
Thermometer applied to syrup	77°
" juice	70°
Saccharometer "	25½°

The juice should be placed in the boilers immedialely on being pressed out, and then boiled slowly until the green scum ceases to rise; then stir in a teaspoon full of air-slacked lime to five gallons of juice; continue skimming and boiling until the syrup thickens and hangs down in flakes on the rim of the dipper. I have made the clearest syrup by simply boiling and skimming, without lime or clarifiers; but the lime is requisite to neutralize a portion of the acid in the juice. The true proportion must be determined by well-conducted experiments.

The cost of making the syrup in upper Georgia, in my opinion, will not exceed ten to fifteen cents per gallon. This I shall be able to test another season by planting and working up fifty acres of the cane.

I am satisfied that this plant will enable every farmer and planter in the Southern States to make at home all the syrup required for family use, and I beleive that our chemists will soon teach us how to convert the syrup into sugar for export, as one of the staples of our favored clime.

COMMERCIAL RESULTS—SAVANNAH, 1855-'56.*

Exports of Cotton and Rice, from the Port of Savannah, commencing September 1, 1856.

WHERE TO.	COTTON.				RICE.	
	Since Aug. 26.		Previously.		Since Aug. 26.	Previously.
	S. I.	Upland.	S. I.	Upland.	Tierces.	Tierces.
Liverpool	.....	.....	7,736	151,207	.....	890
London	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other Br. Ports	.....	.....	59	234	.....	15
Total to G. Britain	.....	.....	7,795	151,441	.....	911
Havre	.....	.....	676	16,201	.....	99
Marseilles	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other Fr. Ports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total to France	.....	.....	676	16,201	.....	99
Hamburg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Petersburg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other N. E. Ports	.....	.....	.....	5,615	.....	559
Total N. E. Ports	.....	.....	.....	5,615	.....	559
Havana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,577
Other W. I. Ports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	286
South Europe	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other Fr'n Ports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,089
Tot. other F. Ports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,652
New York	8	448	2,722	123,166	50	8,160
Boston	.....	250	135	39,205	.....	4,924
Providence	.....	.....	.....	7,229	.....	863
Philadelphia	.....	174	15	21,466	.....	2,787
Baltimore	.....	195	.....	4,656	116	817
Charleston	.....	45	2,782	12,439	20	778
New Orleans	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other U. S. Ports	.....	.....	.....	472	.....	2,960
Total Coastwise	8	1,112	5,654	208,633	186	21,289
Grand Total	8	1,112	14,125	381,551	186	29,510

* From the Republican.

Comparative Exports of Lumber, from the Port of Savannah, commencing September 1, 1855.

WHERE TO.	Since Aug. 29.	Previously.	1854.
Liverpool	.....	2,232,213	5,185,803
London	.....	450,643	1,900,289
Other British Ports	195,874	11,505,923	6,043,378
Total to Great Britain	195,874	14,188,779	13,129,470
Havre	.....	736,108	4,805
Bordeaux	.....	172,321	197,887
Other French Ports	.....	288,152	827,300
Total to France	.....	1,196,491	1,029,992
South of Europe	.....	1,198,484	1,644,333
North of Europe	.....	926,581	1,532,106
West Indies, &c	93,029	1,699,254	2,949,691
Total to Foreign Ports	93,029	3,824,319	6,126,130
Boston	.....	2,949,921	1,220,772
Bath, (Maine)	.....	1,035,026	649,169
New York	27,508	3,864,615	2,680,766
Philadelphia	.....	708,829	530,564
Baltimore and Norfolk	.....	456,929	594,060
Other U. S. Ports	.....	5,476,385	2,882,959
Total Coastwise	27,508	14,491,705	8,558,310
Grand Total	316,411	33,701,294	28,843,902

Comparative Statement of Cotton.

			UPL'D.	S. I.
Stock on hand Sept. 1, 1855	.....	.....	800	300
Received since Aug. 26	770	.....	.....	.....
Received previously	382,132	14,683	382,902	14,683
	.....	.....	383,702	14,983
Exported since Aug. 26	1,112	8	.....	.....
Exported previously	381,890	14,125	383,002	14,133
Stock on hand and on shipboard not cleared Sept. 1, 1856	.....	.....	700	850

Same time last year.

Stock on hand Sept. 1, 1855	.....	.....	2,600	600
Received since Aug. 36	.....	.....	.....	.....
Received previously	365,889	14,928	365,889	14,928
	.....	.....	368,489	15,528
Exported since Aug. 26	.....	.....	.....	.....
Exported previously	367,689	15,228	367,659	15,228
Stock on hand and on shipboard not cleared Sept. 1, 1855	.....	.....	800	300

IMPORTS OF CINCINNATI.

Value of principal Imports into the port of Cincinnati for the years ending August 31, 1855 *and* 1856.

Articles.	Total quantity	Aver'e price	1856. $	1855. $
Apples, gr. brls...	31594	1 10	34753	33539
Beef	1584	12 00	18408	20309
Do ...tes	599	18 00	10782	74386
Bagging pcs ...	23	2 90	67	238
Barley bush..	244792	1 40	342708	265491
Beans.....	15493	2 25	34859	42982
Butter, brls	11361	32 00	363552	331931
Butter, firk and kgs.	12422	15 50	192541	114112
Blooms tons ..	3989	70 00	275730	299435
Bran &c., sks...	180018	85	153015	64274
Candles, bxs...	1616	8 19	13041	8502
Corn, bush	978511	43	240759	549626
Corn Meal.	10263	70	7184	29583
Cider, brls.	1352	5 00	6760	8730
Cheese, cks	77	24 00	1848	1638
Do. bxs.	190983	3 40	649342	605040
Cotton, bls.	29119	45 00	1310355	664708
Coffee, sks.	92086	18 00	1657548	2064034
Codfish, drums.	1492	85 00	52220	39494
Cooperage, pcs ...	162549	75	121911	94904
Eggs, bxs and brls	14997	8 00	119976	96882
Flour, brls.	546727	6 40	3499652	2798510
Feathers, sks....	5551	27 25	40245	287252
Fish, sund brls...	14404	11 80	169967	136720
Fish, kgs and kits.	5296	3 45	18271	13431
Fruits, dried bush	137662	1 60	220259	116095
Grease, brls	7059	17 00	120003	85085
Glass, bxs.	39769	2 50	99422	104087
Glass ware pkgs..	31480	4 60	144808	130014
Hemp, bdls bls.	10079	24 00	241896	199433
Hides, loose..	52348	3 25	170131	86638
Hides, green lbs	64219	7	4495	5076
Hay, bales	41696	2 75	114664	109472
Herrings, bxs...	12858	60	7711	6374
Hogs, head	509426	12 28	6255751	4591330
Hops, bls.,	4879	35 00	158265	180630
Iron and steel, pcs	741037	1 60	1185659	809427
Do. bdls.	113546	4 00	454184	250900
Do. tons.	3757	80 00	300560	295200
Lead, pigs	44639	5 50	245514	294625
Lard, brls.	79505	25 00	1987625	1078080
Do. kgs.	14763	5 00	73815	66739
Leather, bdls...	15227	14 00	213178	218036
Lemons, bxs ...	9026	4 75	42873	35847
Lime, brls.	55545	1 00	55545	62913
Liquors, hhds & pps	2213	200 00	442600	398020
Mdz., and sund pkgs	786040	37 50	29476500	30020940
Mdz., tons.	2429	634 00	1539986	1440260
Molasses, brls.	65174	17 00	1107958	606132
Malt, bush	68839	1 75	120467	62297
Nails, kgs.	104067	4 75	494317	435568
Oil, brls...	13083	38 00	497154	267040
Oranges, bxs. & brls.	7972	5 00	39860	66195
Oakum bls.	3856	17 50	67480	68871
Oats, bush.	403928	32	129254	201647
Oilcake, lbs	499980	1¼c	6249	1344
Pork & Bacon, hhds	9734	62 00	603508	356820
Pork & Bacon, tcs..	7513	22 00	165286	185400
Pork & Bacon, brls.	26292	16 00	603508	365820
Pork & Bacon, bulk	16482452	7	1153771	1113092
Potatoes, brls...	33508	1 75	58639	89946
Pig Iron, tons....	41016	35 00	1435560	931455
Pimento & Pep., bgs	3743	15 00	56220	33525
Rye, bush.	158220	75	116665	57417
Resin, Tar, &c., brls.	12180	3 25	39585	47289
Raisins, bxs ...	14851	4 00	59404	87915
Rope, twine, &c., pkgs..	5643	7 50	57322	18825
Rice, tcs...	4442	35 00	155470	155960
Sugar, hhds..	32354	80 00	2588320	2817180
Sugar, brls	16846	20 00	336920	311440
Sugar, bxs	2009	45 00	90405	87652
Seed, flax brls...	25849	5 25	135707	120945
Seed, Grass	8682	20 00	173640	282080
Seed, hemp	1784	3 25	5798	32345
Salt, sks....	80719	1 50	121078,	108157
Do. brls..	54521	2 75	149932	204495
Shot, kgs..	1648	24 00	39552	60709
Tea, pkgs..	15031	32 00	480992	602220
Tobacco, hhds..	5702	94 00	535988	468270
Tobacco, bales..	2129	8 70	18522	19652
Tobacco, bxs & kgs.	33924	24 50	915948	558045
Tallow, brls...	2802	26 00	59852	95852
Wines, brls & ½ cks	3272	59 00	193048	179352
Wines, bkts & bxs	6924	12 00	83088	57780
Wheat, bush..	1069468	1 40	1497255	699859
Wool, bls.	6489	31 00	201159	179970
Whiskey, brls...	428001	13 00	5564013	3671580
Yarns, cotton pkgs	9102	1 60	14563	11283
Yarns, lbs.	28464	20	5692	18148
Lumber, feet...	75000000	1½c	1031250	990000
Coal, bush.	7500000	9	675000	1036900
Shingles, No....	32000000	3 75	120000	108000
Stave wood and stone estimated..			410000	360000
Total.....			$73295901	$67501341

SENATOR HUNTER'S APPEAL TO THE NORTH.

We extract from the able and statesmanlike speech of Senator Hunter, delivered at Albany, the following:

Let us look now to the ground upon which the Southern slaveholders are attacked as an oligarchy, and see how far these arguments may be applied to other social systems also. The census shows that slave property, like all other property, is unequally distributed, and that a majority of the whites in the Southern States do not own slaves. Upon this slender foundation this charge of oligarchy is made and proclaimed. Suppose that the census had been so taken as to show the number of persons in the United States who own more than $5,000 worth of property, they would probably constitute a less proportion of the entire white population than the slaveholders, as compared with the non-slaveholding whites of the South. The number of persons holding an interest in real estate in this country is estimated only at a million and a half; the number holding as much as $5,000 in property would probably be still less. When such a fact as that is shown, how easy will it be to denounce these capitalists as oligarchs! May it not be said that the real power of society is in these few hands? These are the men who can establish powers, fee advocates, and wield the immense power which money gives.

The owner of the factory, who lives on his capital, perhaps gets as much of the proceeds as all the laborers who work in it day by day, and from morning until night. The ship-owner, who sleeps quietly at home, probably divides equally with all the men who sail the ship and face the perils of the sea. This charge of oligarchy may be made in the one case as in the other. Doubtless it may be said truly in defence of all this, that without the laws which encourage and protect the accumulation of capital, this vast framework of human society, with all its refinement and civilization, would disappear, and that by such an event millions of employments by which human beings subsist would be destroyed, and along with them would perish those whom they enabled to live. But cannot arguments of this nature be used to reply to the charge South as well as North? If those things only issue out of the necessary constitution of society in one place, so they do in the other.

But, fellow-citizens, if under the sanction of some supposed state of the public opinion of the world, which has no legal form of expression—if under the proscription of some law, written only in the breasts of those who claim to reveal it, those institutions which are guarantied and recognized by the constitution and laws of the government ordained by society

can be overthrown—how can any government be safe, or any constitution be secured and protected, otherwise than by force? I might have inquired how the public opinion of the world is ascertained, which is said to proscribe the existence of slavery, but I choose rather to examine into the alleged law to see if it may not apply to institutions other than those of the South. I say I might inquire how this public opinion is ascertained, which is said to outlaw us, because it is notorious that slavery has been recognized as legal by the world during far the largest portion of its history. As far back as human traditions go it is to be found. There is not a nation of antiquity, as far as we have accounts of them, which did not tolerate it; there is not a nation in Europe which did not lay the foundation of its civilization in coerced labor or involuntary servitude. The time is comparatively recent since it existed almost everywhere under the favor of law. The strongest nation of Europe still maintains it. The Constitution of the United States recognizes it, the laws of nearly half the States of the Union establish it, and the highest judicial tribunals in the land acknowledge this law to be valid.

If such sanctions as these cannot secure property and institutions, how is it to be done at all under the forms of law? But what is this law which thus overrules constitutions and human government? It is a law which ordains that man cannot hold property in man, and as a consequence proscribes involuntary servitude. Fellow-citizens, what is property in man, and what involuntary servitude? Property may be absolute or limited; it may be in fee or for a term of years. In practice one man may hold property in the services of another for life, as in the law of slavery; for a term of years, as in an apprenticeship; or for months, weeks, days, and hours, in the case of domestics, or mechanics, or lawyers, or doctors. In civilized society there is no man, except in the rare cases of those living on accumulated capital, who does not sell to another a property in his services. This is servitude, and if constrained by the necessities of poverty, it is as much involuntary as if it were forced by any other physical necessity. The evils which are ascribed to one form of this servitude are common to them all, and so claimed to be by this socialist sect of whom I have spoken.

Are hard cases of separation in families to be found where slavery exists? do they not also occur whenever a man is forced by his necessity to sell his labor in the highest market? Are many revolting instances to be found of the submission by one man of his wife to another in the one case? do they not also occur in the other. Shall we for this reason proclaim that no man shall be allowed to sell his labor, or give a right of property

in his services to another? To do so would be to destroy more than half the value of labor, to rob millions of human beings of the means of subsistence, and to dissolve all human society. Now, why these evils, or any evils, exist, it passes my metaphysics to determine. Why it was ordained that man should live by the sweat of his brow, or why the primeval curse was pronounced, I cannot satisfactorily explain. The most we can do is to make the best of the necessities which they impose upon us.

These considerations justify the social system of the South as well as that of the North. In the South we refer proudly to the fact that the negro race has improved more under our patronage than in any other situation in which they have ever been placed. Our system of organization has made the improvement of both races compatible with the peace and harmony of society. The co-existence upon the same soil of two races which differ so much in physical organization, and of which the one is inferior to the other, is undoubtedly attended by some evils; but these evils are mitigated, and not increased, by establishing the relation of slavery between them. The evils which are so often attributed to this institution are, for the most part, to be ascribed to the natural disparity of the races, and the fact that they are thrown together to struggle for subsistence on the same soil.

Fellow-citizens, I have been thus particular in endeavoring to show that the application of these principles would be revolutionary in any system of society, because I firmly believe that if they should serve their turn in one case, they will soon afterwards be used as the weapons in a general war upon the institution of property itself. However that may be, there can be but little doubt, I think, but that their present tendency is to put in peril the Union of the States. Is there any consequence to flow from the election of a sectional candidate that could compensate you for the risk which you are asked to incur? What is it that the North risks in the dissolution of the Union? I pass over for the present the loss of power, moral and political, that it would sustain in such an event as this. I ask, now, what would it lose in point of national wealth and resources? The expenditures of the country have probably now reached sixty millions of dollars, and the day is not far distant when they may amount to seventy millions. Of these the North secures by far the larger share of the disbursements. When the army appropriation bill was in dispute an approximate estimate was made as to the portions which would probably be disbursed in the non-slaveholding States and Territories. The result was, as well as I can recollect, that the proportion was something about four-fifths, and in some of the other gene-

ral appropriation bills their share would have been still larger. I do not pretend that any accurate estimate could be made, but it was sufficiently near for general results. I suppose there can be little doubt but that four-fifths of the entire expenditures are disbursed North.

But if we take population as the test of contribution—and although not accurate as a test, it is nearly enough so to approximate to the truth—their share would have been about thirteen parts out of twenty-two, or something more than one-half. Instead, then of receiving the disbursement of four-fifths of sixty millions, as probably they will do, their share, according to the contribution, would have been little more than thirty-five millions. The difference of twelve millions is what, then, they probably owe to the Union. Now, the constant disbursement of twelve millions per annum to any section beyond what it contributes, is equivalent to creating for its benefit a United States five per cent. stock to the amount of two hundred and forty millions of dollars. That this statement approximates to the truth of the case I have very little doubt; that it receives much more from the federal expenditure than it contributes, if their contribution is to be measured by their population, I have no doubt. The last returns of navigation and commerce show the aggregate of American tonnage to be about five millions of tons.

If we take the relative populations of the free and slave States as the measure of division between the two confederacies, the northern would be entitled to not quite 3,000,000 tons. If we take the statement in the census of the number of persons in the free and slave States employed in navigation, as a measure of the actual distribution of this tonnage, the North has more than four-fifths, or something more than 4,000,000. Here, then, are at least 1,000,000 of tonnage for which she is indebted to the Union. In the census table the product of manufactures, mining, and the mechanic arts for 1850 is stated at $1,013,336,463, which represents, according to that statement, a profit of something like 43 per cent. upon the entire capital employed in those pursuits, for labor, for raw material, machinery, and fixtures. Deduct from this the amount exported abroad, and the residue is the product of supply for the home demand. If this demand be measured by numbers, then the share of the northern confederacy would be about 600,000,000; but according to the table, the actual division gives them more than 800,000,000. Here then, is an annual profit of something like $200,000,000 which is due to the Union.

To all this is to be added an item whose value to the North we have no means to measure, even approximately—I mean

the cotton trade. With the exception of specie, there is no commodity yet known to trade which is so capable of being made the basis of an enlarged system of credits. The cotton bale is an almost universal bill of exchange; there are few markets in the world where it is not to be sold for the costs of production, and transportation, and a reasonable profit upon them. This fact, and the regularity of its supply, have given it a capacity to constitute a basis for exchange, such as no other commodity, save specie, has ever possessed.

Now, the advantages of that vast system of credits go mainly to the American centre of trade—to your own great city, which is not only the centre of American commerce, but is destined to become the centre of trade and exchange for the world, if this Union should last long enough to enable her to fulfil her destiny. In this estimate of the material losses which the North would experience if the Union were dissolved, I have left out some important items. The employment ranked in the census as that of commerce is especially so. The general prostration of credit and commerce, which a dissolution of the Union might occasion, I have not considered. I have said nothing either of the chances of commercial rivalry on the part of the South. I have referred only to some of the leading items, whose importance may be estimated when they are considered along with the fact that the whole property, real and personal, of the United States, is computed only at $7,000,000,000. So far I have only considered the pecuniary risks; but the actual loss of political power which the North would suffer in such an event is a matter which involves considerations of as much or more magnitude than the other. As the Union now stands, the power of the government is in the hands of the free States; they have the majority everywhere—in both branches of Congress, and in the electoral colleges, which make the President. If they should choose to do so, they could wield the whole power of the government; whatever strengthens that, strengthens them. In that point of view, the strength which the South adds to the General Government adds also to their own. As things now stand, they may wield not only their own power, but often that of the minority also. Divide the Union, and they are limited to the strength of the free States alone. Nay, this is the best view of the question, which supposes the confederacies to be friendly. If they were hostile, then her strength would be measured by the difference between the two. Such are the losses to which the North would be exposed by a dissolution of the Union, in that view of the case; but those who are seeking to press you to extreme measures take another view of the question. They say that the South could not successfully resist, and in the end must

submit. That is certainly very opposite to my opinion upon the subject; but, for argument's sake, let us suppose it to be so.

Suppose that, in the event of resistance, you had conquered the slave States, what would you do with them? There is no provision in the Constitution for holding dependent provinces. You would have to change that, and your form of government, too, to effect such an object. But suppose you could do it, there are the two races together; what would you do with them? Repeat the West India experiment, convert the Southern States into one great Jamaica, one vast Nigritia? What then would become of the vast commerce and rich customers who now contribute to your power and wealth? What, too, would be the consequences of the destruction of the great source of supply for that staple upon which so many people beyond the limits of the Southern States depend for subsistence? Unless that race be subjected in some way to involuntary servitude in the South, either these consequences would arise, or they would be exterminated like the red man, in its competition with the white. Is either event a consummation to be desired? Could the free States derive any benefit, morally, politically, or socially, from such results as these?

But there is still another view of this case. It is said that this sectional party might be placed in power, and administer the Government upon their own principles, and still the South would remain in the Union. Suppose, then, for argument sake, that this supposition were true. Take it that they remained in the Union with a fixed sense of the injustice of its Government, with a belief that in their cases its power would be used for purposes of offence instead of defence, and that its patronage would be employed to breed and engender civil strife in their midst. They still preserve their votes, according to this supposition, which gives them nearly one-half the power of the Senate, and more than one-third of that of the House of Representatives, and of the electoral colleges. How would that vote be thrown? to aid and support such a government, or to embarrass and thwart it? How long, under such circumstances, would the Government continue to be a practicable machine? So great an obstruction as this constantly interposed in its way would destroy any representative government. Ours could hardly endure through one presidential term.

Now, fellow-citizens, the moral of all this is, that the free States cannot preserve their present ascendency in the Government unless they use it with justice, moderation, and due regard to the rights and feelings of the other States of the Union. The result of this reasoning is to show that they cannot administer this Government upon the sectional principles which are now proposed, without certainly a great loss of political power,

and probably without an immense sacrifice of material wealth and pecuniary resources. Now, what are the considerations in the election of a President upon these principles which could justify them in incurring these risks, not only to themselves, but to others? It cannot be to bestow the patronage of the Government upon certain individuals. This would be too poor a view of such a question. Is it on account of the importance which is attached to the admission of Kansas as a free State in the Union? Is it only to secure this that these immense interests are to be put at stake? The free States already hold the greater share of political power. Whether Kansas is to come in as a free or a slave State cannot surely affect their position in that regard. You have the relative superiority now in point of political strength, and if the Union lasts, every census must increase it. Look to the Territories that are to come in as free States.

Remember the fact that the annual increase of the free States from foreign immigration alone is greater than the annual increase of the entire negro population of the Union. If things remain as the Constitution has fixed them, and events pursue their usual course, the increase of your majorities in the Federal Government is assured and certain. If the Southern States are content with this, why should you seek to disturb the existing state of things? In the one way your gain is certain, no matter what the result of the Kansas question; in the other, you may risk everything. You have the power now and legitimately, and with the consent of the South, if you use it justly; but if you attempt to abuse it for sectional purposes, you expose vast interests to the risks and hazards of a contest which can eventuate in no way without some loss of power to the free States, and which might end in the destruction of both parties in the conflict. I can think of no calculation of chances which would justify the North in trying the fearful experiment of administering this Government not only without a Southern man in its counsels, but in opposition to the essential interest, and, it may be to the peace of the South itself. Surely, if there be any State which would risk more than another in such an experiment, it is this, the Empire State of the North. Yours is the Queen City of the West, which sits enthroned on the shores of yonder beautiful bay, with one hand on the ocean and the other on the lakes, to gather wealth from both. No wind can blow that does not waft to her upon the wave the rich tribute of commerce from some distant clime, or some neighboring State. The very snows of heaven, which benumb the arm of industry in so many other places, only seem to give her access to hyperborean regions, and to open to her Arctic and Antarctic stores. I know of nothing in the

magnificence of the great cities of the dead or living, of the East or West, of the Old World or the New, of the present or the past, nothing in the creations of mediæval commerce, or of the present age, which can excel, or even equal, the probable future of your great city, if this Union should endure. Are all these hopes and prospects to be risked for such considerations as are presented to you in the election of a sectional candidate?

Fellow-citizens, dark days are indeed before us, if those who possess the immense power of such a Government as ours can be found capable of using it so recklessly and wildly as from some quarters they are exhorted to do. When I look forward to the possible consequences of this mad course of action, I am filled with anxiety, not because I believe the Southern States cannot and will not defend themselves if the sad necessity should arise, but because I wish to preserve the Union and save this great scheme of human society. It is but a few months since the anniversary of our independence passed over our heads. The sun of that morning rose upon more than twenty-three millions of American people, who united within themselves more of the elements of social strength and individual happiness than were ever combined in the same number of persons before. The country was adorned with the rich monuments of an industry which seemed to have been directed with an energy and a skill almost superhuman. Fair and stately cities crowned the shores of the seas, and the borders of the rivers. The land smiled with happy homesteads, which sent up as an incense to Heaven the smoke of millions of household fires, kindled on as many altars, which had been consecrated to peace and all the domestic virtues. The husbandman went forth to sow his seed or plant his tree in perfect confidence that he or his descendants would gather the fruit. The mariner ploughed the seas, and looked proudly aloft to the stars and the stripes, the emblems of his country's presence, and of a jurisdiction which followed him, and could cover and protect him in the most distant climes. The young mother rejoiced that her man-child was born into the world, because she knew that when he arrived at years of discretion he might take any one of a thousand roads which would lead him through this happy land to wealth or to honor. The old man descended willingly to the tomb, and closed his eyes in peace, in the belief that he was leaving this fair scene as a perpetual inheritance to be enjoyed by his children and their descendants. And upon what reposed this grand scheme of human happiness? It rested on the faith felt by our people that they would continue to live under the Constitution and the equal laws which it enjoined, in the confidence they reposed in the sense of justice and mutual affection of each other.

But, fellow-citizens, the serpent has crept into that land of delight. He understands the secret of the charm, and well knows that to scatter ruin he must destroy the mutual confidence upon which so much happiness depends; accordingly he has been busy at his work.

How long the mutual confidence of our people can withstand such appeals I know not. But if those feelings should be destroyed, this great scheme of happiness, this vast fabric of human society, must dissolve and perish. The skeleton outline may indeed remain, but its harmonious coloring will fade away, its beauty of proportion will disappear, and its grace of motion and its charm of life will become extinct. Whether there be anything short of power divine which can cause these dry bones to live again, or resume with light and life the inanimate form, I cannot say. But this I can say, that if there be any human means of regeneration for nations that have decayed, or social systems that have become effete, history has not as yet recorded them.

THE CONDITION OF TEXAS.

We have before us the able report of the Comptroller. We avail ourselves of some of its valuable data, and shall endeavor to present to our readers, some interesting views of our social and political condition.

During the last four years the assessed acres of land have increased eight millions of acres, or at the rate of two millions of acres per year, while the value of said land has been increased twenty-five millions of dollars, or at the rate of six and a quarter millions of dollars per year.

We have examined the report of several States of the Union, and we are at liberty to say that this is an astonishing increase, and vastly beyond the rates of land assessed in any Southern State.

The average value of land per acre, which in 1852 was only 87½ cents, is now $1 28.*

While our horses and cattle have not increased much over 600,000, their value has increased nine millions of dollars. In 1853 the average assessed value per head was $7 82, now it is $10 48.

The increase in the value of other property, such as town lots, money at interest, &c., has gone up from eleven millions of dollars in 1852 to twenty millions of dollars in 1855.

Did we not have the facts and figures under the official seal of the proper officer, we might well consider the statement a fancy sketch, but such are the plain facts of the prosperity of our great and growing State.

The facts we here state may be more clearly seen in the following table:

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF TAXATION—THEIR VALUE, &c.

The following table shows the chief articles subject to taxation, with their value, for each of the four years:

Years.	Land.			Negroes.		
	Number of Acres assessed.	Value	Value per Acre.	Number assessed.	Value.	Value of each.
1852...	37,838,792	$33,116,772	$0 87½*	68,795	$28,628,990	$416
1853...	39,175,858	39,256,612	1 00	78,713	35,946,473	456
1854...	44,580,946	49,961,177	1 12	90,612	46,501,840	513
1855...	45,893,869	58,671,126	1 28	105,603	53,373,924	505†

Years.	Horses and Cattle.			Other Property.
	Number assessed.	Value.	Value per head.	Value.
1852.....	1,020,832	$7,977,999	$7 82	$11,030,423
1853.....	1,164,463	10,217,499	8 78	13,734,530
1854.....	1,377,472	13,465,805	9 08	17,052,795
1855.....	1,615,609	16,936,423	10 48	20,539,978

The total value of taxation in the above for the same year was—

		Increase per cent. of each year.
Total value property for 1852....	$80,754,094,	16½ per cent.
Total value property for 1853.....	99,155,114,	23 per cent.
Total value property for 1854....	126,981,617,	28 per cent.
Total value property for 1855....	149,521,451,	17½ per cent.
Average increase per cent. for 1852 to 1855,		21 per cent.

We have increased in the respective value of our lands, negroes, horses, and cattle, and other property as follows:

Increased value Slave property since 1852.....	$24,744,934
Increased value Land property since 1852.....	25,554,354
Increased value Horses and Cattle since 1852...	8,958,424
Increased value of other property since 1852....	9,509,555
	$68,767,267

We have thus shown that the increased value of our property in the State, upon which assessment is made, is nearly sixty-nine millions of dollars, and that it has made this astonishing increase in the last fonr years.

* Note by the Editor—Parties have the right of assessing their lands at their own valuation, and they generally do so at as low rate as their conscience will permit them.—Ed.

† Few Negroes are sold in Texas at less than $800 each, and the real average value of men and women from 1,000 to 1,250.

In another year, making a half a decade from 1855, the value of the whole taxable property in the State will have doubled since 1852.

While we congratulate the State on this favorable state of things—a state of things which will make a favorable showing with the most rapidly populating State of the Union—we hope it will arrest the attention of the people of other States, and prove to them that in the lands of the State of Texas is now to be found the best investment of any in the Union. We present no exaggerated picture, and our own people will be satisfied that with some exertion on the part of the State in aid of railroads, we shall in a few years find ourselves with such an increased capital and population as to be able to carry on those great works of improvement on a scale commensurate with our wants. What we want now are some well devised general trunk roads, and private enterprize, with timely State aid, will accomplish it with entire security to the funds of the State.

We are not aware of the swift progress we are making in all the elements of wealth. With but half the resources five years ago, railroads and other great improvements were evidently matters of doubt and distrust. Now the demands of commerce require and will command from capitalists what not even prodigal bonuses of land have influenced in our behalf.

THE VALUE OF THE UNION TO THE SOUTH.

THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE SOUTH FOR AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT.*

It is to be noticed that the free States have a majority in the Senate, and a very large majority in the House of Representatives of the United States—that they have thus the power to legislate upon our institutions—that they have declared their purpose to employ it—that aggression is constantly becoming bolder and bolder in its views—that the fear of a dissolution of the Union is becoming less and less regarded—that men of character are being set aside for less scrupulous instruments—that even these are set aside again when they shrink from the crisis of aggression—that through all the Northern States in late elections, there has been a constant triumph of men most pledged to act against the South—that men so constituted and so forced to outrage, by an inexorable power behind them, have to be met in Congress during the coming winter, when the dearest rights and interests of the South will be subject to their determination, and it becomes us, therefore, in sober earn-

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* From the Richmond Examiner.

est, to look aggression firmly in the face, and if it is not our purpose to submit, to determine now the means and cost of its resistance.

In view of such contingencies, it is the precept of simple prudence to look into the circumstances of that condition, and supposing a severance of the ties which bind us to other sections of this country, and standing in contemplation an integral part of the commonwealth of nations, to realize if possible the just responsibilities of that position. There is, we know, a repugnance to such discussion, but if it be proper to do industriously what we do at all, and if it be probable that we must act upon contingencies about to be presented in an organized political capacity, it is eminently proper to estimate our capabilities for such condition; and if it be true that it is not beyond our reach—that it will present no insuperable difficulties, and that we can not only assume the attitude, but can stand with every assurance of permanence, prosperity, and power, there can be no merit or magnanimity in shrinking from a recognition of the fact.

The first question of considerable moment at the outset of this investigation is, as to our ability to meet the charges of a separate government, and to this we would direct attention.

By reference to statistics to be seen at the end of this article, it will appear that the exports which are the exclusive products of the Southern States, amount to the sum of $111,000,000. That of exclusive products of the North, the exports to only about $33,000,000. It will thus be seen that we contribute to the foreign commerce of the country, in proportion as 111 is to 33. Our receipts from imports, therefore, will be in the same proportion, and we will have it in our power to realize more than three time as much, from impost duties upon our foreign commerce, as can possibly come to the exchequer of the North.

Nor is this all. In addition to the $111,000,000, which the South exclusively contributes to the foreign commerce of the country, there is also a vast amount which she sends in exchange for products of the North. For shoes, hats, canes, clothes, buttons, knives, and a thousand forms of manufactured fabrics, we send of cotton, rice, tobacco, naval stores, &c., to the value of almost as much as $111,000,000 more. In the condition of a foreign State with respect to the North, as well as with respect to Europe, the returns for these commodities would also share in the impost duty upon foreign fabrics, and we would derive a revenue therefore, not only from the imports in exchange for the $111,000,000 already sent abroad, but upon those in exchange for near about the same amount sent to the North. We will suppose, however, that in addition

to our present exports to foreign countries, we would send but sixty millions to the North.

Without accounting for the increased value of imports over exports, the returns from every section would amount to $171,000,000. Upon this an impost duty of only ten per cent. would give us seventeen million dollars per annum. A sum exceeding by $4,000,000 the whole expenditure of the United States in 1830, and which must therefore be amply sufficient for the requirements of an economical government. If not, however—if influenced by a disposition to make political display in the eyes of the world, there will be little difficulty in increasing it. This sum of $17,000,000 results from an impost duty of only ten per cent. Upon most articles consumed at the South, the impost duty is now thirty per cent., and it would be possible, therefore, to make addition to the revenue of our country in perfect consistence with an immense reduction upon our present charges in support of Government.

Considering it reasonably certain, therefore, that there will be little difficulty in realising from a duty upon imposts alone the sums necessary to defray the expenses of our Government, there are other facts to be regarded. At present the manufacturer at the North sends his fabrics to us free of impost duty. His competitors in Europe are charged with an impost duty of thirty per cent. The Northern mannfacturer comes to our market, therefore, with every possible advantage, and little effort is necessary to sustain his establishment at the North and monopolise the trade. When, however, our relations shall have been so changed as that not only will he not find foreign fabrics charged in our market with thirty per cent., but will himself be under the necessity of paying the same per centage that others pay for the privilege of entrance, he will be able to monopolise no longer. Without the custom of the South it is questionable whether he can sustain his manufacturing establishments; and defeated of this ability he will have to yield to the superior advantages of works established on our own soil, or he must bring his capital and labor here, and, recommencing his enterprises, must contribute his wealth and energy to sustain the institution and swell the prosperity and greatness of our Southern country.

This state of facts would naturally result upon the supposition even that impost duties at the North would be sufficient to support their government, but this is questionable. Upon the return commodities of $33,000,000 worth of exports a rate of imposts sufficient to sustain their government would amount to an exclusion, and it is almost certain, therefore, that they would be compelled to resort to direct taxation. This would impose a heavy burthen still upon every species of productive

industry, and their trades deprived of present protection and charged besides with taxes, would the more certainly fail of the ability to reach our markets, and would the more certainly give place to enterprises established at the South.

Nor is this all. With a horizontal duty upon all imposts, it would be impossible for foreign products to come to us by way of the cities of the North. To be entered there they must pay an impost duty so sustain that government. To come to us again they must pay an impost duty to sustain our own. And it is impossible, therefore, that by such circuitous approach they can compete with goods which come to us direct. At the South, therefore, must spring up the importing cities for the South. The cities of the South, from which the exports of the continent will go abroad, must stand with metropolitan splendor in the sight of foreign States. It is here that the shipping interests of the North will seek employment. It is here that they will find their home, and by the simple act of assuming the functions of political sovereignty, the States of the South will enter upon a career of greatness, of which, under present circumstances, there is scarcely the remotest probablity.

In addition to all this, it will be remembered that upon the imports of the South there is at present paid an impost duty averaging but little less than thirty per cent.; that this yields a yearly revenue of little less than $50,000,000. It is to be remembered, also, that the South shares in the expenditures of the General Government in the proportion of about one to four: perhaps, in matters of a local nature, even this proportion is too great. The coast survey has been nearly completed at the North, while it is but commenced at the South. The customs are nearly all collected at the North; it is there that vessels of war are built, and other works are executed; and of $1,469,000 expended by the Post Office Department of the General Government for the transportation of the mail to foreign countries, and which contributes to the support of a mercantile marine, $1,419,000 are expended upon lines commencing at New York, while but $50,000 is expended at the South.

Of the $50,000,000, therefore, contributed to the exactions of the present Government, we receive in return, by way of expenditures upon our own soil, less than $10,000,000. If in a state of political independence, it should be our pleasure to throw off a burthen of $34,000,000, there would still be $17,000,000 to be so expended—in surveying our own coasts, in collecting our own customs, in establishing our own lines of foreign intercourse, and in stimulating works of local enterprise—and thus, therefore, there is the consideration of economy to the extent of $34,000,000 to commend the measure of

political independence, and an additional stimulant to the extent of $7,000,000 to urge us to its adoption.

Such are some of the conditions which we confidently contemplate in the event of a dissolution of this Union upon the issues presented by the North. If they force us to an attitude of independence, there are in these regards, at least, the possibility of meeting the responsibilities of that position. And, as it is desirable that, if we furnish the exports to sustain the commerce of the continent, the marts of commerce should be builded upon our own shores; that if we clothe and feed the world we should have the credit of our munificence; that if we pay impost duties they should contribute to the support of our own rather than rival interests—there is found to be abundant reason in the advancement to the material interests of the South, why we should seek rather than shun that dreaded consummation.

Distribution of Offices—Inaptness of the North to war upon us.—Senator Wilson stated in a recent speech, that though the South might threaten to dissolve the Union, there is no danger; that Virginia is pledged to preserve the Union by the two or three hundred offices which her statesmen hold under the General Government; and that slaveholders cannot be driven out of the Union, for they know that wherever they may be, the doctrine of anti-slavery will reach them.

The opinions expressed by this sapient Senator, amid the ravings of an abolition conventicle, are sentiments which, unfortunately, are equally agreeable to the sober conservatism of the North. While they would not break the Union either to blot from the Constitution its recognition of slavery, or to exclude the State of Kansas, they still believe that we are equally averse to that alternative. They think we would not risk it either to preserve the one or introduce the other; and in view of this opinion, we will take occasion to inquire a little further as to their ground of confidence in this conviction.

It is true that there are some federal offices distributed at the South, and unfortunately true that except in rare and honored instances, these offices subvert the principles of patriotic devotion to the South. But it must be remembered that these offices are unequally distributed between the different sections of the Union. Among office-holders themselves there is less attachment to the Union, from the fact that it shares these gifts unequally. One of the naval steamships, lately ordered, is being built at the South and two within the Northern States. The coast survey almost completed on our Northern coast is just commenced on our Southern seaboard. Of $1,468,000 appropriated for the transportation of the mails to foreign countries,

$1,418,000 is appropriated to lines commencing at New York, while $50,000 only, is reluctantly conceded to a single line of foreign service at the South. Of the $50,000,000 duties received upon goods which are purchased with the exports of the South, as much as $40,000,000 is received at Northern ports, and contributes to support an army there of custom house officials.

Of the injustice of this, it is not our present purpose to complain. That the navy yards are more efficient at the North, is a reason why the naval steamships should be built there; that their commerce is more important, is a reason why their coast should be first surveyed; that New York is the present emporium of the continent, is a reason why it is the point from which should radiate the lines of foreign intercourse; and that our imports naturally enter at the North, is a sufficient reason why the impost duties should be there collected; but it is very certain that upon the dissolution of the Union our own steamships would be built at our own navy yards; that our own coast would be the first and only coast surveyed with our own funds; that lines of intercourse, to the encouragement of our mercantile marine, would certainly start from our own ports; that the impost duties upon our commerce would be only paid into our own custom houses; and, as our people are not necessarily stupid, they must readily perceive that, liberal as are their receipts from the federal treasury, there will be the prospect of much more liberal endowments from a local government. And, unworthy as the motive therefore is, when brought to exercise, it will be far from being conservative of present political relations.

But, it is said, the South will not dare to leave the Union; that the sentiments of anti-slavery will pursue them into whatever political connection they may seek a refuge, and that the only ark of their political safety is in association with the North. This we doubt, and will give a brief consideration to this aspect of the subject.

It is said that anti-slavery will war upon us more than ever, but we doubt it. Under the forms of a political connection they can now disturb us with impunity. Tied by the ligaments of a common government, with a preponderance of legislative power against us, they can treat us as they please and laugh at our indignation. They can vote away the common fund; they can impose whatever impost duties upon foreign fabrics may be best calculated to build up interests among themselves, and while outraging every feeling of affection, can determine for us what discrimination in reference to our own interests will best subserve their ends. Possessed of this security, it is a cheap oppression to war upon the South—to disturb our so-

cial institutions—to circumscribe us in extent—to set the world against us, and exercise the common incidents of merely vulgar despotism. But, possessed of the functions of political sovereignty; at liberty to treat the North, not as it may please them, but as it may please us; to hold them strictly responsible for their conduct, and to make them feel that for every unwarrantable act we will make them pay the penalty in such discriminations as we shall have the power to use against them, and it is by no means certain that aggression will continue. Our neighbors of the North, whatever may be said about them, have a pious regard for their individual interests, and it is by no means certain that even fanaticism will be permitted to indulge in any such expensive eccentricities.

But, granting this, it is by no means certain that the South will be helpless and at their mercy. It is said that our slaves will be incited to rebellion, and this, we know, has been the subject of some apprehension at the South. But for us it has no terrors. We know that it is the constant practice of nations at war to address the laboring and discontented classes of their antagonists; but we know that this has rarely, if ever, been successful. That the presence of a common danger lulls to rest the spirit of disaffection, and high and low, and rich and poor, who have warred upon each other, have generally rushed to the resistance of a common enemy. But it is said that those slaves can have no common cause with their masters. Yet we think it generally so, that of all subject classes, the slave is most devoted to the interests of the class above it. It is said, again, that of these classes, the one is white and the other black; that there can be no sympathy between them, and that our slave population, therefore, will be more than usually liable to foreign influence. We doubt the position. On the contrary, we believe that no subject people upon earth was ever less exposed to external influence.

There are no such things as masses at the South. Under present systems of organization there can be no such things as masses among the slaves. From the Delaware to the Rio Grande the whole race is severely articulated. In squads of from ten to one hundred they are divided off, and each has its separate institutions and a separate ruler. There is no chain, therefore, for the electric currents of opinion, which transform the mind of European countries—even if it were possible that there were any vehicle by which opinion could be made to reach them. But to reach them, opinion must either come from the lips of emissaries or in the form of printed matter. From the lips of emissaries it could never come, except in a furtive form. If the emissary were a white man, his color would detect him, and he would be arrested in his very earliest

efforts to address the slave. If a negro, he would be required to show his "pass." If these opinions were to come in the form of mail matter, thanks to the caution which the action of our Northern friends has taught us, our slaves could never read it; and hard, therefore, as is the condition of the negro, and improper as it may be that he should not be in a condition to assist in claiming independence when the hand of help is offered, it is still unquestionably true that in no possible way can he be addressed, as an army of liberators may be in one county of a State, without the slaves of another having the least conception of its purposes. Instead of presenting an irregulated mass to which the torch of freedom has but to be applied to blaze all over the whole country, the South is now in a condition of social organization and discipline as efficient and severe as any that could possibly be induced upon any invading army, and any county of ten thousand men will be able to offer resistance to an invading army which it will require an army of nearly equal military strength to overcome. From North to South we present a series of continual military departments, every one of which will have to be taken in order, before another is assailed; and we venture now the assertion that if every man in the Northern States were a soldier, and every soldier in one single army to the end of subjugating the South, they would fall before our fortresses and would be compelled to acknowledge that our institution is impregnable.

It is said, however, that our slaves, though they never are addressed, have still a common wrong, and by common consent, and without association, will spring to the prospect of redressing it. If the fact were true, there might be truth in the assumption. If there were a sense of wrong pervading the negro race at the South, it might be true that they would be inspired by a common sentiment of resistance, which might work its way to independence—though even this is questionable. The despotism of the South, if persons choose to call it despotism, is as stringent and intense as ever has existed, and since the despotism of Russia over Poland has been sufficient to hold her in the iron arm in spite of every effort at resistance, it is not certain that even with the strongest sentiments of liberty, the negro could be free. But of such liberty he has no conception—no sense of wrong pervades the race. He can be instructed to a sense of very great affliction, but in his normal state he has no sense of wrong, and no calling to a higher sphere, and unless the emotions were industriously cultivated, we believe that there are no people upon earth that have less occasion, or are less inclined to disturb the existing state of society around them.

WHERE DOES BALTIMORE STAND.

The following is from the columns of that able and enterprising Southern sheet, the New Orleans Delta. The paper which appeared in our last number on negroes, from the pen of Dr. Dowler, was copied from the Delta. By an oversight the credit was not given.

In another article in the same number the Richmond Enquirer has some suggestions that point directly to the duty of Southerners at the present time. It is speaking of the presumption that Maryland should run a Black Republican ticket, and it makes a request that should be acted on all through the South. It says:

Baltimore must be counted not for us but against us. We must deal with her as with the other more Northern cities, all sectional enemies who are assailing our domestic peace and property and our perpetuity as a free and equal confederacy of States. Baltimore if she goes along with the North, must take the consequence, and not be benefitted by the patronage of the South. We must not make "fish of one and flesh of another." Our enemies in the slave States are the most dangerous. It is a question of vital interest—who is with us?

1st. We beg our friends in Baltimore to publish from time to time the names of those merchants, traders, and business men of all vocations who are pro-slavery.

2d. We ask our Southern dealers of all classes to note who are friends and who are foes in Baltimore as well as in other cities; and not to spend a dollar of their patronage upon those who are not known to be for us.

3d. We ask our towns, villages, and country places in the South to organize meetings, publicly to pledge their patronage to such only in all the cities, Baltimore included, as are known friends of constitutional protection to property in slaves; of State equality in the Territories; of the union of the States; and who are not Abolitionists and Freesoilers.

4th. We ask the whole Southern press, friendly to our views, to call attention to this matter, and to rouse their readers to the necessity of this course of self-protection.

5th. We ask our friends in Baltimore and all the Northern cities to organize and procure and publish reliable information on which our traders and buyers may act.

The South is affiliating on this and other points of action, and if we have not a majority of friends in the North, the minority who are our friends shall be strengthened by our patronage for the protection they are willing to give to our rights of property, and to our political equality in the Union.

So unattentively has the South heretofore been to this subject, and so bent has it been in making its purchases in the

Northern cities, that actually goods manufactured in this city and Petersburg, have been sent on to New York and there sold to Southern merchants who could have got them at lower prices and saved freight by purchasing here—but who refused them in order to make all their purchases at one place. We have been told here that even the goods manufactured on the Alabama river, at Prattsville, Alabama, have to be first sent to New York before Mobile and New Orleans merchants will purchase them. In this case the planter of course, who consumes the article, pays an additional price, for the freight to New York, then a profit to the New York agent, then the freight back, and all this for the convenience of the merchant! Truly the time has come when the planter should look somewhat into these matters for himself.

VIRGINIA GOLD MINES.

"There are mines on which $100,000 and $300,000 have been expended, and it would puzzle any person to tell what had been done with the money to any better purpose than throwing it into the sea.

"California is scarcely a more inviting field for the miner than this very State, not a day's journey from the commercial capital of the Union. Facts in proof are not wanting.

"I am well satisfied that, considering the recent improvements in metallurgical science, especially in the treatment of *pyritiferous* ores, which form so large a portion of the gold and copper lodes of the Southern States, a new era is about to be opened, in which capital will find the reward hitherto not realised.

"The mine at which I am stopping—the Woodville—after years of perseverance under the direction of Dr. S. F. Ambler, has become a success. Dr. Ambler has recently invented and erected a new and admirable contrivance for working sulphurets. I have seen its operation, and have no doubt whatever that he has hit upon a desideratum in the reduction of sulphur ores, and the release of the gold. It needed but such discovery to render all the *auriferous sulphurets* profitable which have ever before stubbornly refused to yield up their treasures."

The letter quoted from leaves an impression that gold itself exists in the state of an ore—as sulphurets and pyrites—whereas gold is only associated with the pyrites of copper and iron in some Virginian mines, and is never found as an ore, strictly speaking, but commonly as an alloy, with metallic silver, copper, and some other metals. It is plainly stated that the working of auriferous pyrites—gold associated with iron and copper pyrites—in Virginia has hitherto been unprofitable, but by a new invention of Dr. Ambler the gold

can be released profitably and "a new era is about to be opened, in which capital will find a reward not hitherto realised."

Virginia is rich in gold quartz, but her auriferous sulphurets have always been considered poor ores, because they require smelting, which is a far more expensive process than that of amalgamation by mercury, where the gold is found unassociated with the sulphurets of other metals. The statement that auriferous sulphurets have ever before stubbornly refused to yield their treasures, is not correct. Dana, our greatest mineralogist, states that it has been found profitable where metallic sulphurets and other ores are abundant in gold rocks, to work them by smelting, and he decribes the profits obtained by smelting such ores in Russia, in comparison with the simple treatment of them by amalgamation. If, by the process of smelting, the gold can be profitably reduced from the auriferous pyrites, this can be easily demonstrated without very expensive apparatus in any of the Virginia mines. The ores of each mine should be fairly tested before expensive reducing apparatus is fitted up, because their character and quality—even when separated but a short distance—differ so much from one another. It would be hazardous, in our opinion, to invest capital largely in any mine for the reduction of gold from auriferous pyrites, until it was fairly demonstrated that such investment was, beyond a doubt, safe and profitable.—*Scientific American.*

SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The Southern Convention, which was held in February last at Richmond, adjourned over by resolution to meet at the city of Savannah on the second Monday, the eighth of December next.

Among the resolutions adopted at that Convention, was one nominating a committee to whom was referred all the resolutions which had been adopted as the sense of the body, with instructions to prepare and publish an address to the people of the Southern States developing and expressing more fully its views and inviting a general and larger attendance of delegates at the adjourned session. The committee consisted of J. D. B. De Bow, of Louisiana; Tench Tilghman, of Maryland; Robert Ould, of the District of Columbia; James Lyons, R. K. Meade, J. R. Anderson, Myer Myers, F. B. Dean, of Virginia; and J. H. Gibbon, of North Carolina.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago it began first to manifest itself to the Southern States, that, although they embraced in proportion to population the wealthiest producing region in the world, they were contributing directly or indirectly of its proceeds, to the aggrandizement and commercial opulence mainly of other sections of the Union, notwithstanding every consideration of propriety and patriotism demanded that these elements of wealth should be retained at home. Four-fifths of the commerce of the nation are made up from the products of Southern industry. Our commerce with Great Britain alone constitutes the half of what has given to her the commercial control of the world. Her great

economist, M'Culloch, said long ago, "the cotton manufacture forms the principle business carried on in this country, affording an advantageous field for the accumulation and employment of millions and millions of capital and thousands upon thousands of workmen. It gives us strength to sustain burdens that would have crushed our fathers and could not be supported by any other people."

The Conventions, which were held at Macon, and Augusta, Georgia, and at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1838–'9, representing several States, and embracing among their members the ablest, most distinguished, and patriotic of our citizens, constituted the earliest embodiment of this sentiment; and these Conventions have been succeeded by others of equal respectability, and even wider influence adjourning from place to place and composed of delegations from every State of the South appointed in primary assemblies, by municipal government, or by executive authority. The records of these assemblies, at Memphis, in 1845, 1849; Baltimore, 1852; New Orleans, 1851–'54; Charleston, 1855, and Richmond, 1856, have long since been given to the public, and are marked by ability and patriotism seldom if ever surpassed in this or any other country.

It is impossible to resist the evidence that these Conventions originating at first in purely economical considerations, however, afterwards stimulated and deriving renewed activity from the insolent and aggressive spirit exhibited at times by the free States, sufficient in other countries to have led to open hostilities, and which has threatened, and only been arrested upon the threshhold of, a disruption of the Federal Union itself, have contributed largely to a consolidation of Southern sentiment, to a better understanding of our condition and necessities, and have also been felt in that general development now everywhere manifesting itself at the South, extending our railroads, enlarging and diversifying our commerce and manufactures, and developing our agriculture, inviting and concentrating population and leading to new combinations and to higher and still higher hopes.

It was declared at Richmond, that the objects of the Convention were "to secure to the Southern States the utmost amount of prosperity as an integral part of the Federal Union or to enable them to maintain their rights and institutions in any event" and that matters were all germane which related to the development of our soil, the enlargement of our internal improvement system, our domestic trade and direct foreign commerce, mines, manufactures, and the arts, the social system and institutions of the South, our schools, colleges and the press. It will properly be the duty of the committee therefore to make a few brief references to each of these heads.

I. Agriculture.—What are the means of increasing the agricultural wealth of the South, and of bringing home to the farmer and the planter, from their fields, the largest results and the greatest prosperity, and of promoting the best condition of their operatives?

II. Internal Improvements.—How shall the lines of communication among us and between us be so extended as to admit of the most economical distribution of product from section to section, with the utmost facility of intercourse—considerations all important in cementing the bonds of Southern union, and in making us, as indeed we ought to be, one in interest and in sentiment? Thus, and thus only shall there be distributed at home, those considerable amounts which annually swell the aggregate of Northern travel—for business or for pleasure.

III. Domestic and Foreign Trade.—Shall a portion of the results derivable from these be shared at home, or be left as they now generously are—to be enjoyed wholly by others. Is not the Southern trader entitled to an equal share in these results, and other things being equal or nearly so, to a preference over his Northern competitor? Is it too late to learn the lesson that commerce is as honorable as agriculture, and that it is as dishonorable to purchase the wares and commodities of an abolitionist, knowing him to be such, as it would be to give aid and countenance to the enemy during the pressure of actual war? In our intercourse with the North it at least becomes us so to systematize our trafic, that it shall be with those only, who are not in open and acknowledged hostility to our rights and institutions. Can there not be a profitable *direct* trade opened from Southern ports to the continent of Europe, and are not the times rife for such a movement? May not the shipping interests of the South be augmented, and that consummation be early reached which all of us have so much at heart, and now believe to be practicable—a line of Steamships from our ports to Europe?

IV. Mines, Manufactures, and the Arts.—The Mineral resources and manufacturing facilities of the South stand without a rival. The manufacturer must be in constant communication with the agriculturist, or perish in the race of competition. Side by side they wax stronger, and mutually add to each others development. In a quarter of a century has been seen to grow up the collossal manufacturing system of the North. It was thought earlier than this that commerce and commercial empire were alone the destiny of that flourishing section. In another quarter of a century, if the South but do her duty, a like error shall be corrected by her, in a manner no less striking and remarkable.

V. Social System and Institutions of the South.—Is it our purpose that these shall remain intact amid the disorganizations which threaten other society? This system and these institutions have ever been ours and those of our ancestors, including the very founders of the Republic. They have given us all of opulence that is enjoyed. They have raised us to ten millions of freemen, and enabled us to bring under Christian influences four millions of happy, well-protected and contented laborers, descendents of barbarians, thrown upon our shores by the hands of Providence, making use as instruments of Northern ships and Northern cupidity. Have they taken away from our capacities as legislators in peace, or our valor and patriotism in war? Is the principle of honor, of integrity, of manly courage, the instinct which impels the approval of right, the resentment of wrong, or the chastisement of insolence—are the social and domestic virtues and christian charities to be found existing here in unhappy contrast with the system and institutions of those who claim the privilege of reforming our manners, and of making us altogether as they are themselves? Domestic quiet and repose are invited to give way to agrarianism, socialism, spiritualism, and all of the other infinitely diversified *isms*, which agitate and keep in continued turmoil, what is called by an abuse of terms, free society. Reforms there may be—improvements; time and experience develop these in the machinery of all societies. Should such at any time be necessary at the South, it is ours and ours only, in assemblies and conventions, to discuss and pronounce upon them, indignantly repelling the impudent interferences of our neighbors.

VI. Education.—With institutions of learning like those that have been long established and now flourish in the States of Maryland, Virginia, North and South

Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, must the youth of the South be longer doomed to exile in uncongenial climes, where the most sacred associations of their homes are denounced as those of the savage and the barbarian, the heritage of guilt and crime, and where grave and Reverend professors and Clergymen leave the pulpit and the desk to sign and circulate incendiary political addresses, substituting rifles for Euclid or the Bible, and finding in Kansas, fields more classic and consecrated than were ever before furnished to them by Attica or Palestine. Shall not our State legislatures, acting in concert, provide for an increased number of home institutions, extending at the same time the sphere of those already existing? With a larger proportion of thoroughly educated men than is to be found beyond our limits will we build up and encourage home literature and foster and encourage home publication houses? The time for action is *now*. It will be well, at least, to look to our school-books. Can the making of these be entrusted so exclusively to those, who by instilling an occasional heresy, dangerous to our repose, imagine that they serve at the same time God and mammon—their consciences and their pockets? The State Legislatures at the South alone are competent to heal this mischief. Property will submit to any amount of taxation for such a purpose. A system can and ought to be matured at the South by which the most ample encouragement shall be given to its educational system and to its press. Withdraw at once the contributions which are returned too often to us now in contumely and insult.

Fellow-citizens of the South, we may not realize at once all of these hopes, but let us fondly cherish them, believing them to be attainable at no distant day, if we shall act in concert, moving in the same direction, under the dictates of a common interest—necessity and patriotism.

We invite a large attendance at the Convention in Savannah. Let every village and town throughout the South respond promptly to this appeal in the appointment of delegates instructed in regard to their wishes and views. The Executives of the several States and the Mayors of cities, Boards of Trade and Commerce, Agricultural Associations, etc., will, it is believed, appoint according to custom, delegations of tried and approved men, who will certainly attend, or who will, in the event of a failure, communicate by reports or otherwise, full information for the action of the body, upon some or all of the points indicated.

Can it be necessary to appeal to the press of the South, to open its columns to this subject, and to continue its agitation until the sitting of the Convention in December.

The city of Savannah, through its Executive officer, has notified the Committee of its intention to make every provision for the meeting of the Convention, to afford the amplest facilities for its business and extend the utmost hospitality to its delegates.

J. D. B. DE BOW, *of Louisiana*,
TENCH TILGHMAN, *of Maryland*,
ROBT. OULD, *District of Columbia*,
JAS. LYONS,
R. K. MEADE,
J. R. ANDERSON,
MYER MYERS,
F. B. DEANE, JR.,
of Virginia,
J. H. GIBBON, *of North Carolina*.

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS NORTH AND SOUTH.

A friend in Virginia, writes us as follows: We shall be very glad to have an article such as he suggests from either of the gentlemen named, or from any other competent source.

"DEAR SIR: A communication to the New York Observer in the No. of the 31st July last, and another which I have read to-day in the same paper of August 28, headed a Northern Christian's view of the duty of the North to the South, assume quite inoffensively, and yet as a point beyond dispute certain points of superiority on their part, and also in the same positive way, certain premises in regard to slavery, which we do not admit. It is useless here to state these matters fully, as I write for a purpose suggested by the perusal of those communications; and that is to advise you, if I may be allowed such liberty, to get an article on Church Statistics for the Review, showing, 1st, the number of white *male* and female members of the churches in the free and slave States; 2d, the number of free colored members of churches; 3d, the number of slaves, also members of churches. The proportion to population in each section to be stated in per cents.

Unless you know a better, I would venture to suggest the Rev. Mr. Styles, well known doubtless to you, as the most suitable person who now presents himself to me for this task. Possibly, the Rev. Mr. Ross, of Tennessee, would do as well.

Again, begging pardon for the liberty I take, which, I assure you is dictated by the double desire of serving the public and your journal.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

The eminently flourishing condition of this splendid Institution gladdens the heart of every true Southerner. There are in all sixteen professors and 558 students attached to the University.

RESIDENCE OF STUDENTS.

Virginia	337.	Maryland	15.
South Carolina	41.	Kentucky	13.
Alabama	33.	North Carolina	12.
Mississippi	27.	Missouri	10.
Georgia	25.	Other Southern States	20.
Louisiana	21.	Northern States	4.

EDITORIAL NOTES, BOOKS, ETC.

The Southern Convention meets on the 8th December, at Savannah. The call appears in another column. We hope that every village, town, and city at the South will respond. We beg the friends of the Convention to move promptly in this matter and to prepare information in advance.

Note the card of the Memphis Eagle and Enquirer in our advertising pages. That old and able journal is in search of a purchaser. No better investment could be opened.

Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, send us Principles of Chemistry, *embracing the most recent discoveries in the science and the outline of its application to agriculture and the arts. By John A. Porter, M. D., Professor of Organic and Agricultural Chemistry in Yale College.* The work is adapted to the simplest aparatus, and on that account is peculiarly adapted to schools and to the family circle.

We thank Mr. Wm. J. Bromwell, of the State Department, for a copy of his excellent *Statistics of Immigration to the United States.* It gives the detailed returns from year to year as rendered at the Department, and then aggregates them. It has also an introductory chapter on the progress and extent of immigration to the United States prior to 1819, and an appendix containing the Naturalization and Passenger Laws of the United States and the laws of the several States relating to immigrants, paupers, convicts lunatics, etc., etc.

We have marked many portions of this able work for extract, and some valuable tables, but must pospone them to our next issue.

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1856.

PACIFIC RAILROAD EXPLORATIONS BY GOVERNMENT.*

Before the accession of California, the western possessions of the United States were looked upon as a sort of fairy land basking under the influences of a most delightful climate, and enriched by the choicest gifs of Nature. Gigantic herds of buffaloes, and troops of wild horses of comely proportions and unsurpassed fleetness, roaming at large over pastures whose verdure never paled, were said to meet the eye of the traveller at every turn. Plains of immense extent and unparalleled fatness lay at his feet, while ever and anon rich clumps of woodland, and gently flowing rivulets, invited him to shelter and repose. Farther on these became interspersed with hills and ravines, highly picturesque in effect, terminated in the remote distance by the snow-clad elevations of the Rocky Mountains, which were again succeeded by gentle slopes of arable land, whose western limits were washed by the waves of the Pacific.

Such were the descriptions brought back by the Santa Fe traders who made their annual commercial pilgrimages from the western confines of Missouri, to New Mexico, and by the more adventurous travellers who, from love of novelty or fondness for a roving life, left behind them the haunts of men to roam at pleasure over these unreclaimed and uncultivated regions. The individuals composing these expeditions were the very last to furnish sober and reliable accounts of the country they had recently seen. The spirit of daring adventure or recklessness which induced them to undertake the journey, or at least accompanied them on it, the heightened glow of youthful imaginations, and, more than all, the entire transition from the usual current of their ordinary lives at

* From North American Review.

home, seemed to gild with unreal lustre every object they beheld, and to enhance the pleasure of every recollection. To the hunters and trappers who accompanied these expeditions as guides, this life in the wilderness was scarcely less a second nature than a holiday. All their exploits had been here performed, and if it bore witness to their privation and peril, it testified no less of their deeds of courage and daring. They were really attached to it, and never so happy as when sitting over the camp-fire, at the conclusion of the day's journey, narrating to willing ears the part which they had personally enacted in the romance of border-life, doubtless in most instances highly colored by the vividness of their own fancies. What more natural than that the descriptions of a country obtained from such sources should be tinged with the rich hues imparted by the autumn sunset to a distant landscape?

The recent exploring expeditions, sent out under the auspices of the government, have enriched us with a more accurate knowledge of this country, and unfortunately, perhaps, have dispelled many illusions hitherto entertained respecting it. The vast plains indeed exist, but in many instances the salubrity of their climate and the fertility of their soil are more than called into question. Herds of buffaloes are yet encoun tered, but they are frequently seen scouring an arid waste for miles, amid dense clouds of dust, in search of a short buffalo-grass. Clumps of woodland and running streams there are, but the traveller must look long and well, and man himself to undergo severe fatigue, before he leaves the grateful protection or refreshment of one for the shelter of the next. The immense chain of mountains which divides the waters of the valley of the Mississippi from those of the Pacific, and which appears so beautiful and picturesque in the distance, is found, on a near approach, to be both grand and dangerous. With a base stretching for hundreds of miles, and peaks whose lofty summits are wreathed in the snows of eternal winter, the traveller who has hitherto endured fatigue and privation has now to encounter in crossing it perils of no ordinary character, and such as might well appall a strong arm and a firm will.

The plain to which we have alluded as intervening between the Rocky Mountains and the borders of the Western States is, strictly speaking, a broad plateau rising from east to west by a pretty regular ascent to 5,200, and in some places to 10,000 feet, varying according to the point of approach. It recedes from this altitude towards the Pacific, not by a regular descent, as on the Mississippi slope, but by a series of basins from 1,000 to 3,000 feet below one another, and interspersed by mountain ranges, pursuing different directions. From this crest, which divides the country between the Mississippi and

the Pacific into two unequal portions, the loftier peaks of the Rocky Mountains rise, oftentimes abruptly, to an enormous height.

From the western border of Missouri and Arkansas, this plateau presents the same features recognizable within their limits, for a distance of from two to four hundred miles. Afterwards its character very materially changes. The entire plain, for six hundred miles, is a gentle, undulating prairie, rising towards the Rocky Mountains. The soil, however, which for two or three hundred miles has the same rich and fertile appearence with that within the States, gradually becomes sandy, dry, and less fertile. The long, waving grass of the east is supplanted by short, thick tufts, known as buffalo-grass; clumps of timber are met with at rarer intervals, water becomes scarce, and the soil, composed of hard clay, intermixed with sand, with but an inch or two of vegetable mould, is seldom moistened by refreshing showers. As the plain approaches the mountains, the traces of vegetation become still more rare, timber almost entirely disappears, the buffalo-grass, which has supplanted the richer herbage of the more fruitful land lying contiguous to the settlements, is in its turn succeeded by a growth of wild sage, almost the only plant which flourishes in this sterile region, and water away from the water-courses is so scarce, that it becomes a serious question with the traveller, in setting out upon his day's journey, where he can find the next supply.

These are the chief features presented by the Mississippi slope, and these do not appear to differ materially in any latitude in which they have been examined, but stretch with tolerable regularity from Mexico on the south to the limits of the territory of the United States on the north. It consists, in fine, of a belt of extremely fertile land of from two to three hundred miles in width, succeeded by nearly double that width of what may not inaptly be termed a desert, possessing neither the means of inviting, nor the power of sustaining, any considerable population. Occasionally fertile spots, watered by streams, or hidden in secluded valleys, burst upon the eye of the traveller, deriving an additional beauty from the universal sterility which surrounds them. These, however, form too inconsiderable a portion to enter into an estimate of the general character of the country.

On entering the mountain region which succeeds the Mississippi slope, the scene is changed. The country is broken and uneven, it rises with greater rapidity, and valleys covered with a luxuriant growth of grass are here and there interspersed among the uneven surfaces. These valleys are usually small, but are sometimes found of considerable extent, and of

a very variable character, as to fertility. Indeed, like the plateau which we have just described, this mountain-region may be classed as one of extreme sterility, composed, in some instances, of sandstone, upheaved, broken, and rent asunder in every direction, forming chasms and deep ravines, which occasionally become the beds of streams, and in others of trap, porphyry, and basalt, the latter frequently rising in the form of huge turrets and pinnacles to an enormous height. Ever and anon the traveller is both suprised and delighted to find in his rugged and toilsome pathway a lake studded with small islands, and encompassed upon every side by tall precipices, presenting a scene of the wildest and most picturesque beauty. These lakes are of such frequent occurrence, that they have been found by every exploring party which has crossed the mountains, and are always spoken of in their notes with the utmost enthusiasm. Such scenes of intramural beauty, or even the more magnificent and extended views the traveller is occasionally enabled to obtain from commanding points, furnish but slight remunerations for the daily toil he is obliged to undergo in threading these rugged mountain passes, or in traversing the equally inhospitable plains which lie enclosed within them.

Beginning at the elevated latitude of 49°, the first of these great plains is that enclosed between the Cœur d'Alene and Bitter Root spurs of the Rocky mountains on the east, and the Cascade mountains upon the west, known as the great plain of the Columbia. This is a table-land whose width is about two hundred miles, and whose surface, with rare exceptions, is entirely destitute of trees. The soil, a part of which lies upon the trap formation, is rocky, sandy, and sterile. Save those parts which lie in immediate contiguity with the mountains, it is entirely uncultivated. Even in those localities so circumstanced as to be enriched by the *débris* of the mountains, and irrigated by the streams which flow from them after occasional showers, it is more than questionable whether the capacity for agriculture is not limited to a mere growth of grass.

Passing southward to latitude 42°, we enter the great basin of Salt Lake, extending from the Rocky mountains on the east to the Sierra Nevada on the west, a distance of more than five hundred miles. The whole of this vast territory may be described as offering but few inducements to the emigrant, either in climate or in adaptation to agricultural pursuits. It is estimated that not more than one-tenth of its whole extent is susceptible of cultivation, and this is almost entirely in the occupancy of the Mormons. With this reservation, the whole basin is so exceedingly sterile, that it is either wholly bare of vegetation, or scantily covered with wild sage.

Southeast from the basin just described, and separated from it by the Wahsatch range of mountains, is another even more sterile, reaching to the Sierra San Juan. This is a dreary desert almost entirely overlaid by sand, and, with the exception of a few isolated spots, utterly unsuited for the abode of man. The general appearance of the surface, where it is not broken, rocky, or mountainous, is dry and light, like an ash-heap in friability, and entirely denuded of vegetation, except that a little bunch-grass is found scattered over the hills, and sometimes the streams are bordered by a growth of wild sage. The soil in this valley, as well as in those we have already described, is strongly impregnated with an alkali which is in the highest degree destructive to vegetation; and yet, by a strange anomaly, the party who traversed it under the command of Lieutenant Beckwith, found in their marches small spots of pasture-ground surpassing any they had seen in the mountain regions.

Following the course of the Colorado river, which pursues a southwesterly direction, one enters the Colorado desert. This extends from the base of Mount San Bernardino to the Gulf of California, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles. Its width from east to west is variable, but is in some places seventy miles. Of the general character of this desert, Professor Blake remarks: —

"Before I reached the surface of the desert, I had been accustomed to regard it as a vast plain of gravel and sand, and supposed that the latter was so abundant and deep as to impede the progress of animals and wagons. This, I believe, corresponds with the general impression regarding the desert. Instead, however, of the whole plain being composed of loose and sandy materials, we have already seen, by the description previously given, that its basis is a compact blue clay, that, in many cases, has a smooth, floor-like surface, so hard that the passing of mules and wagons scarcely leaves tracks upon it. This clay is alluvial, and forms the delta of the Colorado. It extends northwardly from the head of the Gulf of California as far as the base of the mountain of San Bernardino. The evidence which this alluvial formation affords of the geologically recent submergence of the desert will be subsequently considered.

"There are extensive portions of the desert-surface that are paved with drift-bowlders and fine gravel and pebbles. These materials are principally confined to the slopes from the mountains bordering the desert, and to the upper plain, lying to the northward of the emigrant road. This gravelly surface is not loose and porous, but appears to be impacted and condensed, so that it makes a good road for wagons."—*Preliminary Geological Report*, p. 42.

The foregoing brief topographical description embraces within its scope the greater part of the territory lying between the States and the Pacific. With the exception of a few limited tracts of fertile land, it is shown to consist of mountain precipices and barren plains, unsuited alike to agricultural pursuits and to dense occupation. Through a country at present uninhabited, and thus restricted in its capacity to sustain a population, it is proposed to construct a railway which shall

connect the waters of the Pacific with those of the Atlantic. It is not too much to say, that, even in our age of bold enterprises, this project is the boldest, its aims are the most comprehensive, and the means required for its completion the most gigantic, of any yet contemplated.

While the government explorations, on the one hand, have sadly disappointed us as to the character and agricultural value of our Western possessions, they have, on the other, clearly demonstrated the feasibility of constructing a railroad across the ranges of mountains which intervene between the Mississippi river and the Pacific, with no more serious obstacles than were encountered, and successfully overcome, in the construction of similar works across the Alleghany mountains.

These explorations embrace five distinct routes, and cover a section of country extending from the 32d to the 49th parallels of north latitude. Governor Stevens was intrusted with the examination of the most northerly route, running from St. Paul to Vancouver, near the 47th and 49th parallels. He was peculiarly fitted for this duty. Prior to his appointment to the governorship of Washington Territory, he had, as assistant to the chief of the Coast Survey, the entire administrative charge of this complex corps; and it is no mean praise to say, that his methodical arrangement and admirable discipline were so complete, as to insure the greatest amount of uniformity in their labors, and to call forth from his superior the highest encomiums in that important department of philosophical and practical research. He was known to possess high intellectual attainments, excellent powers of observation, and an admirable faculty for discipline. Much, therefore, was expected of him, and, as a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the general features of a new and imperfectly explored section of country, his ponderous volume of six hundred pages has not disappointed the public expectation; but it has signally failed to point out inducements sufficiently weighty to cause the route reconnoitred by him to be seriously considered for one moment. This result, however, is due to the character of the country rather than to the party who took cognizance of it, who, in all departments of inquiry, exercised a zeal worthy of high commendation. It is true, that, in minuteness and exact observation, the joint labors reported in this volume fall far short of the admirable observations made under the superintendence of M. Nicolet. In instituting a comparison between the labors of Stevens and Nicolet, it must, however, be remembered, that those of the former were, from their very nature, hurried and desultory, embraced a wider field of observation, and were more limited in time, than those of the latter. The route explored by Governor Stevens is one whose geographical position would have

precluded its adoption except in the absence of other practicable routes. Apart from its inherent difficulties, the cost of construction, high northern latitude, cold climate, and inhospitable territory, its termination on the Pacific is so far removed from the centre of trade upon that ocean, as to constitute not only a serious, but an insurmountable, objection to its adoption.

The next route in geographical order is that pursuing a line near the 41st and 42d parallels of north latitude, and which, like all the routes except the one already noticed, it is proposed to terminate at San Francisco. The portion of country lying between the Missouri river and Fort Bridger has never been explored with special reference to a railroad. The information we possess of this portion of the route is derived from the reports of Colonel Fremont and Captain Stansbury. Lieutenant Beckwith, who was charged with the duty of making the explorations between Fort Bridger and the Pacific, conducted his labors with judgment and zeal, and terminated them with satisfactory results. This route possesses many advantages, and its examination somewhat in detail may not be out of place.

Two different starting-points are proposed, one at Council Bluffs on the Missouri river, in latitude 40°, the other at Westport, which is situated at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, in latitude 39°. The more northerly starting-point would, if a continuous railroad were contemplated, connect with a line terminating at Chicago. The more southerly would follow the course of the Missouri eastward to St. Louis. Pursuing a westerly direction from either of these starting-points, the surveys would connect on the Platte river near Fort Kearney, in longitude 99°. From this point, the route would ascend the Platte and pass through the Black Hills, or the eastern chain of the Rocky Mountains, either by the North Fork of the Platte and its tributary, the Sweet-Water, or the South Fork of the Platte. Both of these contemplated surveys would again meet at Fort Bridger, and thence follow the line indicated by Lieutenant Beckwith, by the Great Salt Lake, the valley of the Humboldt river and Fort Reading, to San Francisco.

The agricultural character of this route has, for the most part, been anticipated in the general statement already given. One word in relation to its geological character. Westward from the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri, the prevailing rock for three hundred miles is limestone, often rich in organic remains. The limestone formation in the neighborhood of Westport is blue and hard. This is followed by a limestone of a soft character and yellow color, and this again by a gray, hard sub-crystalline limestone. In longitude 100°, and near

the junction of the Republican Fork with the Kansas, a range of low hills is found (also of limestone,) which appear to have been the limits of a former bed of water, most probably an ancient lake of considerable extent. The lines which mark the banks of this lake do not always conform to the curvatures of the hills, which extend as far south as the North Fork of the Red river, and perhaps still farther. The gravelly and sterile soil which succeeds the fertile land of the limestone formation is imposed upon a sandstone abounding in organic remains, which shows itself at numerous points where creeks and rivers have cut their channels through it. Beneath the sandstone, is a hard, fine-grained rock of a yellow color, which, like the sandstone, is often found disintegrated by atmospheric agency.

The first cascades on entering the monntain region fall over a ridge of granite. The principal rock, however, is a fine-grained sandstone, firmer than that of the plain, and white. Plutonic action has rent this asunder, scattered its huge masses in all directions, and upheaved the great body of it nearly to a vertical direction. At the base of the higher mountains, drifts of quartz and porphyry occur. The peculiar character of the more lofty mountain-peaks is imparted to them by trachytic porphyry. This porphyry is of a dark gray color, interspersed at the base of the mountains, with crystals of felspar and black mica. Some of the specimens collected by the expedition are very beautiful, and contain crystals of felspar, from one to two-tenths of an inch in size. As the mountain range is penetrated still farther, the porphyry continues, but the crystals of felspar become more rare, and the mica seems to be transformed into tourmaline. Granite, gneiss, sandstone, and blue limestone also present themselves, not regularly but often in confused masses, as if torn from their original connections by intense Plutonic agency, forming a chaotic mass, always rugged and wild in appearance, and sometimes affording views of peculiar grandeur.

The entrance into some of the valleys, whose sides are of the true trap formation, is beautiful in the extreme. As it presents itself in these situations, the trap is usually abrupt, steep, and frequently vertical. Portions of the least exposed sides are covered with vegetation, which presents a charming contrast to the rugged walls, of red trap porphyry, which not unfrequently rise in majestic grandeur to the heighth of three or four thousand feet. Immediately west of the valley of the Great Salt Lake, the mountains consist of a limestone of the coal formation. Above this, a conglomerate furnishes the base upon which rest irregular peaks of porphyry and granite. In a westerly direction, this limestone not unfrequently presents itself, and in the Humboldt mountains it constitutes one

of the main features of the chain, showing itself on the summits of the highest peaks in all those irregular and fantastic shapes which, when exposed in lofty elevations to a warfare with the elements, it is known to assume.

After crossing the Humboldt mountains, granite, sienite, and quartz constitute the principal rocks; but the closer the approach to the Sierra Nevada, the more do the volcanic rocks take the place of others, until at last they prevail almost exclusively. One of the most remarkable rocks found in the vicinity of the Humboldt mountains consists of a mixture of agate, chalcedony, and jasper, fused together by volcanic action. This occurs in abundance, in a gorge named by Dr. Schiel, from the circumstance of its presence, Agate Cañon. This rock possesses both beauty and hardness. It is susceptible of a high degree of polish, and under such circumstances reveals rich and variegated tints, admirably adapting it to the purposes of the lapidary. It is highly probable that it may yet subserve some useful, or at least ornamental purpose in the arts.

The formation of the Sierra Nevada is almost entirely composed of rocks of the newer series, as basalt, phonolite, and trachyte. The latter occurs in greatest abundance, and, with its associates, entirely displaces the granite, gneiss, and even the sandstone which we have traced from our first entrance into the mountains up to this point, although farther south this chain is rich in those formations. On every side, evidences of volcanic action are met with, which give not only character to the rock, but form and peculiarity to the mountain peaks.

"The highly interesting scenery around the so-called 'Black Butte,' bears, of all the parts of the Sierra Nevada we passed over, most strikingly the character of a volcanic country. Surrounded by elevated peaks and high cliffs, and quite isolated, stands a mountain, from eight hundred to a thousand feet high, of conical shape, and formed of black lava, apparently a monument of the latest disturbing forces in these regions. The lava is in some degree decomposed at the surface, and the butte, as well as the soil around, is covered with volcanic sand, and blocks or small pieces of that lava. In the cliffs on the west side of the butte, the lava passes gradually into trachyte. The summit of this mountain butte is rounded, and no opening in it is perceptible from below."—*Schiel's Report*, p. 131.

This geological sketch of the country traversed by the middle railway route will serve the two-fold purpose of informing the reader what particular strata occur on the line and may be made subservient to railway construction, and of enabling him without further detail, to arrive at tolerably correct conclusions as to the mineral character of the country north and south of this section. It is true that each district of slope or mountain is stamped by its own peculiarities, requiring separate examination and description for accurate detail; but

notwithstanding this diversity of structure in particular localities, the main features of the whole country will be found to bear so marked an indentity as to render the deductions made from such a vast and comprehensive generalization as is here attempted somewhat reliable, at least sufficiently so for a cursory view. The duty of making a general geological survey of the whole country lying between the Mississippi river and the Pacific, has been assigned to Professor Blake, who has already distinguished himself by his geological observations on the great desert and the surrounding mountain country. The field is both rich and comprehensive, and with the zeal which has hitherto characterized his labors, we have reason to hope that he may add largely to his present reputation and to geological science.

In addition to the geographical notice already given, it may be proper to state, that, after passing the 99th meridian, the only extensive body of cultivable land on the whole route is that embraced in the Great Basin, and in the possession of the Mormons. The entire area of soil susceptible of cultivation is one thousand one hundred and eight square miles. About one-tenth of this can be cultivated either without irrigation or with unexpensive works; the remainder would require costly works to develop it. The Mormons have congregated in these rocky fastnesses to the number of twenty-seven thousand, and have appropriated to themselves every acre of arable land in the whole basin. It is hardly to be supposed that, with the peculiar views entertained by them in regard to the possession of territory, which rendered them so unpleasant neighbors in Illinois and Missouri, they would quietly submit to any inroads on their territorial rights. Were this region capable of sustaining a large population, a curious problem in political economy would soon need to be solved. As it is, there is every probability of their being left in undisturbed possession of their present home, until such time as they determine this question for themselves.

The distance by this route from Council Bluffs to Benicia, the western terminus near San Francisco, is 2,032 miles, its sum of ascents and descents 29,120 feet, and its estimated cost $116,095,000. From Council Bluffs or Fort Leavenworth to the entrance into the Black Hills, a distance of about 600 miles, the ascent would average about 40 feet to the mile, and the route would not vary materially from any of the others between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains. This part of the route may be considered as possessing great advantages for the construction of a railroad. Its chief disadvantage consists in the inadequate supply of timber along the whole line, and the almost entire absence of it in the desolate region west

of longitude 99°. After entering the Black Hills, this route has peculiarities and difficulties of its own. From the first gorge in these mountains until the summit of the Pass is attained, a distance of 291 miles, the work resembles that of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in its passage through the Alleghanies, and would be both difficult and expensive. From the Pass to Fort Bridger, the work would be somewhat less expensive, yet similar in character. The elevation at Fort Bridger is 7,490 feet. The distance from Council Bluffs is 942 miles; from Fort Leavenworth, 1,072 miles.

From Fort Bridger the route ascends the water-shed between the waters of Green river and those of the Great Salt Lake, with grades of from 40 to 60 feet per mile, and, after following the White Clay creek to its junction with Weber river, proceeds with this latter stream through a wild and precipitous gorge in the Wahsatch mountains, in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. This gorge, which is extremely narrow and rugged, furnishes one of the chief obstacles to the construction of a railroad, but the difficulties, although great, are not insurmountable.

The route from this point to the Humboldt mountains, a distance of 600 miles, lies across the Great Salt Lake valley, and may be easily pursued. The Humboldt mountains are entered by a pass, which extends nine miles, and opens upon the Humboldt river. The steepest grade in this pass is 89 feet to the mile, for eight miles. A descent is made thence into the valley of the Humboldt river. This stream is followed for 190 miles, and is then left to pursue a line to Madelin Pass in the Sierra Nevada chain, a distance of 119 miles. From this Pass the plateau of the Sierra Nevada, a plain about 40 miles from east to west, covered with isolated peaks and irregular ridges, and about 5,200 feet above the level of the sea, is reached. After crossing this plain another descent is made into the valley watered by the Sacramento river, whose course is followed, between the Sierra Nevada and the Coast mountains, to Benicia, the terminus of this road.

So far as mere location is concerned, this route possesses advantages far above all others. The possibility of constructing a railroad 2,000 miles in length, across a mountainous country torn asunder and upheaved by volcanic agency, bristling with lofty summits, and cut up by deep and apparently impassable chasms, without a single tunnel or a grade above 100 feet in the mile, seems scarcely credible. Yet such is the result of Lieutenant Beckwith's explorations, a result in which those who know him best repose entire confidence.

From the description already given of the agricultural capabilities of this route, it may readily be imagined that timber

is extremely rare, and difficult of attainment. Fuel for the use of the working parties may possibly be procured in most places along the line. Timber for cross-ties and lumber is found only at intervals from two to seven hundred miles apart. No reliance whatever can be placed on fuel for the use of locomotives at any part of the route. Indeed, the propriety of planting young forests for future consumption is a matter which has gravely entered into the consideration of those whose attention has been called to the subject.

The route near the 38th and 39th parallels of latitude, which is wholly impracticable, was prosecuted from the mouth of the Kansas to Sevier river in the Great Basin, where the explorations were suddenly terminated by the murder of Captain Gunnison and several of his associates by the Indians, toward whom he had manifested great kindness, and with whom he supposed himself on the best of terms. Captain Gunnison, with Messrs. R. H. Kern, F. Creutzfeldt, William Potter, and John Bellows, and an escort of a corporal and six men, left the camp for the purpose of exploring the vicinity of Sevier Lake, thought to be some 18 miles distant. On the morning of the following day, the corporal of the escort came reeling into the camp, weak and exhausted, scarcely able to communicate, except in a few broken sentences, the sad news that Captain Gunnison and his party had been surprised by the Indians in their camp, and that those who were unable to escape were all butchered.

The details of this sad catastrophe are given in the words of Lieutenant Beckwith, his second in command.

"Captain Gunnison had encamped early in the afternoon, while the wind and storm were yet fresh, and doubtless feeling the security which men come to indulge after passing long periods of time surrounded by savages without actually encountering them. The abundant grass and fuel of a little nook in the river-bottom, sheltered by the high second bank of the river on one side, and thick willows, distant scarcely thirty yards, on two of the others, with the river in front, offering a tempting place of comfort and utility, which was perhaps accepted without even a thought of danger. It was known to the party that a band of Indians was near them, for we had seen their fires daily since entering the valley; but an unusual feeling of security against them was felt, as Captain Gunnison had learned that a recent quarrel, resulting in several deaths, which they had had with the emigrants, had terminated, and that, notwithstanding this difficulty, they had remained at peace with the neighboring settlers, which had been confirmed and guaranteed for the future in a 'talk' held with some of the Indians of this band, by an agent of the Governor of the Territory, during our stay near Fillmore. This information, Captain Gunnison told me before leaving, relieved him of any apprehension he might otherwise have felt regarding this band, and which was the reason for having asked for so small an escort to accompany him, which his guide, an experienced citizen of the Territory, deemed sufficient.

"The usual precaution of a camp guard had been taken, each of the party (including the commander) in turn having performed that duty during the night. At the break of day all arose, and at once engaged in the usual duties of a camp preparatory to an early start, to reach that day the most distant point of ex-

ploration for the present season. The sun had not yet risen, most of the party being at breakfast, when the surrounding quietness and silence of this vast plain was broken by the discharge of a volley of rifles and a shower of arrows through that devoted camp, mingled with the savage yells of a large band of Pah-Utah Indians, almost in the midst of the camp; for, under cover of the thick bushes, they had approached undiscovered to within twenty-five yards of the camp-fires. The surprise was complete. At the first discharge, the call to 'seize your arms' had little effect. All was confusion. Captain Gunnison, stepping from his tent, called to his savage murderers that he was their friend; but this had no effect. They rushed into camp, and only those escaped who succeeded in mounting on horseback, and even then they were pursued for many miles. The horse of one fell near camp, tumbling his rider under a bush, where he lay for six or seven hours, while the Indians were passing him on every side, until finally he could no longer hear them near him or in the camp, when he left, and was met soon afterwards by Captain Morris' party, which reached the fatal spot just before night. Two Indians were seen near camp by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Potter, brother of the guide, but they were not able to come up with them before darkness enabled them to escape. The bodies of the slain were not all found at dark, and hope still lingered, as a bright fire was built to assure any survivor of safety. But the long weary night, rendered hideous by the howling of wolves, wore away, as this little band of armed men, barely larger than that which had already been sacrificed, lay near the fatal spot, and day dawned only to discover the mutilated remains of their recent comrades, none of them being scalped—a barbarity which some of the tribes on this part of the continent seldom indulge. Some of their arms were, however, cut off at the elbow, and their entrails cut open; and, the wolves having had access to them during the day and to those exposed during the night, their bodies were in such a condition that it was not deemed possible to bring them away—not even that of Captain Gunnison, who had fallen pierced with fifteen arrows."—*Beckwith's Report*, p. 82.

The route near the 35th parallel, explored by Lieutenant Whipple, is found to be quite practicable. The reports of this officer and his associates, which are so brief as to be embraced in a volume of forty-three pages, show that the same advantages are found, and the same difficulties met with, as have been delineated in the description of the route near the 41st parallel. The steepest grade upon this route is 100 feet to the mile; many occur of from 40 to 70 feet, and one tunnel three and a half miles in length is required. Timber is scarce, and is met with at intervals of from 100 to 500 miles. The country, after passing the 99th meridian, is generally sterile, and unsuited for dense population at any point. It is at present for the most part uninhabited, and from all appearances is likely to continue for ages an unreclaimed, and in many parts a desert waste. The estimated cost of the work and appointments on this route is $169,000,000.

The last route to be noticed is that near the 32d parallel of north latitude. The examination of different parts of this route was confided to several different parties. That portion of it from Preston on the Red river to the Rio Grande was assigned to Captain Pope; from the Rio Grande to the Pimas villages on the Gila, to Lieutenant Parke; from the Pimas villages, along the Gila to its mouth, to Major Emory; and from the mouth of the Gila to San Francisco, to Lieutenant

Williamson. All of these gentlemen belong to the corps of Topographical Engineers, and great confidence is placed in their respective reports by the chief of the War Department. Indeed, with the exception of the extreme northern route, examined by Governor Stevens, the explorations on this seem to have been conducted with greater care and minuteness than on any of the others.

That portion of the route examined by Captain Pope, from Red river to the Rio Grande, a distance of 646 miles, is naturally divided into three distinct belts. The first belt, from the Red river to the Staked Plain, 352 miles, is described by him as one of great fertility. The Staked Plain, which constitutes the second belt, is 125 miles wide, and has an elevation of 4,500 feet. It is a barren plain, at certain seasons entirely destitute of water and vegetation, and without trees. Between this plain and the Rio Grande, 163 miles, the country is divided by ridges of mountains into three valleys, or rather plains; for the mountains in this section of the country are not succeeded, as is usual, by corresponding valleys. These table-lands, although destitute of wood and water, are covered by a rich growth of luxuriant grass, which adapts them for pasturage. It is questionable whether any part can be relied on for cultivation.

"The space between the eastern base of the Staked Plain and the Red River, at the parallel of 34°, is occupied by that portion of Northern Texas drained by the tributaries of the Colorado, the Brazos, the Trinity, and the Red Rivers. With rapidly increasing advantages as you proceed eastward from the Llano Estacado, this region is well timbered, well watered, and possessed of a soil of extreme fertility, capable of sustaining a dense population. The entire country is so gently undulating in its surface, and presents such an abundant and well distributed supply of wood and water, that it can be traversed in any direction with trains of wagons, and is of so genial a climate that little choice of the seasons is considered in undertaking an expedition through it. A great portion of the timber of the region intersected by the Colorado and its tributaries along this route is the mezquite, which, about thirty feet in height, and from six to ten inches in diameter, divides about equally with the prairie land this entire district of country. The Brazos and its tributaries are better supplied with oak timber of a larger size; the country is more undulating, and the water more abundant. Immense coal-beds, of good quality, crop out along the valley of the river, and every natural advantage of soil and climate is offered to the emigrant. A military post (Fort Belknap) has been established upon this stream, near the 33d parallel. But by far the richest and most beautiful district of country I have ever seen, in Texas or elsewhere, is that watered by the Trinity and its tributaries. Occupying east and west a belt of one hundred miles in width, with about equal quantities of prairie and timber intersected by numerous clear, fresh streams and countless springs, with a gently undulating surface of prairie and oak openings, it presents the most charming views, as of a country in the highest state of cultivation; and you are startled at the summit of each swell of the prairie with a prospect of groves, parks, and forests, with intervening plains of luxuriant grass, over which the eye in vain wanders in search of the white village or the stately house, which seem alone wanting to the scene.

"The delusion was so perfect, and the recurrence of these charming views so constant, that every swell of the ground elicited from the party renewed expressions of surprise and admiration.

"It may seem strange that a region suggestive of such florid description should still remain so nearly uninhabited; but it must be remembered that this part of Texas is yet but partially explored, that it is far from the markets, and that it is still infested by bands of hostile Indians. A full knowledge of its startling beauty, and of its amazing fertility, and the construction of facilities of communication with a market, will soon convert this charming region into a reality, of which nature has exhibited so beautiful a presentment.

"Over a very gentle dividing ridge we descended upon the tributaries of the Red River, and a great increase in quantity and size of timber was immediately apparent. At least four-fifths of the country drained by the tributaries of Red River are covered with timber, and of a size and quality to be favorably compared with any timbered region on this continent.

"The immediate valley of Red River is from two to five miles in width, without prairie in its whole extent in the neighborhood of Preston, covered with large timber of every description, and possessed of a soil of amazing fertility. At some points the surface is covered with a white or red sand, about three inches in depth, below which is a fat dark, vegetable mould, from three to six feet thick, and of the most astonishing richness.

"The valley is being rapidly settled by cotton planters from Tennessee and Mississippi; and although the immediate bottom lands along the river are exceedingly difficult of settlement and culture, from the immense size and quantity of the timber, they are nevertheless preferred to the prairie lands in the vicinity, in consequence of the exceeding fertility of the soil. The river, at the 34th parallel, is about eight hundred yards wide, and is susceptible of steamboat navigation for five or six months of the year.

"Proceeding from this point to the eastward, over a country well watered, well timbered, and of great fertility, and inhabited by whites and partially civilized Indians, who cultivate the soil, we reach at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, the western frontier of Arkansas.

"Of the seven hundred and eighty miles of distance from the western line of Arkansas to the valley of the Rio Grande, at El Paso, nearly five hundred miles traverse a fertile, well watered, and abundantly timbered region; and of the remaining two hundred and eighty, one hundred and sixty are through a country which although of little agricultural value, except in the immediate valley of the Pecos, is nevertheless admirably adapted to the raising of stock, and offers every desirable facility for travel, at any season of the year."—*Pope's Report*, pp. 15, 16.

That part of the route examined by Lieutenant Parke, between the waters of the Rio Grande, which find their way into the Gulf of Mexico, and those of the Rio Gila, which flow into the Gulf of California, is an elevated and barren plain, whose continuity of surface is here and there interrupted by rugged, isolated mountains, having apparently no connection with any other chain or system. These mountains, like the plain from which they spring, are bleak and bare, and are denominated, from their isolated position, the Lost Mountains. To the eye the plain appears level, but the profile shows that it has in fact an undulating surface, constantly rising and falling so as to form a series of basins, seven in number. The most elevated point of these basins is generally 400 feet above the most depressed point, although in one instance an altitude of 850 feet is reached, and in another 1,200 feet. The mean elevation of this plain above the level of the sea is 4,700 feet; the highest point, which is in the Chiricahui range is 5,180 feet.

The survey by Lieutenant Williamson, from the Rio Gila to the Pacific, indicates the pass of San Gorgonio as that best adapted for the purpose, and San Diego and San Pedro as the points on the Pacific most easily reached. San Diego is the more southerly point, and has the best harbor; that of San Pedro being an open roadstead, and exposed to the full force of the northwest winds, which on the Pacific are the most violent. From this point it is possible, and entirely practicable, to construct a road to San Francisco. Explorations and estimates were made by Lieutenant Williamson for such an extension.

The agricultural character of the route from the Rio Grande to San Diego may be deduced from the following summary by Lieutenant-Colonel Emory.

"The country from the Arkansas to this point, more than twelve hundred miles, in its adaptation to agriculture, has peculiarities which must for ever stamp themselves upon the population which inhabits it. All of North Mexico, embracing New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, and the Californias, as far north as the Sacramento, is, as far as the best information goes, the same in the physical character of its surface, and differs but little in climate or products.

"In no part of this vast tract can the rains of heaven be relied upon, to any extent, for the cultivation of the soil. The earth is destitute of trees, and in great part also of any vegetation whatever.

"A few feeble streams flow in different directions from the great mountains, which in many places traverse this region. These streams are separated, sometimes by plains and sometimes by mountains, without water and without vegetation, and may be called deserts, so far as they perform any useful part in the sustenance of animal life.

"The cultivation of the earth is therefore confined to those narrow strips of land which are within the level of the waters of the streams, and wherever practised in a community with any success, or to any extent, involves a degree of subordination and absolute obedience to a chief, repugnant to the habits of our people.

"The chief who directs the time and the quantity of the precious irrigating water must be implicitly obeyed by the whole community. A departure from his orders, by the waste of water or unjust distribution of it, or neglect to make the proper embankments, may endanger the means of subsistence of many people. He must, therefore, be armed with power to punish promptly and immediately.

"I made many inquiries as to the character of the vast region of country embraced in the triangle formed by the Colorado of the West, the Del Norte, and the Gila; and the information collected will, at some future time, be thrown into notes for the benefit of future explorers, but are not given in this work, as I profess to write only of what I saw.

"From all that I learn, the country does not differ materially in its physical character from New Mexico, except, perhaps, being less denuded of soil and vegetation. The sources of the Salinas, the San Francisco, Azul, San Carlos, and Prieto, tributaries of the Gila, take their rise in it. About their head-waters, and occasionally along their course, are presented sections of land capable of irrigation.

"The whole extent, except on the margin of streams, is said to be destitute of forest-trees. The Apaches, a very numerous race, and the Navajoes, are the chief occupants; but there are many minor bands, who, unlike the Apaches and Navajoes, are not nomadic, but have fixed habitations. Among the most remarkable of these are the Soones, most of whom are said to be *albinos*. The latter cultivate the soil, and live in peace with their more numerous and savage neighbors.

"Departing from the ford of the Colorado in the direction of Sonora, there is a fearful desert to encounter. Alter, a small town, with a Mexican garrison, is the nearest settlement.

"All accounts concur in representing the journey as one of extreme hardship, and even peril. The distance is not exactly known, but it is variously represented at from four to seven days' journey. Persons bound for Sonora from California, who do not mind a circuitous route, should ascend the Gila as far as the Pimos village, and thence penetrate the province by way of Tucson."

In the construction of a railway by either of the routes indicated, the means of procuring a supply of fuel and water for the use of the road when completed becomes a very important inquiry. In the sketch of the country already given, it is pretty clearly demonstrated that on reliance whatever can be placed upon any part for a permanent supply of wood for fuel. Barren and dreary wastes without a sign of vegetation beyond a few stinted bushes, entirely devoid of the presence of a single tree, are encountered upon every route, and form a principal feature in the scenery. The most that can be expected of these is a precarious supply of fuel for those engaged in the construction of the road, the timber for the work being drawn from the mountain-sides, which here and there, in favored locations, present a forest of respectable size, but which are wholly inadequate to furnish the road with any considerable amount of fuel. Besides, when it is considered that these patches of woodland are separated from one another by hundreds of miles, it becomes obvious that the transportation of wood for fuel from station to station, at such remote distances, must increase its cost to an amount so enormous, as to preclude the possibility of its use for locomotive purposes.

Indeed, so well assured are those who have examined the subject, of the impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of wood for fuel, that all calculations of running expenses are based upon the theory that coal will be used for locomotive purposes. This must be procured from Puget's Sound on the Pacific, and from the mines of Missouri and Texas on the Mississippi slope. A deposit of coal is said to exist on Green river, but to what extent is unknown. The rocks in which this deposit is found are such as to give a coal of the tertiary formation. As a general rule, the coal of this period is inferior in quality, and could come into general use only in the absence of a better article. The steamers on the Lake of Geneva, in Switzerland, however, are supplied with this description of coal, and use it in preference to wood. No examination has yet been made of the Green river coal deposit, to determine the thickness of the seams and the quality of coal. The mere fact that a coal deposit exists on that river is of less importance than at the first view may be imagined. In regard to the American coal-fields, it may be assumed that the deposit is not only greatest in quantity, but best in quality, in the Alleghany mountains, and that

as it recedes westward it becomes earthy and in all other respects inferior. The State of Iowa is said to contain twenty-five thousand square miles underlaid by the coal formation, and yet not a single seam in the whole of this vast deposit is known to exist over three and a half feet in thickness, or one which from its quantity and quality is likely to induce capitalists to embark any considerable sum in its development and working as a commercial operation. This single illustration is sufficient to show how little reliance is to be placed on the mere announcement that coal exists on Green river. When it is taken into consideration that one-fifth of the entire working expense of a railroad is chargeable to the fuel account, it may be readily seen under what disadvantages a long line of railroad would be operated, which drew its supply of fuel from sources so remote as largely to enhance its price at either terminus, and which had no intermediate source of supply.

It is possible to procure fuel, at great expense, remote from a railroad, but water cannot be so obtained. It must be found at fixed points, as it is needed along the line of the road, and hence the means of procuring an adequate amount of water becomes even a more important inquiry than that of fuel. This question has not yet been satisfactorily answered. The vast arid wastes over which the road must necessarily find its way, stretch for hundreds of miles without the presence of any considerable stream. Refreshing showers seldom fall in these elevated plains, and mountain streams are rapidly absorbed by the parched earth of the less elevated lands. The streams found in the basins enclosed by ranges of mountains on either side, frequently lose themselves or become subterranean. Soon after emerging from the rocky chasms in which they are collected, they commonly spread themselves over a large surface, and disappear in the broad belts of sand and gravel which they traverse. It sometimes occurs that they reappear after their subsidence into the earth, and alternately are lost and visible for several miles, until completely absorbed. This phenomenon has led Dr. Blake to the conclusion, that a considerable amount of water may be collected by sinking wells. The peculiar position of the strata, most of which have a decided inclination, together with the success met with at San Francisco and in its neighborhood, have inclined him to the opinion, that the necessary amount of water for the uses of the road, in case of the failure of ordinary wells, may be obtained from Artesian wells by boring.

This view of Dr. Blake coincides with that expressed by Dr. Parry, the geologist to the Mexican boundary survey.

"The natural supplies of fresh water for these open wastes are derived from uncertain accumulations of rain-products in small reservoirs, or occasional per-

manent springs, the latter generally occupying situations in close proximity to mountain ranges.

"All these basins not directly connected with the Rio Grande valley receive and absorb the drainage of their respective mountain boundaries, except in the higher elevations, rarely showing running water, unless as the temporary result of local rains.

"The above indications are favorable to the formation of aqueous substrata, which may be reached by sufficiently deep boring, and when located at the lower depressions of these basin areas, the water would necessarily be brought to the surface."

Notwithstanding the opinions above expressed, the whole subject is involved in speculation, and can be satisfactorily determined only by submitting it to the test of actual experiment. A party under the command of Lieutenant Parke is understood to be engaged in making borings on the route surveyed by him, and may be able upon its return to present us with new facts. Whether the water of these desert regions will ever be used for railway purposes or not, the explorations under his charge, and the wells which may be constructed by him, will be of incalculable benefit to those whom fortune or choice may cast as travellers upon these dreary wastes.

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of the railroad, for whose construction these preliminary explorations have been undertaken, there can be no doubt as to the great advantages resulting from the explorations themselves. One of the most important of these is the general knowledge imparted of the vast tract of country subjected to the scrutiny of the various parties sent out under the auspices of the government. It is true that much of the romance which had attached itself to this part of the country in its unexplored state has been dissipated; but in its stead we have an accumulation of facts, which constitute a substantial contribution to our knowledge, and are of much greater importance in determining the course of the hardy pioneer, than any of the ideal descriptions upon which he was previously obliged to depend—descriptions which but too frequently served to lure him on to certain disappointment, and perhaps to ruin.

Our rich possessions west of the 99th meridian have turned out to be worthless, so far as agriculture is concerned. They never can entice a rural population to inhabit them, nor sustain one if so enticed. We may as well acknowledge this and act upon it—legislate upon it. We may as well admit that Kansas and Nebraska, with the exception of the small strip of land upon their eastern borders, are perfect deserts, with a soil whose constituents are of such a nature as for ever to unfit them for the purposes of agriculture, and are not worth an expenditure of angry feeling as to who shall or who shall not inhabit them. We may as well admit that Washington Territory, and Oregon, and Utah, and New Mexico, are, with the

exception of a few limited areas, composed of mountain chains and unfruitful plains; and that, whatever route is selected for a railroad to the Pacific, it must wind the greater part of its length through a country destined to remain forever an uninhabited and dreary waste.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

We referred in our last to the excellent work of Mr. Bromwell, of the State Department, upon this subject, published by Redfield, New York. It should be in the hands of all who would study the subject. We are permitted to extract a few pages and statistics.—Ed.

PROGRESS AND EXTENT OF IMMIGRATION PRIOR TO 1819.

We will first consider very briefly the progress and extent of immigration to the United States of America prior to 1819, the year in which the present official history begins. As, on this point, no authentic information exists, it must be determined by such evidence as statisticians of that period possessed, and by the relations then existing between the United States and the countries from which persons emigrated.

The current of migration commenced its flow from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from Germany through the French and British ports. It was subject to many fluctuations during a part of this time, but continued with considerable uniformity, it is believed, until 1806.

Mr. Samuel Blodgett, a statistician of more than ordinary research and accuracy, wrote in 1806, while every fact in regard to immigration was fresh in the minds of the people, that from "the best records and estimates at present attainable," the immigrants arriving in this country did not average, for the ten years from 1784 to 1794, more than 4,000 per annum.*

During 1794, 10,000 persons were estimated to have arrived in the United States from foreign countries.†

In 1818, Dr. Adam, Seybert, member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, in his exceedingly valuable "Statistical Annals" of the United States, wrote to the following effect:—

"Though we admit that ten thousand foreigners may have arrived in the United States in 1794, we can not allow that they did so, in an equal number, in any preceding or subsequent year, until 1817;" and he assumes that 6,000 persons arrived in the United States from foreign countries in each

* Blodget's Statistical Manual, page 75.

† Cooper's Information respecting America. London, 1795.

year from 1790 to 1810:* to him, and to the authorities he consulted, this average seemed a generous one.

During the ten years from 1806 to 1816, extensive immigration to the United States was precluded by the unfriendly relations at that time existing between Great Britain, France, and the United States.

England maintained the doctrine, and for a while enforced it with success, that "a man, once a subject, was always a subject." This deterred many from emigrating to this country from the British empire. Numbers had previously come for the purpose of entering the American merchant-service, and numbers still might have come which the fear of British impressment frightened from carrying out their design.

Another influence retarded immigration: in 1806, Great Britain issued a decree declaring the coasts of France in a state of blockade. A retaliatory decree was, in November of the same year, issued by France, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade.

To these restrictions on commerce—and, consequently, on the unobstructed passage from Europe—succeeded the British orders in council, and the Milan decree of Napoleon.

In March, 1809, the United States law was passed prohibiting for one year intercourse with Great Britain and France.

In 1810, the Napoleonic decrees were annulled; and the commerce of the United States had, in 1811, fairly commenced with France, but only to have their vessels fall into the hands of the British.

Preparations were now making for active hostilities, and on the 18th of June, 1812, war was formally declared by the United States to exist with Great Britain.

The German emigration sensibly felt this unfavorable condition of affairs, inasmuch as the Germans embarked principally at the ports of Liverpool and Havre; facilities for migrating thence to this country being more numerous, and the expense of the voyage less onerous. Thus, from 1806, was the stream of emigration pent up at its fountain.

In February, 1815, peace was concluded between the United States and Great Britain; and, after several months requisite to restore tranquility and to secure the confidence of those desiring to leave the Old World, the tide resumed its flow,† and with a speed greatly accelerated: as, from authentic information, collected principally at the several customhouses, it ap-

* Seybert's Annals, pp. 28 and 29.

† Even in 1816 emigration was to some extent impeded. An act of the British Parliament allowed vessels to carry from Great Britain and Ireland to the United States only one passenger for every five tons, while it allowed vessels to carry to other foreign countries one passenger for every two tons.

pears that, during the year 1817, not less than 22,240 persons arrived at ports of the United States from foreign countries. This number included American citizens returning from abroad.*

In no year previous to that had one-half so many foreign passengers reached our shores. Many sufferings were incident to a voyage across the Atlantic in a crowded emigrant-vessel; and there were no laws of the United States either limiting the number of persons which a passenger ship or vessel should be entitled to carry, or providing any measures for the health or accommodation of the passengers. The subject seemed to deserve the immediate attention of Congress. In 1818, (March 10,) Louis M'Lane, of Delaware, reported to the House of Representatives a bill "regulating passenger ships and vessels," which was read twice and referred.†

In December of the following session it was called up by Thomas Newton, of Virginia, who explained the necessity of its passage. It was read a third time and passed by the House.

After receiving amendments from both the Senate and House, it was finally passed, and approved March 2, 1819.

In compliance with a requirement of this act, collectors of the customs have reported quarter-yearly to the Secretary of State the number of passengers arriving in their collection-districts by sea from foreign countries; also the sex, age, and occupation, of such passengers, and the country in which they were born. Annual reports, embracing that information, have, in conformity with the same act, been communicated to Congress by the Secretary of State; and, as before indicated, from these reports, chiefly, this history has been compiled.

The following statement exhibits the

Progress and Extent of Immigration to the United States, from September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855.

Period of Years.	Total Number of Passengers arriving.	Of Foreign Birth.
During the 10 years ending Sept. 30, 1829.....	151,636	128,502
" " 10¼ " " Dec. 31, 1839.....	572,716	538,381
" " 9¼ " " Sept. 30, 1849.....	1,479,478	1,427,337
" " 6¼ " " Dec. 31, 1855.....	2,279,007	2,118,404
" " 36¼ " " " " "	4,482,837	4,212,624

The country having the largest emigration is, doubtless, Ireland; for, in addition to the 747,930 persons arriving from the United Kingdom, known to have been born in Ireland, it is safe to assume that, of the 1,348,682 others born, as indefi-

* Seybert, p. 29.

† See Annals of Congress, 1818 and 1819.

nitely stated, in "Great Britain and Ireland," arriving in the United States, 1,000,000 were born in Ireland alone, thus making 1,747,930 as the total Irish emigration.

Next in numerical order comes Germany; England, third; and France, fourth.

The emigration of Chinese to this country was very inconsiderable until 1854, previous to which year the aggregate number known to have arrived was only 88. In that year, however, 13,100 came to the United States; and, in 1855, 3,526; all of whom, with the exception of a single passenger, landed at the port of San Francisco: 15,950 were males, and were designated in the returns of the collector as "Laborers."

As regards passengers from British America, the fact may be deemed worthy of mention, that many of them, especially of those arriving during the last four years, are known to have come with the intention of returning, and not of residing in the United States. The number of such can not, however, be determined.

Finally, to the 4,212,624 passengers of foreign birth arriving in the United States since September 30, 1819, may be added 250,000 arriving before that time, making the total since the close of the revolution 4,462,624.

Comparative Statement.

Countries where born.	Total arrivals.	Countries where born.	Total arrivals.
England	207,492	West Indies	35,317
Ireland	747,930	China	16,714
Scotland	34,559	East Indies	101
Wales	4,782	Persia	7
Great Britain and Ireland	1,348,682	Asia	16
France	188,725	Liberia	14
Spain	11,251	Egypt	4
Portugal	2,049	Morocco	5
Belgium	6,991	Algiers	2
Prussia	35,995	Barbary States	4
Germany	1,206,087	Cape of Good Hope	2
Holland	17,583	Africa	118
Denmark	3,059	Azores	1,288
Norway and Sweden	29,441	Canary Islands	278
Poland	1,318	Madeira Islands	203
Russia	938	Cape Verde Islands	22
Turkey	123	Sandwich Islands	59
Switzerland	31,071	Society Islands	5
Italy	7,185	Australia	20
Greece	108	St. Helena	14
Sicily	338	Isle of France	3
Sardinia	706	South Sea Islands	79
Corsica	9	Not stated	157,537
Malta	116	United States	270,213
Europe	526		
British America	91,699	Total arrivals during the 36¼ years ending December 31, 1855	4,482,837
South America	5,440		
Central America	640		
Mexico	15,969		

STATISTICS AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE PRODUCTION OF IRON.

One of our poets told us that Basil, the Blacksmith, was

> "A mighty man in the village, and honored of all men;
> "*For*, since the birth of time, throughout all ages and nations,
> "Has the craft of the smith been held in repute by the people."

How far this feeling of respect for my calling has weighed with you in honoring me with a request to prepare a paper on iron, I know not; but it is quite certain that from the earliest days there has been a peculiar charm about the business, which has left its traces in the myths of the ancients, and in those mystical legends of the middle ages, that have survived the decay of empires and feudal institutions, and even to this day delight the young at the Christmas fireside.

In one of the earliest treatises on alchemy, we are told how the "Sons of God," who first fell from their high estate through love for "the daughters of men," imparted to their giant offspring the secrets of extracting the metals from the earthy calx; and who of us have forgotten with what intense interest our childhood was absorbed in those wonderful stories of King Solomon, in which this race of genii are represented as toiling, imprisoned in the bowels of great mountains, to produce the metals which enriched the wise king, and enabled him to build the Temple of God "so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard *in* the house while it was in building."

Nor is it strange that to the young or the ignorant, the idea of magical power should attach to those who, penetrating into the depths of the earth, shatter the mighty rocks with explosive power, rivaling the thunderbolts of Jove, and by the combined action of earth and air, and fire and water, reduce from the dull ore the glowing vivid metal, till then

> "In stony fetters fixed and motionless."

It is a perpetual struggle against resisting nature, and the victory is only won by turning her own gigantic powers against herself, so that the ancients called in the aid of Gods to account for the triumph; and for the gift which, as Æschylus has it, "has shown itself a teacher of every art to mortals, and a great resource," made the unhappy Prometheus expiate the offence in fetters on the rude Caucasian rock.

But in our day the interest which attaches to the production of iron rests upon a better appreciation of the difficulties to be surmounted; and upon a full knowledge that iron is the mainspring of modern civilization, Locke has told us that "he who first made known the uses of iron may be truly styled the Father of Arts, and the Author of Plenty;" and in our own day, Hood thus wittily sums up its multifarious applications:—

"The universality of the employment of iron is so manifest, especially in this country, that if any period has deserved the title of the Iron Age, to none can it be so characteristically applied as to the present. The seas are traversed by iron ships; the land travelled over by iron carriages upon iron roads. We have iron engines employed for nearly every mechanical purpose. Water is brought along our streets by iron pipes, and all our thoroughfares illumined by means of gas conveyed to us through a similar channel. Many of our houses have iron floors and iron roofs, whilst the windows are closed with iron shutters. In short, from the gigantic steamer which crosses the Atlantic, to the smallest of ornamental shirt buttons, this metal has become so prevalent, that the country ought to be ticketed, like a laundress' window, with 'Ironing done here.' But the wealth and comfort arising from this state make it equivalent to the much more lauded advantages of the Golden Age."

The hand that penned these characteristic words was scarce cold in the grave before that great temple of industry, reared like a creation of magic, had been opened in the metropolis of the world, to receive the products of every clime, and exhibit the fruits of human ingenuity to admiring thousands. Fond enthusiasts dreamed that the reign of universal and perpetual peace had been inaugurated, and that the material which had been used for dealing out death and destruction was now for evermore consecrated to human progress, and a higher civilization. But scarce had the last notes of the national anthem died in the ears of the heterogeneous mass of hearers who were assembled from all nations and tongues of the earth to witness the magnificent closing of the most magnificent spectacle which mankind has ever seen, when the rude alarm of war burst upon astonished Europe; and all the energy, skill, and genius of the world were called into play to devise new methods of applying iron to the work of destruction. Steamers hurried masses of men and supplies with a speed which throws the achievements of Napoleon into the shade. A railway is constructed from the sea to the beleagured city; the steam-whistle shrieks its wild requiem over the dead and dying as it conveys them by the car load to hospitals, sanctified by the holy and heroic presence of woman. The telegraph carries the swift message of death, from the entrenched camps to the cabinets of ministers, a thousand miles away. The tidings of victory or defeat are heard by a listening world before the great cannons have ceased to roar. For days and weeks together, the mouths of these gigantic monsters vomit forth iron hail, until walls are battered down by the resistless shock of twenty thousand tons of cannon balls; and the stern old Russian, who had stood un-

moved while he lost his thousand men a day, is compelled to retire before what he graphically describes as "the fire of hell." It is the terrible energy with which iron has been employed in this contest, rather than any skill in strategy or diplomacy, which now enables the world to felicitate itself with the prospect of peace after the lapse of two short years, instead of having to endure all the miseries of a struggle protracted for thirty years, as in all former European contests. But my limits on this occasion do not permit to trench on the domain of the moralist, nor even of the man of science. My investigation will have reference solely to the statistics and geography of the production of iron; and if, as I fear, the results be found dry, and lacking in originality, my apology must be found in the name and objects of this Society, and in the consideration, so well stated by another, "that statistics are far from being the barren array of figures ingeniously and laboriously combined into columns and tables, which many persons are apt to suppose them. They constitute rather the ledger of a nation, in which, like the merchant in his books, the citizen can read, at one view, all the results of a year, or a period of years, as compared with other periods, and deduce the profit and loss which has been made in morals, education, wealth, or power."

And first, I shall attempt to give you a succinct account of the growth of the business. Iron was known to the ancients; but being the most difficult of the metals to reduce, it came into use after the other metals were well known. Tubal-Cain is admitted to have been the first manufacturer; but on so small a scale was his business established, that even in the days of Homer, a piece of iron which a single man could throw was offered as the most precious prize at the games in honor of the death of Patrocles.

> "Let him whose might can hurl this bowl, arise:
> Who farthest hurls it, takes it as his prize."

When Porus came from the land of gold and pearls and diamonds to propitiate the conquerer of the world, it is recorded that his most precious gift to Alexander was a piece of Indian iron weighing forty pounds. In the days of Pliny it had come into more general use; and he is equally eloquent in describing its application in the arts of peace, as he is indignant at its perversion to the purposes of war. But it was not until long after the Christian era that its production was aided by any mechanical appliances worthy of the name. It is exceedingly doubtful whether cast-iron, (carburet of iron,) was known until the 13th century after Christ. Previous to this time, iron was made by simply placing the ore and charcoal in layers in a rude oven, and smelting it by a blast forced in by a common bellows, worked by the hand of man.

We are accustomed to regard the crusades purely as an outburst of religious enthusiasm at a time when the civilization of the world afforded no outlet for the pent-up energies of men, and to attribute to them no other practical result than the impoverishment of the nobles, and the consequent liberation of the serfs. But it is probable that the returning crusaders brought back with them the knowledge of the manufacture of cast-iron, thus identifying the birth of modern civilization with the birth-place of that divine religion which has accomplished for the moral elements of our nature what the use of iron has for the practical progress of the race.

The knowledge thus acquired was soon put to use throughout Europe; but it surprises the inquirer to find that in the year 1740, only 116 years ago, the total production of iron in England amounted to not more than 17,350 tons, made by fifty-nine furnaces, giving an annual production of 294 tons to each furnace. At that time I am satisfied that the total production of Europe did not exceed 100,000 tons, of which 60,000 tons were made in Sweden and Russia, and one-half of this was imported into England. The annual consumption of iron in England was, therefore, 15 pounds per head of population, and in Europe did not exceed 2 pounds per head. The destruction of wood, caused by this insignificant product, was so rapid, that the business of making iron was likely to be extinguished, when, as is the universal rule, the evil which was dreaded gave birth to a remedy which imparted new life to the production, and has enabled it to reach its present gigantic proportions. This remedy was the substitution of pit, or *mineral* coal, for charcoal. To Dud Dudley, an Englishman, is due the merit of this discovery, or at least of its practical application; and to him, more than any other man, belongs the title of the "Father of the Iron Trade." But his discovery made little progress for the period of 100 years. In 1750 it came into general use; and in 1760 the first blowing cylinders were erected by Smeaton, at the Carron Iron Works. A single furnace was there made to yield 1,000 tons per annum, or three times as much as the average of charcoal furnaces. This wonderful result agitated the whole industrial world, so that even the poet Burns came to see the grand spectacle; and being refused admission, gave vent to his indignation in these rather indiscriminate lines:—

We cam na here to view your warks,
  In hopes to be mair wise;
But only lest we gang to hell,
  It may be nae surprise.
But when we tirl'd at your door.
  Your porter dought na bear us;
So may, should we to hell's yetts come
  Your billy, Satin, sair us. [A. D., 1797.]

The total production of Great Britain, in 1788, had reached 68,300 tons, making an increase of 50,950 tons in 48 years, *i. e.*, 300 per cent. At this time Watts' great invention of the steam-engine was introduced; and emancipating the iron works from dependence on sites where there was water power, produced so great an increase in the business, that in 1796 the production had reached 125,079 tons, and in 1806, only 10 years later, it had increased to 258,206 tons, each furnace making an average of 1,546 tons per annum; but the average of the best constructed was 2,615 tons per annum, or nine times as great as the charcoal furnaces only 60 years before. At this date, only fifty years ago, I am satisfied that the annual make of the whole world did not exceeed 500,000 tons, one-half of the present annual production the United States. The annual consumption of iron per head in Great Britain had reached 40 pounds, showing conclusively a wonderful progress in the arts of civilization—the consumption having nearly trebled in less than 60 years.

These were the results of the inventions of Dud Dudley and of Watts. But in 1783 and 1784, Henry Cort, also an Englishman, inaugurated a new era in the iron business, by his invention of the process of puddling (*i. e.*, of converting cast-iron into wrought iron in reverberatory furnaces,) and of reducing the rough masses thus obtained into finished bars, by grooved rollers. The history of this great benefactor of his race is an instructive one. Born to a competence, well educated in the science of his day, attracted to the iron business by an enthusiasm which no obstacles could daunt, he devised two improvements, so essential, that it is not too much to say that the iron business could not exist without them—that railroads would be impracticable—that iron ships could not be built—because the wealth of the universe would not be adequate to the production of iron on a scale now rendered essential by the wants of civilized life. He expended $250,000 in putting his invention into practice; he proved its merits; he built works for himself and others, which were eminently successful; he had licensed a production which would inevitably have produced to him one of the largest fortunes which human ingenuity has ever achieved. When his associate, a deputy paymaster in the navy, was proved to be a defaulter to the extent of £27,000, the patents were seized by the British Government; but instead of being prosecuted, were kept tied up with the usual red tape, in the office of some government official, "without the slightest benefit either to the state or the patentee," so that the fruits of a life of honest labor were lost, and Cort was reduced to beggary—a monument of the sad results, on the one hand, of a breach of official trust, and on

the other, of official routine and delay. William Pitt finally accorded to him a pension of £200 per annum, which he lived to enjoy for six years, dying broken-hearted, and the British iron trade generously raised £1,000 for the relief of his widow. And this was the temporal reward of one, the immediate results of whose inventions have been summed up by an abler hand than mine, as follows:

"In 1782, the total quantity of British hammered iron exported did not exceed 427 tons. In 1854, the total quantity of pig iron exported was 293,074 tons; puddled and rolled iron, 883,237 tons; to which, if one-third be added for waste in conversion, the real quantity exported will be 1,177,649 tons—total British iron exported, 1,470,723 tons.

"In 1782, the total make of British hammered bar iron did not amount to 10,000 tons—too inferior in quality for exportation beyond 427 tons. In 1853, the total make of puddled and rolled iron was very little short of 3,000,000 tons, which, at the cost of foreign iron previous to 1783 and 1784, averaging, exclusive of duty, £40 13s. 4d. per ton, would be not less than £92,000,000 sterling; whereas, by puddled and rolled iron, at the average cost not exceeding £10 per ton at the most, it has cost only £30,000,000 sterling, thus saving in one year £62,000,000 sterling, as compared with foreign bar iron; being all made out of materials previously useless, and by British labor. For the last 66 years, including money less paid to foreign countries for bar iron, and more received from them for 8,000,000 tons of British puddled and rolled iron, besides 17,000,000 tons for home consumption, extra profits to the iron manufacturer, £37,000,000 sterling, and profit to the mineral owners at least £12,000,000 sterling, the whole saving to the country is equal to £300,000,000 sterling, besides feeding and clothing four generations of workmen and their families, or more than 600,000 people for sixty-six years. These are the services of Henry Cort."

I have detained you too long from the main subject; but less I could not say, without being treacherous to the memory of a man to whom justice has never been done.*

Since the time of Cort, with the exception of the introduction of the hot blast, in 1829, and of the use of anthracite coal in 1837, of which I shall have occasion hereafter to speak, no material improvement has been made in the modes of making iron, and in 1806 all the processes were in use which now prevail in the best constructed works. The growth of the business was thenceforth very rapid, limited only by the consumption of product.

*I have since learned that a subscription is on foot in England for the benefit of Cort's descendants.

In 1818, the product of Great Britain
was estimated at ..... 300,000 tons.
" 1820, " ..... 400,000 " (Mushet.)
" 1823, " ..... 452,066 " (Official.)
" 1825, " ..... 581,367 "

At which date the yield of each furnace averaged 2,228 tons, being an increase of 45 per cent. in 19 years, chiefly due to improved machinery, larger furnaces, and better blasts.

In 1830, the annual make was 678,417 tons. The use of the hot blast now enabled raw coal to be substituted for coke, by which the consumption of coal was largely reduced, *i. e.*, from 8 tons 1¼ cwt. to 2 tons 13¼ cwt. for making one ton of pig iron in Scotland, to whose ores and coals it was found to be chiefly applicable. As the present make of Scotland is now over 800,000 tons, the annual saving in coal is nearly five millions of tons, or about the quantity mined on the Atlantic slope of the United States. It is worthy of note that Neilson was compelled to enforce his patent by legal process against the combined strength of the trade; and it was only after years of vexatious delay that his patent was affirmed on appeal to the House of Lords, and that he received the reward of his great discovery. It is recorded that the Bairds, the princely proprietors of the Gartsherrie Works, and who, from being day-laborers in a coal mine, have achieved their present position as the makers of over 100,000 tons of pig iron per annum, and as the richest manufacturers in the world, settled Neilson's damages for infringement, by a check on the Bank of England for £150,000 sterling. So marked was the effect of this discovery, that

In 1836, the make amounted to 1,000,000 tons.
" 1839, " " 1,248,781 "
" 1840, " " 1,396,400 "
" 1845, " " 1,512,500 "
official. " 1847, " " 1,999,608 "
" 1852, " " 2,701,000 "
(*Truran.*)" 1854, " " 3,585,906 "

Made by 599 furnaces, giving an average to each of 6,000 tons, being over 2½ times the yield of each furnace in 1825. This incredible product was achieved by the direct labor of 238,000 men, and 2,120 steam-engines, of an aggregate power of 242,000 horses, and the value of the gross product was $125,000,000. If you will pause to consider the infinite variety of uses to which this iron has been applied, for it was all consumed at least six months ago, you may perhaps be able to form some idea of the millions of human beings whose labor it has absorbed, and to whom it has given bread, especially when I tell

you, (I quote the *British Quarterly*,) "that a bar of iron, valued at $5, worked into horse shoes, is worth $10 50; needles, $55; penknife blades, $3,285; shirt buttons, $29,480; balance springs of watches, $250,000;" all of which increase in value is given by the application of human labor.

To make this product, and reduce rather more than half of it to bars, there were dug from the bowels of the earth, and consumed—

12,346,000	tons of	iron ore,
2,450 000	"	" limestone,
20,146,000	"	" coal.
Tons... 44,942,000		

A sum total before which the imagination stands appalled.

I am inclined to believe that the production for 1855 did not materially exceed the figures for 1854. Even the British lion pauses to take breath; but it is rather from the difficulty of providing materials on short notice, than from any unwillingness to supply the world with all the iron which is wanted for its annual consumption. I shall now endeavor to ascertain what that amount is, by succinctly stating the make of other European countries, as nearly as I can ascertain the same.

	Date.	Tons.
England	1855	3,585,906
France	1845—438,900 tons, estimated	650,000
Belgium	1855	255,000
Russia	1849–'51—191,492 estimated	300,000
Sweden	1850–'52—124,169 "	157,000
Norway	1855	22,500
Austria	1847—165,776	200,000
Prussia		400,000
Balance of Germany		200,000
Elba and Italy		72,000
Spain		27,000
Denmark, and balance of Europe		20,000
United States		1,000,000
		6,889,906

The present annual production of the world does not, therefore, exceed 7,000,000 tons, of which Great Britain produces rather more than one-half.

Assuming the population of the world to be 900,000,000, the production, and of course the consumption, is at the rate of about 17 pounds per head.

In 1740, when we have the most reliable data, the consumption of iron did not amount to one pound per head. But the

great fact to which I wish to call your attention, in order to deduce the practical results at which this paper aims, is the distribution of the present consumption among the nations of the world. In order to determine this point, I have made very careful calculations, which show the following result:—

Nations.	Production per head.	Consumption per head.
England	287 lbs	144 lbs.
United States	84 "	117 "
France	40 "	60 "
Sweden and Norway	92 "	30 "
Belgium	136 "	70 "
Austria	12½ "	15 "
Russia	10 "	10 "
Switzerland	— "	22 "
Prussia	50 "	50 "
Germany, Zoll Verein	50 "	50 "
Spain	4½ "	5 "

Turkey, and the uncivilized portions of the world, too little to be calculated.

A careful examination of this table will demonstrate conclusively that the consumption of iron is a social barometer by which to estimate the relative height of civilization among nations; for considering in what practical civilization consists (I exclude æsthetic civilization from this species of estimate,) measuring by the actual comforts and conveniences with which social life is surrounded, what philosophic traveller, or student, will not classify the nations of the world precisely as the table arranges them: England first, United States second, Belgium third, France fourth, Germany fifth, Switzerland and Sweden about on a par, Austria next, then Russia, Spain, and Turkey, and the great outlying regions of barbarism?

You will not fail to observe another fact, that the large consumers are large producers in every case—a fact which a little familiarity with the laws of trade and industry will show to be inevitable.

It is plain that the consumption of iron is rapidly on the increase, as well from the progress in the arts of life as from the increase of population, and the steady march of Christianity and civilization, like twin-sisters, into the regions of barbarism. This consideration has an important practical value in determining what future demand will be made upon the iron-making resources of the world; for, if it were as highly civilized as Great Britain, mankind would consume as much iron per head, viz: 144 pounds, which would make a total annual consumption of about sixty millions of tons, or nearly seven times the present product.

How much time will be required to bring the world to such a degree of civilization, it is not for me to decide; but it is apparent that when it reaches this point the annual consumption of iron will be over one hundred millions of tons; for it is to be remembered also, that the annual consumption per head is increasing; that in 115 years it has increased seventeen fold. If the next century should show the same result, the consumption would be 300 pounds per head, requiring an annual make of 140,000,000 of tons.

But the population of the world is rapidly increasing, and in 100 years will probably be nearly doubled, which would raise the consumption to over 200,000,000 of tons per annum. I am aware that common sense stands appalled before these immense figures. Previous to this investigation, I have never allowed myself to look the facts in the face, and I am therefore desirous to submit them to the severest examination. Let me ask you, therefore, to measure the future carefully by the past.

From 1740 to 1855, the production of iron increased seventy fold. If the same rate of increase should prevail for 115 years to come, the annual make would reach 490,000,000 of tons, and it is to be observed that the ratio of increase has been an increasing one for each period of ten years since 1740, and not a decreasing one. Commencing with 1806, it required till 1824, a period of 18 years, to double the production in Great Britain. By 1836 it was again doubled, requiring a period of only twelve years. In 1847 it was again doubled, requiring eleven years. In 1855, a period of eight years, it had risen from 2,000,000 to 3,500,000, at which rate it would double in ten years.

Now, if the production of the world were to double only once in twenty years, the make, in

1875,	would be	14,000,000
1895,	"	28,000,000
1915,	"	48,000,000
1935,	"	96,000,000
1955,	"	192,000,000

Figures, again so enormous as to defy any man of common sense to stand before you and say that they will be realized. And yet, if any one had ventured the prediction in England in 1740, when the make was 17,350 tons, not so much as the yield of the establishment with which I am connected, that in 115 years the make would reach 3½ millions of tons, he would have been regarded as a lunatic, and told that all the men, and all the wealth, and all the mineral resources of Great Britain were not adequate to one-fourth of such an incredible

production. Allow me to apply a further test to this matter. In Great Britain there is one mile of railroad to about eight square miles of surface. In Connecticut the ratio is about one to six. In the State of New York the ratio is about one to twenty. The habitable world would not be ever supplied with the conveniences for travel and transport if one mile of railroad were built for each ten square miles of surface. Now, according to the best authorities, there are 20,000,000 of square miles of habitable surface on the globe, which will ultimately require 2,000,000 miles of railroad. To lay and operate this quantity will require 600,000,000 tons of iron, the annual wear and operation of which will demand at least 60,000,000 tons per annum. The consumption for railroads now absorbs about one-third of the make of iron; and it is apparent that while the use of iron for purposes for which it has been long applied is daily growing, each year brings forward new applications which seem to indicate that there is no practical limit to its use.

View the subject, then, as we may, whether by the history of production of iron for the last 100 years, or by considering the consumption per head and the progress of civilization, applying only the law which we find at work, and which no social Joshua has power to arrest, we are brought to the conclusion that, great as is the present production of iron, it is but in its infancy, and that the very smallest amount which will answer the purposes of the civilized world 100 years hence, will be 100,000,000 tons per annum. How and where, geographically considered, is this enormous quantity, or the half of it, or the quarter of it, to be made?

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to consider what are the elementary conditions essential to a large production of iron. These are—

First. An adequate supply of the requisite raw materials; ore, limestone and mineral coal; for charcoal can only be used as we have seen, to an insignificant extent.

Second. These raw materials must be geographically so situated as to be brought cheaply together, for the value of raw material does not more consist in what it is, than in *where* it is—a fact too much overlooked in the mining projects of the day.

Third. There must be cheap means of transport to market.

Fourth. There must be sufficient density of population to insure labor at a moderate cost.

Fifth. There must be adequate capital to build and carry on the works.

Sixth. There must be the skill to manage them in the most economical manner,

Seventh. There must be indomitable energy and strict integrity in the management; that is to say, the iron business can only exist on a large scale where the people are essentially industrious, intelligent, energetic and honest.*

AN APPEAL FOR THE UNION.

Among the able papers elicited by the late Presidential canvass, is the eloquent letter of Robert J. Walker. Whether in all respects we concur with its sentiments can matter but little. Mr. Walker speaks like a patriot and a statesman, and we are glad to preserve his paper in our repository, for future reference.

For the first time in our history such a geographical party is now formed. It is composed exclusively of the States of the North, and is arrayed in violent hostility against the Southern section of the confederacy. It draws a line, clear and distinct, between the North and the South, and wars upon the people and institutions of the latter. It declares the institutions of the South so degraded and infamous that Congress must exclude them from all that vast territory acquired by common blood and treasure, and which is the joint inheritance of all the States of Union. Louisiana (including Kansas and Nebraska) was acquired by Jefferson and saved by Jackson. But the South are no longer held worthy to inhert any portion of that territory, acquired by the illustrious patriot of Virginia, and saved by the immortal hero of Tennessee.

So, too, with all the vast region acquired in the war with Mexico. Two gallant sons of Virginia, Scott and Taylor, were the leaders of those brilliant campaigns. The blood of the South was poured out in copious libations, and mingled freely with the blood of the North upon the many and well fought fields of Mexico. Beside the gallant sons of the North, a heroic regiment of South Carolina was swept by the deadly fire of the Mexican forces. Leader after leader, column after column, of that regiment fell mortally wounded, yet the survivors never wavered, and their arms were crowned with victory. Yet no son of Carolina, or of all the South, is held worthy to possess any of the smallest portion of all that territory acquired from Mexico. From the whole coast of the Pacific the South is already excluded, and now the platform of the sectional party of the North is this: The universal Wilmot proviso—no slave Territory, and no more slave States North or South of the line of the Missouri compromise.

There shall be no divison of the common territory, but the North must have the whole. There are fifteen Southern and

* The subject will occupy another paper in the Review.

sixteen Northern States, seven organized Territories, and a vast region yet to be organized. The North must have all these, and all our future acquisitions. No matter what may be the voice or vote of the people of the Territory, or when becoming a State. You shall have no voice or vote in the matter, but the North, commanding a Northern majority in the Electoral College, and in Congress, must have the whole.

But it is said the North has the majority, and the South must submit. Has the South no rights, or does she hold them merely at the mercy of a Northern majority? Has the South no claims on the justice of the North, and is it not unjust to exclude the South from all the common territory of the Union?

But this is not a mere question of justice, but of constitutional power. The Constitution was framed and ratified by the States, each voting and acting for itself alone. Thus we became "United States," a confederacy, not a central republic. A confederacy receiving all its power from the States, through an instrument called by them the Constitution, granting therein only certain specified powers, and reserving all others. It is clear, then, that Congress can exercise such powers only as are granted by the Constitution, and that all their laws not based upon the delegated powers are founded on usurpation, and are absolute nullities. Now, the Constitution delegates no power to establish or abolish slavery in the States or Territories. Such is the opinion of the South, and of a large minority (if not majority) of the North. But, it is said, the North claims that such power in the Territories is granted to Congress by the Constitution. The South denies the existence of any such power. How is the question to be decided? Most clearly not by the North or the South, but as a disputed question of constitutional law, by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the South proposed to carry that line to the Pacific, although it gave them but three degrees and half on that ocean, leaving twelve degrees to the North. That measure passed the Senate, but was voted down in the House by a Northern majority. Thus the North seized the whole coast on the Pacific, nearly equal to our entire front on the Atlantic. The South yielded, but uniformly thereafter, most justly regarded the Missouri Compromise as repudiated by the North, rejected by their votes, and denounced by their addresses. The South next proposed to submit the disputed question of the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories to the adjudication of the Supreme Court of the United States. That measure, known as the Clayton Compromise, also passed the Senate, and was voted down in the House by a Northern majority. This most

wise and patriotic measure submitted this question to the supreme judicial tribunal created by the Constitution, clothed by it with full authority to expound that instrument, and to restrain Congress within the limits of specific granted powers.

But this peaceful and final arbitrament of this question, proposed by the South, was rejected by the North. As a just and necessary consequence of the rejection of both these propositions by the North, the doctrine of non-intervention by the Federal Government was adopted by the conjoint vote of the North and South in both Houses of Congress in 1854, and constitutes the fundamental principle of the Kansas Nebraska bill. While this measure saves the honor of the South, and expunges the provisions violating the Constitution, practically the North will derive great advantages from this measure. Of our seven organized Territories, in only one is there any effort to establish slavery by law, and in this one excepted case, of Kansas, the question would long since have been peacefully decided, but for the unwarranted intermeddling and sectional interference of the propagandist nullifying Legislature of Massachusetts, and the consequences which followed.

If this question, as provided by the Kansas and Nebraska bill, should be left to the people of the Territory in forming their State constitution, it will be determined by soil, climate, production, and the laws which govern the movement of population. Here, the North, aided by its greatly superior numbers, by European non-slaveholding emigrants, by the greater facility of movement, unincumbered by the transport of slaves or the apprehension of their ultimate condition where taken, have great advantages over the South in the settlement of new territories, and should be perfectly satisfied with the principle which leaves the determination of this question, when they become a State, to a majority of the people of the Territory. This is the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This is non-intervention—absolute non-interference by the Federal Government. This is the doctrine of the Constitution. This is that rule of absolute equality of rights of all the States, which lays at the foundation of the confederacy. This is that constitutional right, recognized in the admission of new States, that they come into the Union "upon an equal footing with the other States, in all respects whatsoever." But that equality does not exist if other States did accede or come into the Union, with or without slavery at their pleasure, and Kansas cannot do so.

There is another reason, not heretofore adverted to, which seems to render it impracticable long to maintain slavery in Kansas. In all the slave States there is a large majority of voters who are non-slaveholders; but they are devoted to the institutions of the South—they would defend them with their

lives—and on this question the South are a united people. This class, composed of many small farmers, of merchants, professional men, mechanics, overseers, and other industrial classes, constitute mainly the patrol of the South, and cheerfully unite in carrying out those laws essential to preserve the institution. Against a powerful minority and constant agitation slavery could not exist in any State. It is a well known fact that this result would have followed soon in several of the slave States but for the unanimity speedily produced there by the abolition agitators and intermeddlers of the North. Now, Kansas is much divided on the question of slavery there; there is a powerful minority there, if not a majority—a party not neutral, but bitterly hostile to the institution; and for this in addition to the reasons before given, I do not believe Kansas will become a slave States. Nor is it important, if the North will adopt the principles of the Kansas bill—absolute non-intervention and non-interference any where by the Federal Government with the question of slavery. The North are in a constantly augmenting majority in Congress and the electoral college, and can carry out all proper measures with an onward career of power and prosperity, if they will only adhere to the principles of justice and of the Constitution.

The so-called "republican" party does not adopt the restoration of the Missouri compromise, but distinctly repudiates that measure, and declares there shall be no slave Territory, and no more slave States anywhere or under any circumstances admitted into the Union, however clear or unanimous may be the will of the people of such State or Territory, or how southern the location. The very question then, on which this party rests, is sectionalism: its candidates are sectional, and anticipating no electoral vote from the South, it looks for success exclusively to the North. Nay, more; it assumes the exclusive right of the North to decide this question, and rejecting all division of the common Territory by any line, it claims the whole for the North—discards the vote of the people of the Territory, either before or in becoming a State, and rejects also the arbitrament of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is conceded that, under the Constitution of the United States, slaves are property, and whether they may or may not be held as such in the Territories, is the great disputed question of constitutional law. It involves rights of property, and as such is peculiarly a judicial question. But the Supreme Court of the Union is to be superseded by the popular suffrage of the North, and these rights of property are thus to be decided. Such a doctrine is not only sectional, aggressive, and belligerent, but agrarian and revolutionary. It is an overthrow of the Constitution, of all its guarantees, and of every conservative

principle on which it is founded. Such a government would not be a constitutional republic, but an elective despotism. But it is said the North are the majority, and such is their will. *Sic volo sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.* But the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon the Great first their Consul and then their Emperor, and the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon III. first their President, and then clothed him with the imperial purple. Such was the will of the people; but with us the Constitution is the supreme law, and so declared in that instrument, as framed and ratified by the people of each State. That Constitution, after withholding all but the specifically granted powers, distributes their exercise between the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

It created and rendered paramount to Congress the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States. It gave to that Court the power to expound the law, and especially that supreme law called the Constitution. But this Court is superseded by the refusal of the North to submit this question to its decision, and the substitution of the will of a Northern majority. If constitutional guarantees and judicial decisions are thus to be overthrown, through the vote of the people, by Congress, why not also in the States, by the State Legislatures, and the doctrine established that all rights of property in the Territories are held subject to the will of the people in the election of Congress; and all rights of property in the States to the will of the people in the election of State Legislatures. If the Constitution is to be disregarded, judicial tribunals superseded, and questions involving rights of property decided at the ballot box by the people, in one case, why not in all others. The doctrine, if asked to be applied to one species of property in Kansas to-day, may be extended to all property everywhere to-morrow. It may be extended to lands, houses, rents, vessels, railroads, debts, stocks, and all other property, and may subject them all to division on confiscation by the decision of the people at the ballot box. If it is right for the North, by the vote of the majority, to deprive the South, who are a minority, of all rights in the common territory of the Union, and to supersede judicial tribunals on disputed points of constitutional law involving rights of property, will not the same principle apply to the State Legislatures in each of the States, and the tenure of all property be decided by the people at each successive election?

The truth is, the black republican platform is revolutionary and agrarian. It involves principles which must strike down the tenure of all property, in every State, as well as in every Territory of the Union. It discards the peaceful arbitramen

of the Supreme Court of the United States, the great conservative feature of our institutions; to overthrow the Constitution and all its guarantees, and substitutes in their place an elective despotism, by which a majority of the people may abolish, divide, or confiscate all property at each successive election. It is said the majority of this tribunal are from the South, and therefore the North cannot trust them with the decision of this great constitutional question. It is but a majority of one, and that one the venerable Chief Justice, born and ever residing in the most conservative of all the States of the South, bordering upon the North, with but very few slaves, from which the institution of slavery is rapidly disappearing, with its great river, the Susquehanna, leading into the heart of Pennsylvania, and traversing large portions of the State of New York—a State, three-fourths of whose trade and intercourse, by bays and rivers, by railroads and canals, is with the free States of this Confederacy.

But if such a tribunal cannot be trusted, in executing the functions assigned to it by the Constitution, because it numbers from the South a majority of one, performing its high duties after full argument upon both sides, deep investigation and research, calm and deliberate, uninfluenced, so far as humanity can be, by passion or prejudice, enlightened and incorruptible, far surpassing any other judicial tribunal upon earth for its talents, wisdom, and legal knowledge; familiar with the Constitution, accustomed for many years to close examination of all its provisions, and to hear them constantly discussed, on both sides, by the great and distinguished jurists of our country, if such a tribunal cannot be trusted, because it holds accidentally, at this time, a majority of one from the South, can such a question be more wisely referred to the popular suffrage, where the North has a majority of fifty-four in the House of Representatives and fifty-six in the Electoral College, and that majority constantly and rapidly augmenting; will this controversy be more wisely decided by the people of the North, a single geographical section, inflamed by sectional passion and prejudice, impelled by newspaper editors, and husting orators, and political priests, with or without knowledge, with or without patriotism, with or without sincere religion, with or without fanaticism, with or without mature investigation, with or without selfish aspirations? Day by day, from the press, the hustings, the bookstores, the pulpit, the lecture room, the school-house, the theatre, the library, the author's closet, the painter's brush, and the power of song, the North now is, and long has been, trained and educated to hate the South, to despise their institutions, to trample upon their rights, to lacerate their feelings, to calumniate their character, to forget all their

noble deeds in war and in peace, and all their generous qualities and high intellectual endowments, and to dwell only upon their faults, which are the lot of our common humanity.

Nor is this all. A direct appeal is constantly made to the local interests of the North, to the spirit of avarice and love of power and domination, which unfortunately exist more or less in every age and country, and the North are told that it is their interest to monopolize forever, for themselves and children, the whole of the common territory of the Union. Under these circumstances, is the popular suffrage of the North that calm, wise, enlightened, unprejudiced, disinterested tribunal, to which should be assigned the decision of the great question involved in this controversy? In a matter involving the rights, interests, and property of the South, the North is to be the sole judge in its own case, and to decide this matter in its own favor, by its own exclusive suffrage. No man respects popular suffrage more than myself; universal suffrage in this country, on all merely political questions, within the limits of the Constitution. But judicial questions, involving rights of property of incalculable value, our fathers, in founding the Government, for the welfare and safety of all, discarded the French idea of their elective despotism in 1852, or of their popular assemblage in 1789, unrestrained by conservative checks or constitutional guarantees, and deciding through the popular vote upon rights of property.

Division and confiscation, followed by sack, by plunder, and the guillotine, were there the inevitable consequence, and similar doctrines would soon produce here the same dreadful catastrophe. No man respects the press and the pulpit more than myself. In discharging their appropriate functions, they are the highest vocations upon earth—the one for time, the other for eternity. No one deems more useful than myself addresses to the people from the hustings by able orators on political questions. But judicial questions, involving rights of property, requiring impartial investigation, should not be decided by popular suffrage, and especially when, as in this case, the suffrage of one section of the Union, incited by interest, passion, or prejudice, is asked to decide for itself, and in its own favor, by its own exclusive electoral vote, against another great section of the Confederacy.

But this so-called "republican" platform is not only revolutionary and agrarian, but by forming a sectional and geographical party, arraying the North against the South and assailing the bulwarks of the Constitution, it exposes the Union to imminent peril. It is the Constitution that makes the Union, and the subversion of the Constitution is the overthrow of the Union. It is revolution because it changes in

fact our form of government. The parchment upon which the Constitution is written may still remain, the empty forms may still be administered, but even these will soon follow, until not a fragment remains of the Government formed by the patriots and sages of the revolution. If there are those who believe that the Union can long be preserved when the Constitution shall have been subverted and the supreme judicial tribunal of the Union expunged or obliterated, their delusive hopes, their dreams of domination and power, will soon vanish. We have now, not only a sectional and geographical party, based upon a sectional issue, and realizing all the fears of the illustrious Washington, but we have a party advocating doctrines agrarian and revolutionary, subjecting all property to division or confiscation, and expunging the supreme judicial tribunal. I indulge in no menaces against the Union; I make no predictions on a subject of such fearful import. But this I can say, that the South will not and ought not submit to degradation; they will not be despoiled by the North of all rights in the common territory; they will not surrender the constitutional guarantees; they love the Union, but it is the union of the Constitution, the union of equals with equals, and not of sovereign States of the North, with subject States—say, rather, conquered provinces of the South. Rather than submit to this, they will adopt the last alternative, separation, and will then exclaim—

> Thy spirit Independence, let me share,
> Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye;
> Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
> Though rolling clouds should lower along the sky.

Whether residing North or South, whether in public or private life, my best efforts have ever been devoted to maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union. A love of our constitutional Union beats in every pulsation of my heart, and is entwined with every ligament of my frame.

Amid all the cares and enjoyments, the duties and responsibilities of life, it has ever been and is still among my chief pleasures and consolations, to contemplate the present position of my country, and unfolding the scroll of coming years and centuries, to endeavor to realize her advancing greatness and prosperity. I love to look upon her as she is, and as she is to be, if the Constitution and the Union can be maintained and perpetuated. I view her now, with a commercial marine greatly more than doubled within the last ten years, reaching now nearly six millions of tons, already surpassing that of Great Britain, and at the same relative rate of progress, long before the close of this century greatly exceeding that of all the world combined, as long since predicted in my official re-

ports. I see our mighty expanse of territory, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, occupied by nearly thirty millions of people, blessed with a far larger share of happiness, comfort, and prosperity than Providence ever before vouchsafed to man. I see twenty-four thousand miles of railroad, already in operation, (a greater aggregate than all the rest of the world,) stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, already crossing that great river at various points, from north to south, soon to pour their united tides of commerce, travel, and business into the one great trunk line to the Pacific. I see the gold of California and Australia, and a vast portion of the commerce of Asia, passing through this channel to the Atlantic, meeting here the travel and traffic of Europe, and conducting them, together with our own, by this nearest, cheapest, safest, and quickest route to the Pacific.

I see the command of universal commerce passing from Europe to America, and feel that ultimately the nation that commands the commerce of the world must command the institutions of the world, and introduce them finally into general adoption, not by the sword or conquest, but by the moral force of our successful example, striking down the thrones of despots and erecting upon their ruins the glorious fabric of the people's will. I see, too, what in this probable crisis of my country's destiny, it is my duty again to repeat from my Texas letter, that, when Congress and the North shall have wholly ceased to interfere with the question of slavery, the African race gradually disappearing from our borders, passing in part out of our limits to Mexico, and Central and Spanish America, and in part returning to the shores of their ancestors, there, it is hoped, to carry christianity, civilization, and freedom throughout the benighted region of the sons of Ham. Indeed, it is a most remarkable fact that while in their native Africa the race has made no progress, while in the mock republic of Hayti, or brutal despotism of Solouque, in Jamaica and the British West Indies, the emancipated slaves have retrograded to barbarism, while even in our own North the free black race is generally found in the jails, or poor houses, or hospitals, the asylums of the deaf and dumb, the blind or insane, or in pestilent alleys or cellars, amid scenes of destitution and infamy. Yet in Africa alone a colony of emancipated slaves, born and raised in the much abused South, and trained and manumitted by Southern masters, we find the only hope of the African race and the only success they have ever achieved out of bondage.

When any one ventures to admonish the people of the danger of sectional or geographical parties, he is now denounced

as a traitor or disunionist. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Franklin, Hamilton, Jackson, Clay, and Webster, all warned the people of the danger to the Union of sectional and geographical parties. But we, who repeat these warnings, are the true friends of the Union; and those who disregard these admonitions, and form sectional and geographical parties, are the enemies of the Constitution and the Union.

Popular revolutions are always sudden. The dark cloud is seen in the horizon; we hear the muttering thunder nearer and nearer; louder, still louder, it rolls above us—then comes the lightning flash, the crash of the Union, and all is over. We will all then stand amid the ruins of the irrevocable past. We will stand at the dread judgment seat of our country and of the world, the books will be opened and despots pronounce our sentence, the doom of our race, as they believe self-government is a bloody and delusive phantom. No, better had we tear the earth from its orbit, and scatter it in burning fragments through universal space, than meet the curses of our country and mankind, and the horrors of that living death which would follow the dissolution of the American Union. If the surrender of my poor life, the remnant of my waning days, could save my country, gladly, most gladly, would I make the sacrifice—the sacrifice! oh no, the duty, the glory of such an achievement. If my voice could reach even the black "republican" party, I would say re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, but tear down your disunion African platform, ere you endorse it at the polls, and give the country some other platform which will not imperil the Union.

No man values more than myself the countless blessings and benefits of the Union. But just in proportion as are its great advantages will be the unspeakable disasters which would follow from its overthrow. I have never believed in a peaceable dissolution of the Union. If the disaster comes, it will be attended by civil war, and the sword must be the umpire. How can it be peaceful? Who is to arbitrate between the North and the South? Who is to have the army, the navy, the national banner, the public treasure or revenue, the capitol of the Union, the Government archives, and how are we to divide the public lands and common territory? What compact or treaty of peace between the contending parties can take the place of the Constitution, and how or by whom are the new governments to be formed and pacified? No, my countrymen, if in the madness of sectional passions and geographical prejudice, you overthrow the Constitution framed by Washington and the sages of the Revolution, you can never provide adequate substitutes. Those who have achieved our

country's ruin, can never re-gather the scattered fragments of the Constitution, and rebuild the sacred edifice. No, it will be war, civil war, of all others the most sanguinary and ferocious. The line which separates the North from the South will be known in all history as the line of blood. It will be marked on either side by frowning fortresses, by opposing batteries, by gleaming sabres, by bristling bayonets, by the tramp of contending armies, by towns and cities sacked and pillaged, by dwellings given to the flames, and fields laid waste and desolate. No mortal hand can lift the veil which conceals the unspeakable disasters of such a conflict. No prophetic vision can penetrate the dark abyss of such a catastrophe. It will be a second fall of mankind, and while we shall be performing here the bloody drama of a nation's suicide, from the thrones of Europe will arise the exulting shouts of despots, and upon their gloomy banners shall be inscribed, as they believe never to be effaced, their motto:—

Man is incapable of self-government.

Nor let it be supposed by the North that superior numbers will give them the victory over the South, or exempt them from the calamities of such a conflict. The financial and industrial ruin of the North would be great and overwhelming. The annual products of the South have now reached at least thirteen hundred millions of dollars, and a much larger portion of this is surplus for export than in the North. Thus the total exports abroad of the whole country of our own products and manufactures (excluding specie) for the year ending 30th of June, 1855, were $192,751,000, of which there were from the North $67,626,000, and from the South $125,124,000, cotton alone being $88,143,000, thus showing the export of the South nearly double that of the North. But in the table of these Northern exports is $5,857,000 of cotton piece goods. Now these were made out of 400,000 bales of Southern cotton, costing (at $50 a bale) $2,000,000, furnished by the South to the North, to be deducted from the Northern and added to the Southern export, making a difference in this article alone in favor of the South of $4,000,000.

In the same manner, in the table of Northern exports, are found spirits of molasses $1,448,000, manufactured tobacco $1,486,000, spirits of turpentine $1,137,000, and a vast number of other articles of which the raw materials are chiefly from the South, amounting (including cotton) to at least $10,000,000, to be deducted from the Northern and added to the Southern export, making the former $57,626,000, and the latter $135,124,000, or vastly more than double. Thus it is that the South furnished vastly more than double those exports which constitute the basis of our exchange and commerce,

which build up our commercial marine (the cradle of our navy) and employ our shipping, thus greatly more than doubling our tonnage, and enabling us ultimately to command the commerce of the world.

So also as to the articles not exported abroad. Those of the South being almost exclusively raw products, and those of the North, to a great extent manufactures, the raw materials furnished by the South to the North, must be deducted from the Northern product and added to that of the South.

The population of the free States at the last census was 13,434,922, and that of the South, 9,664,656. The annual products of the South now reach at least $1,300,000,000, which furnish the means of employment to more than three millions of the people of the North. This arises in various ways. In supplying so vast a portion of the freight and passengers for transportation abroad and coastwise, on the ocean, lakes, bays and rivers, railroads and canals, and which bring back the return cargoes, the timber must be cut, the iron and other materials furnished, the vehicles of commerce built, the railroads and engines constructed, the crews and hands employed, the shipments and re-shipments made, the stores occupied, the merchandise sold, furnishing profit, employment, and wages to thousands at the North. Then, too, the farmers, workmen, and other parties of the North and Northwest, in supplying manufactures and provision to the South, increasing the number to millions. Indeed, it would be impossible to enumerate all the multiplied ramifications of the business of the North connected with the South, that give employment to Northern capital and Northern labor.

Now, by a dissolution of the Union and civil war, there would be total non-intercourse between the North and the South, an absolute prohibtion of all imports or exports, which would necessarily throw the trade of the South into other channels. This we have seen would throw out of employment more than three millions of the people of the North, including the families connected with them, most of whom would be reduced to absolute indigence. It would not be the case with them of low profits, low compensation or salaries, or low wages, but of none, because the business that gave them employment would have ceased. As these millions, thus reduced to want, would be unable, as heretofore, to make their former purchases, many thousands more in the North would, to a vast extent, lose their business and employment, and thus extend the disaster, so as to affect most injuriously the whole people of the North.

The Northern railroads, vessels, and steamers would loose their freight and passengers passing to and from the South,

the Northern stores, connected with this trade, would be closed, the Northern vessels lay idle at the wharves, the Northern manufactures no longer reach the markets of the South, nor the cotton be furnished in return; the ship yards and engine works, thus employed, would be discontinued; the Northern farms would cease to supply breadstuffs and provisions to the South—these they would raise themselves at home in lieu of that portion of their cotton heretofore supplied to the Northern market. Their own exports would be shipped abroad in their own or foreign vessels, from their own ports, and to the same points, in the same manner, would be brought back the return cargoes. Indeed, such a cessation of business, of intercourse, of wages and employment, produced by civil war between the North and the South, would cause here a perfect paralysis.

Commerce would perish; credit would decay; all property, real and personal, would rapidly depreciate in value; good debts, to banks and others, would become worthless; wages or salaries would cease or decline; stock would sink to a nominal value; confidence would vanish; all available means would take the form of specie, which would be hoarded, and seek its usual hiding places, as in all times of convulsion. To crown the disaster, more than three millions of people at the North, receiving no wages or employment, must live. They must have houses, food, and raiment. But how to be obtained? Would it be by the new agrarian doctrine of submitting rights of property to the decision of the ballot box? Would it be by division or confiscation? Would the anti-rent doctrine become universal? Or is this too tedious a process? Would riots prevail? Would plunder and pillage close the disaster? But crimes, tumults, taxes, misery, deaths, Government, State, city, and county debts, at enormous rates of interest, and emigration of persons and capital to other countries, would all increase, while liberty itself would expire in the conflict, and the bayonets, as in Europe, take the place of the ballot box. The jails and poor houses would be multiplied; sieges and battles prevail, and thousands perish in fraternal strife. The taxes to support those who could not support themselves, and to maintain large and costly armies in the field, would be incalculable.

Look at Europe. Her armies now numbering nearly four millions of men, (greater than our whole voting population,) trample down the rights and interests of the people, and consume their substance, while European government debts have nearly reached ten thousand millions of dollars. But at least, they have suppressed the guillotine, and possess what they call law and order. But would we have even these, until military usurpation had closed the drama of blood and violence, and

have many colored members, there are enrolled upon the lists of two church denominations alone at the South, negro members in the Methodist Church 134,000, and in the Baptist Church 130,000, making in these two branches only, 264,000 heathen converts. Thus it appears that the South and her citizens have redeemed scores of thousands more of the family of man from savageism and heathenism than all the churches of the "*Free Soil*" of the world combined have yet gathered within their fold. It seems, indeed, that the Almighty in his wisdom has selected Southern institutions, and Southern philanthrophy, through the grace of the Saviour, as his methods of removing the curse from Ham and redeeming Africa. What, I again ask, have the defamers of the South and of Democracy to say to these facts? They can only answer through the ravings of fanaticism?

I might enlarge upon the great additional philanthropic fact connected with the subject of the *vast social and mental improvement of the negro slave of the Southern States*, since his first introduction there by Old England and New England, but I fear to impose too much upon you. When landed in this country, the African captive belonged to the most degraded heathen and barbarian tribes upon the face of the globe. His descendants are now far removed from the universal debasement of his progenitors. Changes for the better have marked the history of negro slavery from its commencement to the present hour. Not only has the slave been redeemed from barbarism to civilization, and from heathenism to christianity, but from being in his social condition a blood-thirsty and predatory animal, living by the butcheries he was eternally committing upon his fellows, he has been rendered an orderly member of society, humane to his fellows and of vast benefit to the family of man. The laws of the Southern States in reference to the negro slave, are more benign than any code of laws in reference to a subject class, ever framed among men; and the customs of the dominant class exact from him less labor, and bestow upon him more care than the customs of any dominant class in Europe exact from and bestow upon its so-called "*free white laborers.*" Everywhere else in the world the laboring classes have to provide themselves with houses, lands, clothing, food, fuel, and medical attendance, and have also to take care of their aged, infirm, and adolescent. If one is too old for work, or too infirm for work, or too young for work in other societies, and has no family or friend who can and will provide for him out of his daily acquired pittance, he necessarily has to appeal to charity and the alms house for the means to sustain life. The daily receipts of the day laborer, even in the best regulat-

ed communities elsewhere, but scantily supply the means of paying rent, and providing requisite food, raiment, fuel, and medical attendance for himself and family. Sickness or accident often subject him to the mercy of his landlord, and render him destitute of the necessaries of life. In the Southern States the negro slave is always bountifully supplied with all the necessaries of life, never suffers from the want of medical attendence, has his aged, and infirm and adolescent amply provided for, and reared in comfort, cultivates the land whose products return to himself rent free; and never, from the hour of his birth to the day of his death, passes a day without being secure in his tenement and home. Even his family, though liable to be sold, are nevertheless more united in time and space, than the families of the slaveholders themselves, and incomparably more so than the families of the North, that rarely "abide in one story," which fact is too easy of demonstration to admit of argument.

In conclusion, the census of 1850 exhibits the statistics, showing less blindness, deafness, lunacy, and suffering among the negro slaves of the South, than among any other four million of laborers in the universe, with regard to whom statistics have been made; and to this fact our enemies can answer nothing.

THE SUGAR CROP OF LOUISIANA.

We extract the following from the last annual statement of the New Orleans Prices Current:

SUGAR.—The season opened upon unfavorable prospects for the sugar crop, and it was generally estimated, at quite an early date, that the deficiency, as compared with the previous year (when the crop was 346,635 hogsheads) would be at least 100,000 hogsheads. This estimate proved to be sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, as the actual crop, according to the annual statement of Mr. P. A. Champomier, was found to be 231,427 hogsheads, viz: 192,391 hogsheads brown sugar, made by the old process, 23,265 hogsheads refined and clarified, and 5,771 hogshead cistern bottoms, the last being an estimate of 3 per cent. on the product of brown sugar. The hogsheads are estimated to average 1,100 pounds; giving a total for the crop of 254,569,000 pounds. This was the product of 1,299 sugar-houses, against 1,324 the year before, and of these 938 use steam and 361 use horses as their motive power. This further large deficiency in the crop has been productive of a higher range of prices than we remember to have been attained since the remarkably short crop of 1835, and thus the

aggregate gross returns have been within about two millions of dollars of the value of the previous crop.

The first hogshead of the *new crop* was received here on the 10th of October, being only six days later than the first receipt of the previous year, but it was not taken as any indication of the general forwardness of the crop, which was understood to be unusually backward, rendering the grinding season late and precarious. And this proved to be the fact, for it was not until the close of October that there were any supplies and sales sufficient to constitute an opening of the market. The early receipts, too, were of an unusually low range of quality, the cane not being well matured, and the unseasonably warm weather during a considerable portion of the grinding season, and the subsequent injury by frost, contributed to give to the entire crop an unusually low average. Under these circumstances the first receipts of the new crop were disposed of with difficulty, as they were not generally sufficiently well drained for shipment, or for grocers' purposes, and at the beginning of November the range of prices was as follows:

Inferior	4 *a* 4⅜
Common	5 *a* 5½
Fair to fully Fair	5⅜ *a* 6¼
Prime	6¼ *a* 6⅜
Choice	7 *a* 7¼
Clarified	7 *a* 8½

The course of the market throughout the season is indicated by the following table, which exhibits the highest and lowest points in each month for *fair to fully fair* sugar on the levee, and also the *average price* in each month, for the same qualities. It will be seen that the fluctuations have been slight, the general course of the market having been upward, and the lowest and highest points being, the former in November and the latter in July.

1855–'56.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
September....cents per lb.....	7½ *a* 8	6½ *a* 6⅞	7¼
October.....	6½ *a* 7	6 *a* 6¼	6⅝
November.....	6½ *a* 6¾	5⅜ *a* 6	5⅞
December.....	6⅞ *a* 7¼	6¼ *a* 6¾	6⅜
January.....	7 *a* 7⅜	6½ *a* 7⅛	7
February.....	7⅛ *a* 7⅝	7 *a* 7½	7
March.....	7¼ *a* 7⅜	6⅞ *a* 7⅝	7¼
April.....	7 *a* 7⅝	6⅞ *a* 7⅝	7⅛
May.....	7⅜ *a* 8	6⅞ *a* 7⅜	7⅜
June.....	8 *a* 8½	7⅜ *a* 8⅛	8
July.....	8⅝ *a* 8⅞	8¼ *a* 8¾	8½
August.....	8¾ *a* 9¼	8⅝ *a* 8⅞	8⅞

The first transactions on plantation were noticed in the early part of February, and from time to time considerable sales were reported, at 6½, 6¾, 7, 7¼, 7⅜, 7½, 7⅝, 7¾, 7⅞, 8, 8¼, 8½, 8¾, 9, and 9¼ cents per pound. The receipts at the levee since 1st September, have been 155,319 hogsheads, against 189,742 hogsheads last year, or a decrease of 34,423 hogsheads. This shows that an unusually large proportion of the crop has come to the city, as the deficiency in the crop is 115,208 hogsheads.

The estimated stock on hand at the close of last season was 10,000 hogsheads, and this amount added to the crop—231,427 hogsheads—would make a supply of 241,427 hogsheads. The distribution of this supply, as nearly as can be ascertained, has been as follows:

Shipments to places out of the State, as shown by our tables, and including the exports from Attakapas, 52,400 hogsheads; consumption of the city and neighborhood 30,000 hogsheads; taken for refining, in the city and other parts of the State, including cistern bottoms, 8,000 hogsheads; estimated quantity taken to fill up hogsheads for shipment 15,000 hogsheads; stock now on hand in the State, estimated at 5,000 hogsheads; leaving as the quantity taken for the West 131,027 hogsheads, against 142,963 hogsheads last year, or a decrease of 11,936 hogsheads. The quantity shipped to Atlantic ports is only 39,133 hogsheads, against 121,963 hogsheads last year; showing a decrease of 82,830 hogsheads.

According to a statement annually made up by the New York Shipping and Commercial List the total import of foreign sugar into the United States for the year ended December 31, 1855, was 205,064 tons (equal to 382,786 hogsheads of 1,200 pounds each) against 165,925 tons, or 309,726 hogsheads in 1854; and the quantity of this description taken for consumption in 1855, was 194,052 tons, against 150,854 tons in 1854, or an increase of about 28⅝ per cent. The total consumption of both foreign and domestic cane sugar in 1855, was 379,197 tons, against 385,298 tons in 1854, or a decrease in the total consumption of nearly 1⅝ per cent. Besides the above it is estimated that there entered into the consumption about 11,160 tons of sugar made from foreign and domestic molasses, and about 14,500 of maple sugar, which, with the consumption of California and Oregon, estimated at about 5,500 tons, would give a grand total for the consumption of the United States in the year 1855, of 410,357 tons, against 415,000 tons in 1854. This amount is equal to 766,000 hogsheads of 1,200 pounds each.

We have compiled from our records the annexed statement of the sugar product of Louisiana for the past twenty-two years, showing the amount of each year's crop in hogsheads and

pounds, with the gross average value, per hogshead and total, the proportions taken by Atlantic ports and Western States, and the date of the first receipt of each crop. By this statement it will be seen that the total product of Louisiana from 1834 to 1855, inclusive, a period of twenty-two years, was 3,898,740 hogsheads, valued at $198,993,868, and that of this quantity the Atlantic ports took 1,316,033 hogsheads, and the Western States 1,934,527 hogsheads. The crops from 1828 (which is as far back as our estimates extend) to 1833, summed up 281,000 hogsheads; which would make the total product in a period of twenty-six years 4,179,740 hogsheads, or 4,396,331,000 pounds. In an article on sugar, which we published in our columns in June last, it is stated that the estimated product of Louisiana in 1815, was 10,000,000 pounds, or about 10,000 hogsheads. In 1853, it will be seen by the statement below, the crop reached 449,324 hogsheads, estimated to weigh 495,156,000 pounds. We would here remark that up to 1848, the product in hogsheads is estimated, and 1,000 pounds taken as the average weight per hogsheads, but for the crops since that date we have taken the figures of Mr. P. A. Champomier, as we find them in his annual statements.

Year.	TOTAL CROP.		Average price per hhd.	Total Value.
	Hhds.	Pounds.		
1834	100,000	100,000,000	$60 00	$6,000,000
1835	30,000	30,000,000	90 00	2,700,000
1836	70,000	70,000,000	60 00	4,200,000
1837	65,000	65,000,000	62 50	5,062,500
1838	70,000	70,000,000	62 50	4,375,000
1839	115,000	115,000,000	50 00	5,750,000
1840	87,000	87,000,000	55 00	4,785,000
1841	90,000	90,000,000	40 00	3,600,000
1842	140,000	140,000,000	42 50	4,750,000
1843	100,000	100,000,000	60 00	6,000,000
1844	200,000	200,000,000	45 00	9,000,000
1845	186,650	186,650,000	55 00	10,265,750
1846	140,000	140,000,000	70 00	9,800,000
1847	240,000	240,000,000	40 00	9,600,000
1848	220,000	220,000,000	40 00	8,800,000
1849	247,923	269,769,000	50 00	12,396,150
1850	211,303	231,194,000	60 00	12,678,180
1851	236,547	257,138,000	50 00	11,827,350
1852	321,931	368,129,000	48 00	15,452,688
1853	449,324	495,156,000	35 00	15,726,340
1854	346,635	385,726,000	52 00	18,025,020
1855	231,427	254,569,000	70 00	16,199,890
Total	3,898,740	4,115,331,000		195,993,868

Year.	Exported to Atlantic Ports. Hogsheads.	Exported to Western States. Hogsheads.	First receipt of new crop.
1834	45,500	44,500	October 15.
1835	1,500	23,500	November 5.
1836	26,300	35,000	November 1.
1837	24,500	32,500	November 1.
1838	26,500	32,500	October 17.
1839	42,600	58,000	October 13.
1840	38,500	46,500	October 14.
1841	28,000	50,000	October 13.
1842	63,000	60,000	October 12.
1843	34,000	52,000	October 22.
1844	101,000	70,000	October 3.
1845	79,000	75,000	October 4.
1846	45,500	70,000	October 7.
1847	84,000	115,000	October 2.
1848	90,000	108,000	October 5.
1849	90,000	125,000	October 11.
1850	45,000	123,000	October 17.
1851	42,000	149,000	October 19.
1852	82,000	206,000	October 9.
1853	166,000	185,000	October 6.
1854	122,000	143,000	October 4.
1855	39,133	131,027	October 10.
	1,316,033	1,934,527	

The coming crop will doubtless be the shortest, in proportion to the extent of ground cultivated, that has occured since 1835, when the yield was estimated at 30,000 hogsheads. There has been a gradual changing, for some years past, from the Sugar culture to that of Cotton, for we find by Mr. Champomier's statements that while in 1852 there were 1481 Sugar Houses, in 1855 the number has been reduced to 1299; showing a decrease in three years of 182. We also know that there has been a further material decrease this year, but the great falling off in the crop is referable to the damages from the remarkable continuance of cold and wet weather during the past winter, by which the *rattoons* or *stubbles* were almost entirely destroyed, as well as much of the plant cane, before or after planting. Under these circumstances some planters ploughed up their fields and planted Corn or Cotton, or both, and will have no cane. Others will perhaps make enough to replant for another crop, while some, having light soil or well drained lands, and having been favored by seasonable showers, may approach a fair average. These will have an excess of cane beyond their requirements for replanting, but whether they will sell from their excess, to those wanting plants, instead of making Sugar, and to what extent, we have no means of estimating. At all events the crop must be a short one—doubtless the shortest since 1843—as the extreme estimate named is 125,000 hogsheads, while some mark as low as 80,000 hogsheads, an amount altogether insufficient for the requirments of the West alone,

and calling for an unusually large import of foreign Sugars. In accounting for the decline in the production for years past it is probable that it may be in some degree (possibly a very important one) attributable to the deterioration of the plant from the partial exhaustion of the peculiar qualities of the soil necessary for its sustenance. Should this be the case it would be well for planters to supply the deficiency by the application of the proper manures.

Molasses—According to the Annual Statement of Mr. P. A. Champomier the product of last year's crop of cane, estimating sixty gallons to each 1000 lbs. of Sugar, was 15,274,140 gallons against 23,113,620 gallons last year, or a decrease of 7,839,480 gallons, and 15,725,860 gallons less than the estimated product of 1853.

This large falling off in the supply, together with the high cost of Sugar, has been productive of a higher range of prices than we ever remember to have been attained in this market, and the gross return has actually exceeded that of the larger crop of last year, the average of the season being 30 cents per gallon against 18½ last year.

The arrivals at the levee during the past season have been 288,811 barrels, against 310,718 barrels last year; showing a decrease of 21,907 barrels, and the course of the market through the season is indicated by the following table, which shows the highest and lowest points in each month for lots on the levee, in barrels:

1855–'56.	Highest.	Lowest.
September.....cents per gall..	28 *a* 32	22 *a* 30
October.....	17 *a* 32	12 *a* 26
November.....	29 *a* 30	24 *a* 29
December.....	37 *a* 40	24 *a* 31
January.....	33½ *a* 36½	30 *a* 35
February.....	30 *a* 35½	30 *a* 34½
March.....	32 *a* 36½	29 *a* 34½
April.....	31 *a* 38½	30 *a* 35
May.....	35 *a* 42½	30 *a* 37½
June.....	40 *a* 50	36 *a* 45
July	30 *a* 47	30 *a* 45
August.....	30 *a* 45	30 *a* 45

The first sales reported on plantation were about the middle of November, and the principal sales were in December, and January. The range of prices for crops in the cisterns has been as follows: In November 22 *a* 24; December 25, 28, 30, and 32; January 32, 32¼, 32½, and 33; February 32, *a* 33½; March 31 *a* 32; April 33; May 35, and June 40 *a* 44, leaving few desirable crops remaining unsold. The extreme

range last year was 12½ cents in December and 25 cents in May.

The quantity shipped to Atlantic ports, according to our tables (which include the exports direct from Attakapas), is equal to about 4,335,000 gallons, against 8,487,880 gallons last year. This amount being deducted from the whole crop of 15,725,860 gallons, as estimated by Mr. Champomier, there would be left, for the consumption of the West and South, 11,390,860 gallons, against 18,625,120 gallons last year.

Among the exports last year several thousand barrels were taken for France and the North, for distilling purposes, but the high range of prices this season has precluded such purchases.

RULES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF A SOUTHERN ESTATE.*

OVERSEERS.—1. On the first of each year, or whenever a new overseer takes charge of a plantation, he must make out a *full, perfect, and accurate* list, or inventory, of all the property of every kind upon the plantation, and file a copy of the same with the agent. This inventory is to be considered as the receipt of the overseer for all the property mentioned in it, and for which he *must* account, when discharged or leaving, and before being paid his salary. The agent will examine these inventories and certify to their accuracy, and file them in the office.

2. Quarterly inventories of the stock and implements must be made out; not from the old ones, but by seeing and inspecting every article as written down. The daily record must be written up, and every page of their plantation book appropriated to its particular head. The record of marriages, births, and deaths, with the physician's visits, must be accurately and rigidly kept. The quantity of clothing, supplies, and farming implements received by each overseer, for the plantation he manages, must be entered in his book.

The cotton picked by each hand, every day during the season, must be set down in its proper place.

3. Every article of supply for each plantation must be given out by the agent, and a correct account kept of the same, and charged to the plantation receiving it. The overseers must enter in their books the articles received, so as to check the general record book.

No overseer, employee, or any person else, will be permitted to alter, change, or deviate from my plans, arrangements, and instructions, here expressed, without my consent and approbation.

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* As enforced by Joseph A. S. Acklen, of Louisiana.

No buildings of *any kind* are to be erected or changed without my consent.

4. No overseer or employee must keep, rear, or have on any of my places any negro, or stock of any kind, without special permission.

No person employed on my estate must trade, traffic, or sell any thing belonging to the estate without permission.

It is very much the custom of overseers to trade in horses, and to be frequently changing them; this I will not permit, and if an overseer is allowed to retain a horse at all, he must use *him exclusively*, and for purposes connected with his business; and whenever this rule is violated, the overseer may consider himself discharged, and must leave as soon as settled with.

5. If any overseer is found absenting himself from his plantation, or riding about the country, to the neglect of his business, must be promptly discharged.

No overseer, or other person will be permitted to retain any of my negroes, except those mentioned, in or about his house, for his own purposes.

No overseer will be suffered to entertain company, or receive visits, except the occasional visit of a friend or relative, and these must be limited.

6. No man should attempt to manage negroes, who is not perfectly firm and fearless; and who, moreover, has not entire control of his temper.

Punishment must never be cruel or abusive, for it is absolutely mean and unmanly to whip a negro from mere passion and malice, and any man who can do so, is utterly unfit to have control of negroes; and if ever any of my negroes are cruelly or inhumanly treated, bruised, maimed, or otherwise injured, the overseer is to be forthwith and promptly dismissed.

No overseer will be allowed to kill stock of any kind, without permission, for it is mine, and if wanted or needed, it is due to me to ask for it.

Sending any of my negroes on errands, or giving, or sending any article belonging to me from any of my places, lending horses or any tool or implement without permission, ensures a dismissal.

My negroes are all permitted to come to me or my agent with their complaints, and in no instance *shall* they be punished for so doing; and in in my absence, I enjoin it upon my agent to attend to their complaints, and examine them, and if they have been cruelly or inhumanly treated, the overseer *must be at once discharged*.

Each overseer, on each plantation, must give his personal attention to the stables and stock, and see that the stables are kept in good order, and the stock of all kinds well cared for.

It is part of the contract and duty of the overseer, to see that the horses and mules are properly fed and rubbed, that their stables are clean and well littered; when harnessed and at work, to see that their gearing all fits and does not gall them, recollecting that these animals, though dumb, can feel as well as persons. Animals are much easier managed with kindness than otherwise, and all of my stock of every kind must be particularly attended to. Let the stock-men know that they are watched and held responsible for negligence.

See that the milch cows are driven home night and morning, and properly cared for, with feed and salt. Every place has milch cows sufficient to furnish milk for all the negroes on that place.

Every night before going to bed write up your diary, and think over what is to be done next day, and make a memorandum of it on your slate.

Rise early, and never let the negroes find you in bed of a morning, unless sick. See, in person, that they are all put regularly to their work. After rising, do not idle about, but go directly to the business of the day. If any of the negroes have been reported sick, without delay see what ails them, and that proper medicine and attendance are given.

Wherever the negroes are working it is your duty to be with them, in order to direct and encourage them, and have their work properly done.

See that the negroes are regularly fed, and that their food is wholesome, nutritious, and well cooked, and that they keep themselves clean. At least once in every week, visit each of their houses, and see that they have been swept out and cleaned; examine their bedding, &c., and see that they have been well aired, their clothes mended, and everything attended to which conduces to their comfort and happiness.

Do not permit the houses or fences or gates, to get out of order, and when needing repairs, have it attended to without delay. Keep your wagons, carts, and implements used in planting, always repaired and ready for use, and have them always put under a shed, out of the weather.

Recollect that while in my employ your time is not your own; I pay for it, and shall consider any neglect of my business as so much unjustly taken out of my pocket. If persons call to see you, inform them that you have business to attend to for another, and they must excuse you from those polite courtesies, which might be accorded were you differently circumstanced.

Every overseer must attend exclusively to his own plantation, and for the future will be paid off, when he absents himself for any length of time, say a week or more, without the

permission of myself or agent; and he will not be suffered to hire any one to supervise or take charge of his business, even when permitted to be absent, but the necessary deduction will be taken from his salary.

Foremen, cooks, nurses, stock-tenders, wagoners, &c., appointed or selected by me, are not to be changed, except with my permission. They are not exempt from punishment for imprudence, disobedience, negligence, or misdemeanors, or any of the offences for which the other negroes are punishable.

My gardens, pleasure-grounds, and the domestic establishment, with the servants and all appertaining to this department, are to be free from the control or interference of the overseers.

No overseer will be permitted to have chicken-houses, have patches of ground or gardens for his special use, or to erect or build stables, pens, or other houses for his horse, nor be suffered to have any other than the regular hostler to attend his horse.

The grounds I appropriate for vegetables, and the houses I erect, must answer all his purposes, and he is not to take any field hand to attend to any business for himself.

Every person employed by me, on any of my plantations, must make up his mind to rigidly obey these instructions, and to carry out all my orders, written or verbal, willingly and cheerfully, or to leave on the shortest notice.

(To be concluded in our next.)

COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY OF NEW ORLEANS.

Agreeably to our custom, says the editor of the New Orleans Bulletin, at the close of the Commercial year, we have the pleasure of presenting our readers with the following annual review of the New Orleans Market, accompanied by a few remarks suggested by the occasion.

Our object is not to furnish a statistical statement of the trade of the city, embracing both its commercial and its industrial interests, but to report the course of the markets for the principal articles of our commerce since our last annual review, and furnish a succinct yet comprehensive history of their various movement.

In noting, however, the variations in prices, and their relation to other markets, as well as to the rates of freight and exchange, we shall endeavor to add such particulars, derived from the most authentic sources within our reach, as may explain or account for their fluctuations.

On this occasion, at least, we can review the commercial history of the year with gratification; and offer to our readers our sincere congratulations on the general prosperity which has marked the trade of our port. The chief cause of this is

the augmented supply of our leading staple, and the remunerative prices it has commanded throughout the year; but in addition to this, we may specify the increase in the supplies of Tobbacco, Flour, Wheat, Corn, Oats, Barrel and Bulk Pork, Beef and Wiskey, and the high prices which they also have commanded, as influential causes of the general prosperity.

On the other hand the effect of the decrease in the receipts of Sugar, Molasses, Bacon and Lard, has been to some extent counteracted by the high prices at which these articles have ruled, adding handsomely to the credit side of profit and loss, whether from the gains of the owner or the enhanced commissions of the factor.

Underlying this prosperity, and furnishing its great stimulant, if not its foundation and source, we must note the blessings of abundant harvests and the advantages we have possessed in common with the whole commereial world in an abundant supply of money for the movement of our principal products. In this connection we must advert to the Eastern War and scanty harvests abroad which have opened to our farmers remunerative markets for their surplus, while there appears to have been but little restriction in the consumption of our leading staple.

Another cause of our commercial prosperity is one which is partial in its effects, and which, while it has benefitted our Mercantile Community, has had an injurous influence on the general welfare of the city. We allude to the comparatively limited competition in the various branches of our trade.—Probably at no former period have there been so few new commercial houses established, and the business of the city being chiefly confined to comparatively old or well established firms, who have been content with the emoluments accruing from the even tenor of their way, businesss generally has exhibited unusual steadiness and regularity. There have been fewer failures, fewer heavy losses, and fewer disappointments in the general trade. But these very circumstances, which are a just cause of satisfaction to our commercial community, furnish indications far from encouraging to the permanent citizen who desires the increase of the city in trade, wealth, and population. If there has been less competition than usual, it has been owing to the absence of new houses, whose wants, had they been established, would have pressed upon the supply of shops, stores warehouses, and dwellings, enhancing rents and the value of real estate, and furnishing at the same time an increased market for the city trade. In fact our commercial prosperity must be attributed more to general than local causes, and although our merchants have done a prosperous business, it cannot be denied that the result would have been still more

gratifying had it not been for an actual increase instead of a decrease in the those influences which have been operating for some years in diverting trade from our city to the Northern markets. Hence if there has been a gratifying increase in the receipts of certain articles, the increase has been much less than it would have been had it not been for this diversion, and our real estate holders, who are mainly interested in this question, must be blind indeed, if they imagine that the prosperity of trade for the past season is a reliable indication of the future. With abundant crops, high rivers, and a European demand, we cannot fail to witness a recurrence of our present commercial prosperity, but these are not always to be expected, and the means used to divert trade from us, are invariable in their operation. Thus, while there has been an extraordinary abundance of money, of which the truest indication is the appreciation of Bank and other solid stocks, real estate has shown no corresponding improvement, the general conviction appearing to be that until some great change occurs, which will largely augment our population, the supply of improved and unimproved real property will still exceed the demand, and the paramount influence of the laws of supply and demand, prevent any advance in prices.

It therefore becomes the duty of every intelligent citizen, who is not a mere bird of passage, expecting, after reaping a certain harvest, to fly to a more favorite clime, but who has really the interest of the city at heart, to consider well what means are practicable and expedient to increase both our trade and our population. On this point we shall add some remarks at the close of this article, and shall now proceed to review the progress of our various markets.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MAN AND SLAVERY.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN, IN CONNECTION WITH THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY, SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN NATURE AND LAW, AND THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE LATTER.

What are we to understand by the natural constitution of man? Certainly nothing that partakes of the quality of voluntary, or free. What nature has effected for man, man cannot be said to have himself freely effected. We may state the proposition differently and arrive at the same result.

Whatever man can voluntarily do, nature cannot be said to do. We may hold man to be a voluntary being in virtue of his natural constitution, but then what he does free in virtue of his natural freedom of action is not done by nature, but by him freely; and if freely, out of the restraint of nature.

This shows us the distinction between the *gift* of freedom, and the *acts* consequent upon that natural endowment.

The latter are free, but the first is natural. Now what does natural freedom mean? It means liberty of action *without natural restraint.*

We say the same thing when we say that nature does not give us a power to act and then restrain that power. This were a contradiction in terms.

Wherein nature restrains us, we manifestly have no natural freedom.

For example. If nature imparts to mankind the power of upright motion—the power to walk—and then restrains that power by enabling us only to crawl, she would involve herself in a plain contradiction. If she were to restrain our power of motion to walking, she could not possibly give us the power of flying.

This example (and I might furnish a thousand similar ones) serves to show us that we cannot be restrained by nature in the enjoyment of any *natural* liberty.

Now natural liberty means natural power or natural ability, or natural possibility of action.

Every act that a human being can possibly commit, he has the natural freedom to do it.

I do not say he has a moral or a legal freedom.

Our natural liberty consists in freely doing every thing we have the natural power of doing.

If this were not so, a code of moral rules of action and a code of civil rules of action would be alike useless and unnecessary.

Upon what basis does a code of morals ropose? Certainly upon our *natural* freedom to disobey them.

The very same remark may be made with equal truth touching civil rules.

What would be the use of a rule of civil conduct unless we had natural freedom to disobey it? None in the world.

If we have no natural freedom to disobey moral and civil rules of conduct, how could we ever acquire any liberty to disobey them?

We could not get the liberty to disobey a moral rule of conduct from the department of morality, and we could not procure the liberty to disobey a civil rule from the civil lawmaker. The only remaining possible source of the liberty of disobeying moral and civil rules must be in nature.

Hence natural freedom consists in the liberty to disobey moral and civil rules of conduct, prescribed as these latter rules are, by the author of moral laws and of civil laws.

With respect to *natural* liberty all men stand upon an equality.

In the construction of this table, when the enumerations and valuations are not given from official State returns, it has been assumed that the population and property of the country have increased in the same ratio since the general census of 1850, in which they increased during the decennial period from 1840 to 1850. The increase has, without doubt, been proportionally greater.

In some States the latest official valuations have been given. These are of various dates, and are, it is believed, much too low. The valuation for Massachusetts is for the year 1850; for Maryland and Michigan, for 1853; for Connecticut, New York, and Missouri, for 1854; and for other States, for 1855.

With respect to some of the States, the official valuation is so very low, that it has been deemed necessary to add to it considerably, in order to represent fairly the true value of the property in those States. Thus: to Pennsylvania $500,000,000 have been added; to Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri $100,000,000 each.

Texas and California are exceptional cases, and their population and wealth have been estimated upon such data as could be obtained. The Comptroller of Texas is the authority for that State.

The Governor of Georgia says, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated the 18th of April, 1856, that in that State "the total amount of the taxable property of all kinds is about $500,000,000."

The Governor of Minnesota says, in a letter, dated January 29th, 1856, that the returns he transmits of the valne of the property in that Territory "are but approximations," the returns not being complete.

The official valuation of the property in the Territory of Nebraska, for the year 1855, was so small—only $617,822—that it was thought proper to double it in the table, and it is still too low probably.

The Auditor of State, of the State of Indiana, says, in his annual report (November 24th, 1855): "A new valuation of the real estate would probably make the total taxables $380,000,000."

The Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, and Washington do not appear at all in the census of 1850, except as component parts of other States or Territories, and with respect to them, the estimated numbers and values may be very inaccurate, as they may be, indeed, with respect to the other Territories, and some of the new States.

The State valuations of property are for assessment purposes, and are not only low, but the taxable property only has been valued, and in all the States there are many kinds of property —some of it valuable—that are not taxed.

Supposing the whole population of the United States to be 27,000,000, then, taking the State of Maine as a criterion with respect to the value of property, the amount for all the States and Territories will be, in round numbers, about $5,760,000,000.

Taking the State of New York as a criterion, the amount will be, in round numbers, about $10,611,000,000.

Taking the State of Kentucky, then it will be about $10,000,000,000.

Taking the State of Illinois, it will be about $7,290,000,000.

Taking the State of Arkansas, it will be about $6,750,000,000.

Taking the State of Georgia, it will be about $14,430,000,000.

Taking the two extremes, the maximum and the minimum, Georgia and Maine united, it will be about $10,000,000,000.

Taking Ohio and Kentucky, which will make, perhaps, a very fair mean, the amount will be $10,268,000,000.

Taking these seven States as a criterion, the amount will be about $9,233,000,000. This is too low, however, for the official valuation is too low in them all, unless it be Georgia.

The $1,500,000,000 added for under valuations for property not valued, and for the increase in value since in 1850, is not an excessive allowance.

In the calculations, inconsiderable fraction of numbers and values have not been regarded.

GROWTH AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN THE UNITED STATES.

We take the following summary from the New York Shipping List.

Consumption.

Total crop of the United States, as before stated ..... bales....			3,527,845
Add—Stock on hand at the commencement of the year, 1st September, 1855,			
In the Southern ports.....		76,644	
In the Northern ports.....		66,692—143,336	
Makes a supply of.....			3,671,181
Deduct therefrom—			
The exports to foreign ports...	2,954,606		
Less, foreign included.....	835—2,953,771		
Stocks on hand, 1st September, 1856:			
In the Southern ports.....	20,014		
In the Northern ports.....	44,157—	64,171	
Burnt in New York and Boston.....		500	
			3,018,442
Taken for home use.....			652,739

Quantity consumed by and in the hands of the Manufacturers north of Virginia.

1855–'6.....bales	652,739	1850–'1.....bales	404,108
1854–'5.....	593,584	1849–'50.....	487,769
1853–'4.....	610,571	1848–'9.....	518,039
1852–'3.....	671,009	1847–'8.....	531,772
1851–'2.....	603,029	1846–'7.....	427,967
1845–'6.....	422,597	1840–'1.....	297,288
1844–'5.....	389,006	1839–'40.....	295,193
1843–'4.....	346,744	1838–'9.....	276,018
1842–'3.....	325,129	1837–'8.....	246,063
1841–'2.....	267,850	1836–'7.....	222,540
1835–'6.....	236,733	1830–'1.....	182,142
1834–'5.....	216,888	1829–'30.....	126,512
1833–'4.....	196,413	1828–'9.....	104,853
1832–'3.....	194,412	1827–'8.....	120,593
1831–'2.....	173,800	1826–'7.....	103,483

We give below our usual table of the amount of cotton consumed the last year in the States south and west of Virginia, and not included in the receipts at the ports. We have largely increased the estimate from the year previous, but only give it only for what it purports to be—an estimate which we believe approximates correctness. Thus:

	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
North Carolina.....bales	20,000	20,000	13,000	15,000
South Carolina.....	15,000	15,000	10,000	10,000
Georgia.....	20,500	27,000	13,000	22,000
Alabama.....	7,000	6,000	4,000	5,000
Tennessee.....	12,000	12,000	8,000	7,000
On the Ohio, &c.....	35,500	27,500	12,000	16,000
Total to September 1st....	110,000	107,000	60,000	75,000

	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.
North Carolina.....bales	20,000	20,000	18,500	22,000
South Carolina.....	10,000	12,000	10,500	15,000
Georgia.....	20,000	23,000	20,500	25,000
Alabama.....	5,000	6,000	5,500	6,500
Tennessee.....	5,000	6,000	4,000	7,000
On the Ohio, &c.....	30,000	38,000	26,000	42,000
Total to September 1st....	90,000	105,000	85,000	117,500

To which, if we add (for the past year) the stocks in the interior towns 1st inst., (say 3,500 bales,) the quantity now detained in the interior, (say 50,000 bales,) and that lost on its way to market the past year, to the crop as given above, re-

ceived at the shipping ports, the aggregate will show, as near as may be, the amount raised in the United States the past season—say, in round numbers, 3,335,000 bales, (after deducting 1,800 bales new crop received this year to 1st inst., and some 250,000 bales detained in the interior, September 1st, 1855, by low rivers, etc., which it is fair to suppose came forward the past season, and is already added to the receipts at the ports,) against

Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
1855... 3,178,000	1852... 3,100,000	1849... 2,840,000
1854... 3,000,000	1851... 2,450,000	1848... 2,357,000
1853... 3,360,000	1850... 2,212,000	

The quantity of new cotton received at the shipping ports to 1st September, was in

Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
1856..... 1,800	1852..... 5,125	1848..... 3,000
1855..... 34,079	1851..... 3,200	1847..... 1,121
1854..... 1,890	1850..... 255	1846..... 200
1853..... 716	1849..... 575	1845..... 7,500

VARIETIES OF COTTON IN CULTIVATION.

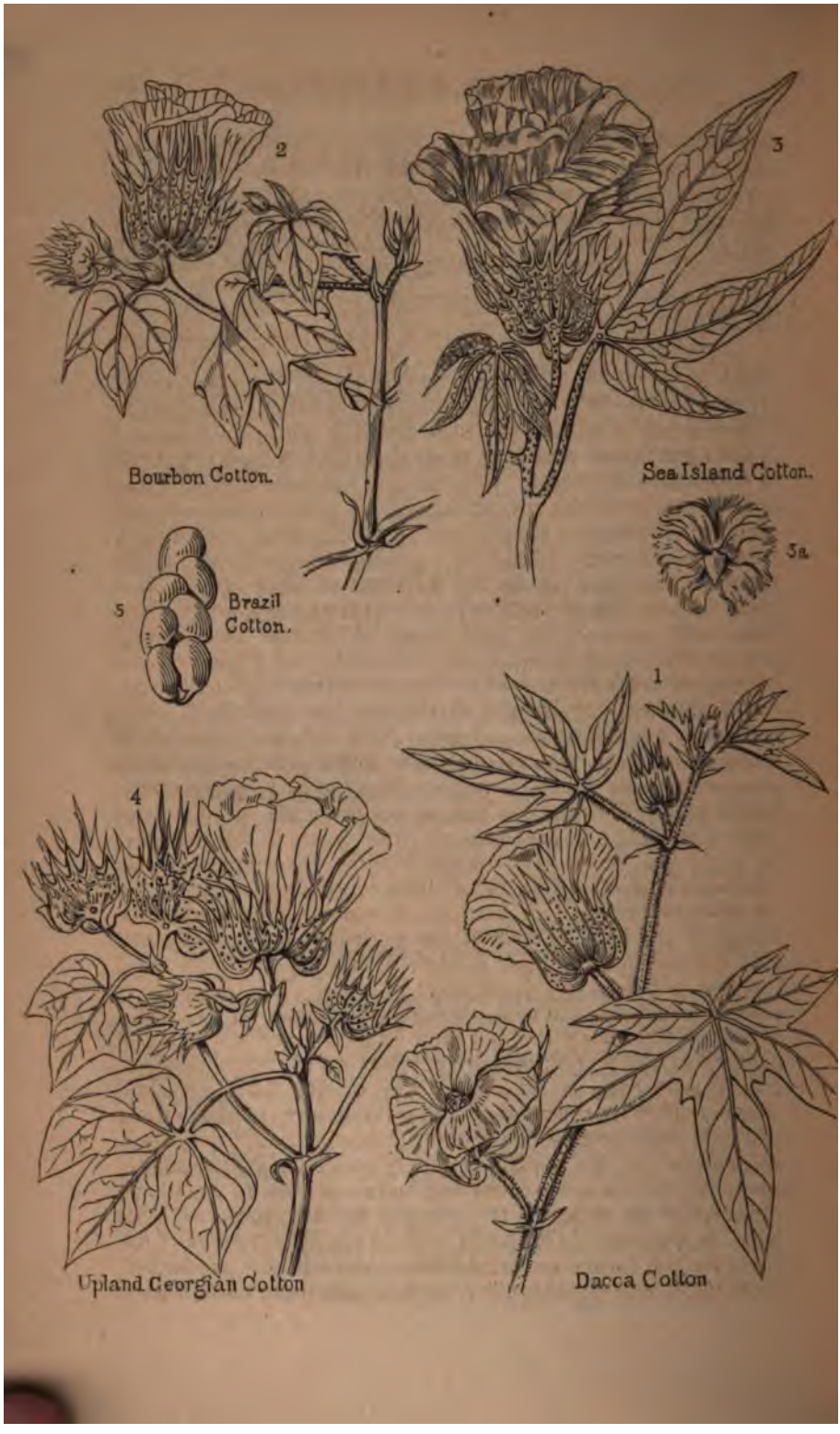
The following illustration (see next page) exhibits the appearance of the different varieties of Cotton which are in cultivation, and enter into the markets of the world. For a full account of each the reader will consult the great work of Dr. Royle, on the Culture and Commerce of Cotton, published in London in 1851. (See figures.)

1. Dacca Cotton.
2. Bourbon Cotton.
3. Sea Island Cotton.
4. Upland or New Orleans Cotton.
5. Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, Peruvian—the seeds adhering together like a cone.

The *Dacca* is in cultivation in Bengal and Coromandel, and furnishes the exceedingly fine cotton used in manufacturing the exquisitely delicate muslins of that place.

The *Bourbon* Cotton is so named from having been grown in the Isle of Bourbon, where it is supposed to have been introduced by the French from the West Indies. Its seeds were early distributed by Dr. Anderson throughout the Peninsula. Dr. Wright, Mr. Fisher and others, state that its cultivation is now common in many of the Southern districts.

Sea Island Cotton.—Dr. Royle says, from the specimens which he has seen of the cotton cultivated in Egypt, that it is a variety of this species, and he infers it is probable that, because the Sea Island cotton would be found to belong to the same when the cultivation was commenced in Egypt, seed would most likely be introduced from the then best known sources. The other two varieties, the long and short-stapled kinds, or "Sea Islands" and "Uplands" as they are called, are derived from the same stock as the Bourbon. The Sea Island variety has succeed in some parts of India, as under Mr. Elphineton's care in the maratime district of Rutnagherry.


2
3
Bourbon Cotton.
Sea Island Cotton.
3a
5
Brazil
Cotton.
1
4
Upland Georgian Cotton
Dacca Cotton

RATES OF LABOR IN SAN FRANCISCO.

In presenting our usual quarterly table of the labor paid in San Francisco, says the San Francisco Prices Current, and which has been carefully reviewed and corrected for this issue, we beg leave to call attention to some strong points of difference existing now, and which heretofore did not exist. We refer to the very sensible decrease in the remuneration obtained by nearly all classes of operatives in this city. The reduction which have been taking place ever since the monetary crises of 1855, in the various establishments, whether merchantile or industrial, of course have been severely felt in all classes of mechanical labor, which, in turn, have been forced to submit to new scales of wages. Heretofore it has been assumed that our proximity to the mines, where, no matter what a man's occupation was, his simple ability to dig earth and wheel a barrow was sure to yield him a handsome equivalent, had its natural effect in keeping up the rates of labor in this city. Matters have changed no less in the mining localities than they have with us, and the great mass of laborers there being mainly dependant on the employment afforded them by companies, whether water, tunnelling, or quartz crushing it matters little, the fact being that the day for individual labor and profit has mainly passed away, and with the systematical mode of working by companies now in full practice has come a consequent reduction of wages. Many mechanics and workmen who have tried the mines, as few there are who have not after a residence of from one to three years in this country, have returned to the city content to submit to ordinary wages, even at a large discount, rather than continue to toil at an occupation laborious in the extreme, to such as have been accustomed to the usual routine of the workshop and bench; and thus the market has been glutted with a superabundance of hands in almost every department of labor. The obscurity of titles to, and the vexatious delays which now for so great a length of time have attained their litigation and settlment, of course has had a most disastrous effect on all branches of industry pertaining to building. For a long time scarcely a single edifice could be seen going up in any portion of our city, and consequently rates for the labor of masons, bricklayers, carpenters. &c., &c., remained merely nominal. At the present time we have a most gratifying improvement to note over former months, although the demand for this species of labor is not as extensive as we could wish, at the same time the prospects for the future are brightening, and with the gradual rebuilding, firmly, substantially, even if slowly, of certain parts

of our fair metropolis, we look forward to the more general employment of all classes and degrees of our mechanical population.

Blacksmiths	$5 00a6 00	per diem
Do Helpers	3 00a4 00	"
Ship Smiths	5 00a6 00	"
Do Helpers	3 00a4 00	"
Locksmiths	3 00a6 00	"
Coppersmiths	5 00a6 00	"
Gunsmiths	5 00	"
Metal Turners	4 00a5 00	"
Wood Turners	4 00a5 00	"
Fire-proof Shutter and Railing makers	4 00a5 00	"
Brass Founders	4 00a5 00	"
Boilers makers and Riveters	5 00a6 00	"
Pattern makers and Moulders	5 00a6 00	"
Finishers	5 00a6 00	"
Plumbers	5 00a6 00	"
House Carpenters and Joiners	4 50a6 00	"
Ship Carpenters	6 00a7 00	"
Boat Builders	6 00a7 00	"
Caulkers	7 00	"
Tin Workers	3 50a4 00	"
Tin Roofers	5 00	"
Carriage Makers	4 00a5 00	"
Wheelwrights	4 00a5 00	"
Pile Drivers	4 00	"
Coopers	5 00	"
House Painters	4 00a5 00	"
Sign Painters, gold lettering per letter	40a60	cts
do. plain do, per letter	25a35	cts
Sail Makers	6 00	"
Riggers	6 00	"
Stevedors	6 00	"
Granite Dressers	3 50a5 00	"
Marble Cutters	4 00a5 00	"
Do Polishers	2 00a3 00	"
Wood Sawyers	6 00	"
Freestone Cutters	5 00a6 00	"
Stone Masons	5 00a6 00	"
Ballast cutters	1 00a2 50	"
Bricklayers	6 00	"
Hodmen	3 00	"
Plasterers	6 00	"
Shoemakers	2 00a4 00	"
Hatters	$50 a$100	per week
Pump and Block makers	5 00	per diem
Harness makers	2 50a4 00	per diem
Millers (2 grades)	5 00a7 00	"
Engineers (stationary engines	3 50a6 00	"
Firemen	5 00	"
Bookbinders	6 00	"
Do Folders	3 00	"
Cartmen	2 50	"
Day Laborers	2 50	"
Watchmakers	8 00	"
Jewelers	8 00	"
Chasers	10 00	"
Lapidaries	9 00	"
Brickmakers	$50a90	per month and found
Do Moulders	75a100	"
Do Burners	100a125	"
Lime Burners	50a 60	"
Matrass makers	30a 40	"
Hostlers	70	"
Waiters (in hotels)	30a 40	"
Chambermaids	25	"
Cooks	75a150	"
Deck hands (river navigation)	50	per month
Engineers do	200	"
Do Assistants do	125	"
Firemen do	60	"
Waiters do	40	"
Mates do	150	"
Stewarts do	100	"
Pilots do	200	"
Cooks	100	"
Tailors	75a100	"
Seamens wages, (foreign)	$30	"
advance	18	"
Seamens' wages,(coastwise)	30	"
Mates	50a60	"
Mill Sawyers	100	"
Do Planers	100	"
Lumbermen (in yards)	100	"
Bakers	75a100	"
Barbers	50a100	"
Butchers & Slaughterers	75a100	"
Upholsters, paperhangers, &c.,	75a100	"
Servant girls	30a 40	"
Porters in stores	30a125	"
Draymen	75	per month
Printers	$1 per 1,000 ems or $40 per week,	

ACCIDENTS AND DISEASES OF THE COTTON PLANT.*

Cotton, like many other plants, is subject to diseases, caused principally by accidents, the defects of the soil in which it grows, the depredations of insects, and the effects of the weather. Those which are the most fatal may be described as follows:—

Sore-shin.—One of the diseases to which the cotton-plant is subject, commonly known among planters as the "sore-shin," sometimes occasioned by a careless stroke of the hoe, scraping the outer bark from the stem while the plant is yet young and tender. The sap being arrested by the wound, that part of the main stem above the injury dwindles away, becoming both weak and brittle. Although the regenerative powers of the plant may afterwards produce new bark from the sides of the wound, and the injury heal up, leaving only a larger or smaller cicatrix, or scar, according to the extent of the wound received, the stem eventually becoming so attenuated and weak, as frequently to break off at or above the place where the wound was first made.

The preventive of this disease would be, to take great care when hoeing, not to bruise nor injure the young plant, as, when the growth is once stopped by an accidental bruise, or abrasion of the bark, the plant, if not broked down by storms, or the weight of its own top foliage, will always appear stunted or weak.

There is also said to be another species of "sore-shin," to which the young cotton-plant is liable, differing entirely from that occasioned by careless hoeing, the cause of which is attributed by many to cold, cutting winds, when the plant is very young. Others, however, assert that, when a high wind shakes the tender plant, the main stem is so much bent and twisted, that the sap-vessels are upturned, and a serious injury occurs; but the wound is sometimes healed, and if the cotton grows vigorously afterwards, it apparently outgrows the shock.

Frenching.—In certain portions of the plantation, in many parts of Florida, individual plants grow with white or variegated leaves. This peculiarity is termed "Frenching;" but, as I observed only a few thus marked, it may, perhaps, be only a sport of nature, similar to the variegated leaves of cultivated plants of our gardens. Indian corn, however, is subject to "French;" and, in this case, the disease has been attributed to some imperfection of the soil; to improper use of manures, as well as to various other causes. Be this as it may, it appears as if only certain spots, varying in area in the same field, are attacked, sometimes in succession, year after year, while

* By Townsend Glover, of the Patent Office.

the remainder of the crop is perfectly healthy and good. When corn is thus *Frenched* on what are termed "Frenched lands," it grows light-colored, sometimes almost white, or striped, and bears no crop. Until this Frenched land has been thoroughly and properly analysed, it would be useless to say anything more on the subject so little understood; and I merely mention this disease here to invite public attention to it, and to induce practical farmers to experiment, in order to find out the cause, and, should one be discovered, to suggest some remedy for its removal.

THE EFFECTS OF A BAD SUB-SOIL.—When on the plantation of Major Haywood, of Tallahassee, in Florida, in the month of August, several very fine, and apparently healthy cotton-plants, from 4 to 5 feet in height, covered with forms and bolls, were observed to be dying suddenly, in certain spots, the leaves being withered, as if the damage had been done within twenty-four hours. Such plants eventually died; and, on taking them up, no worm, insect, nor injury, either external or internal, could be discovered; and the only conclusion that could be drawn was, that some of the roots had suddenly penetrated into a soil totally unfitted for, and evidently deleterious to, the life of the plant. What rendered it the more singular was, the fact that other cotton-plants were growing most luxuriantly within one or two feet of that which was stricken.

THE RUST.—The cotton-plant is also subject to a disease called the "rust." The leaves, when first attacked, appear rather yellower than the rest, with red spots on the surface, and often, margined with the same red color. These leaves then turn yellower and redder every day, until the plant assumes a bright-red or almost a carmine appearance, when, finally, the whole of the foliage turns more of a brown color and falls to the earth. When the disease attacks the boll, it assumes a different appearance, and is termed the "red" or "black" rust, as the case may be. The cotton, in such bolls as have been attacked by the black rust, and the bolls themselves, shrivel up, and turn dark-colored, as if they had been severely blighted or mildewed, and are totally valueless.

This disease has been attributed to leaving pokeberry plants in the field. But this, I have never observed, and suppose the assumption to be on the same principle that the mildew on wheat was formerly attributed to the influence of the berberry bush. Others state that rust is owing to an undue proportion of lime in the earth, and that it is no doubt caused by some organic or inorganic imperfection of the soil in which it is grown; but, until such soil shall have been thoroughly analysed, and its component parts correctly ascertained, nothing certain can be known about it. There is also another theory in regard to

the subject of the rust: that it is entirely owing to atmospheric changes, and not to the soil. Experiments, however, ought to be instituted to find out the real cause, and the result made known, as the disease has done, and is at present doing, much injury to the crops of the South. Salt, sown at the rate of half a bushel to the acre among cotton, is stated to be a certain preventive of the rust, and to restore the plant to its former vigor; but several planters whom I have spoken to on the subject, deny the fact, and say that salt had no effect whatever.

There is also another species of rust caused by an *acarus*, which will be found described on a preceding page.

SHEDDING OF YOUNG BUDS, OR BOLLS, CAUSED BY WET WEATHER. When the cotton-blooms, or flowers, are exposed to the heavy and beating rains of a Southern climate, especially between the hours of ten and two, as they are opening, or have already opened, it frequently happens that such blooms prove barren. The outer calyx turns yellow, and eventually the unfertilized flower and immature boll fall to the ground, the seeds turn brown, and the fibre of the cotton is worthless. This is generally attributed to the heavy drops of rain washing away the poolen which should have impregnated the pistil; the embryo seed-vessel, of course, never matures, but dries up and perishes. Bees, wasps, and insects in general, are Nature's agents in distributing the poolen, or fertilising dust. As they fly from flower to flower, small particles of this dust adhere to some part of their bodies or limbs, with which they impregnate the next flower while in search of honey or more dust.

Sometimes the pistil and stamens of a cotton-bloom are found eaten in such a manner as to distort them. This injury is often caused by the very young boll-worm, which, penetrating the young flower-bud by a hole through the outer calyx, where the egg was laid, after eating several of the enclosed stamens and anthers, and injuring one side of the pistil, bores into the embryo boll, before it is shed. I have reared several caterpillars found in such situations, and proved them to be the true boll-worm. Moreover, I have found the hatched shell of the egg on the outer calyx, and traced the caterpillar's track through the petals to the stamens, and finally to the boll itself. I will not, however, enlarge on this subject here, but refer to the article on "The Boll-worm," in a former part of this Report.

THE ROT.—The "rot" has been attributed to a variety of causes, such as changes in the atmosphere, defects in the soil, the attacks of insects, and to the growth of fungi. Mr. Troup, in the "American Farmer," describes its appearance with great accuracy. He says: "The first indication is seen in a small circular spot on the outside of the boll, exhibiting a

darker green than the circumjacent parts; as if a globule of water had been dropped upon it, and been absorbed. Many of these are frequently seen at the same time on the same boll. They spread themselves, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, as if induced, either by the state of the atmosphere, or condition of the plant, changing color as they progress, until they assume a dark-brown, approaching to black, and until the whole exterior is in like manner affected; or until it receives, from some cause, a sudden check, and then this appearance is only partial. In the first case, the disease has penetrated to the centre of the fruit, the fermentation is complete and universal, and is seen in a frothy, white liquid thrown out on the surface. Putrefaction follows, and the destruction of the seed and immature wool being finished, nothing is left but the rind, or exterior coating of the boll, which, exhausted of its juices, hardens, turns black, and thus terminates the process. In the other case, (that of suddenly checked disease,) the interior of the boll in some instances remains unhurt; in others, it is only partially injured; and, in the last case, the pods, remaining unhurt, mature and expand. This, however, rarely happens, as the disease is wonderfully capricious, going and coming unaccountably, attacking at one time with more, at another with less violence; so that the fruit, which escapes entire destruction on the first attack, may fall a victim on the second. Nor is this capriciousness justly attributable to the changes in the atmosphere, as its origin does not seem to have any connection with the weather."

It is very difficult to find out the true cause of this disease, as it sometimes appears in dry as well as in wet years, although it is generally more destructive during rainy seasons. The young bolls are often found rotted, as well as the half-matured and old, so that the age of the fruit does not appear to have anything to do with it. Many of them may have the interior entirely dried up and destroyed, while others will open with only one or two segments rotted, the rest being perfectly healthy, and filled with good white cotton.

As to the theory of a defect in the soil, it has been stated by some planters that barnyard manure will often produce it; but if this is the case, it is somewhat singular that it has often been observed that one plant may be very badly affected by the rot, while others on each side are perfectly healthy and uninjured, as has often been observed. This fact appears to show that a great deal depends upon the constitution of the plant itself, which may be inherited from its parent, and perhaps a choice of good sound seed, from strong and healthy plants only, might in time have a great effect in remedying this disease; and as we know that much depends upon the

vigor, health, and prolific qualities of the parent plant, it might perhaps be well to make experiments by planting seen of diseased, and sound, healthy plants, in the same situation and soil.

The fungoid growth, found on the old rotted bolls, when they begin to open, may perhaps be regarded more as the result than the cause of the disease. Several insects, it is true, have been found in these rotten bolls, where most probably they had crept for food and shelter, after the boll had become rotten, while others have been caught in the very act of piercing the bolls; but this subject will be found treated at greater length under the head of "The Boll," and insects found in or upon it, on a preceding page.

While on the subject of the rot, it may be well to mention that, there are three glands on the inside of the outer calyx, at the bottom of the boll, and three on the outside between the "ruffle" and stalk, which secrete and give out a sweet substance, which ants, bees, wasps, and plant-bugs avail themselves of as food. I have seen young bolls, apparently healthy, suddenly drop from the plant, and, on being carefully cut open, showed a wound which had been pierced by the trunk of some insect, in one of these glands, and that a watery rot had commenced where the boll had been stung. It was evident that this rot had been caused by the piercer of some insect unknown, as the puncture could be traced throughout its length to the heart of the lower part of the injured boll.

VIRGINIA AND THE CAROLINAS.

J. G. Kohl of the Coast Survey, has lately prepared a volume soon to be published on the Discovery, Explorations, and Hydrography of the United States Coasts. He has made a digest of the work for the National Intelligencer, from which we make some extracts.

Virginia.

The coast of the country which we now name Virginia is said to have been known to the old Northmen. One of them, Gudlief Gudlaugsen, is said to have sailed in the year 1028 so far to the South. He is supposed to have called the country *Huitramannaland*, the Land of the Whitemen, which may be considered the oldest and first name under which these regions became ever known to the Europeans.

The Spaniards, since 1520, included the land under the names of *Terra de Ayllon* and *Florida*, and the French, since 1563, under the name of *Nouvelle France*. The English invented the name *Virginia* at first (1583) for the country lying

round Pamlico and Albemarle Sound. They composed this name, it is said, for two reasons: first because it was discovered in the reign of their Virgin Queen, Elizabeth; and, secondly, "because the country seemed still to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation, and the people there the primitive innocence."

They extended this name at once over a great part of the east coast, and particularly over the vicinity of Chesapeake bay, which was already discovered from the Roanoke settlements, and which we see included under the name of Virginia on the first map of Virginia, 1590.

When, since 1606, the Chesapeake bay was better explored and settled, and when it became the principal centre of the English settlements on the east coast, *this* region was par excellence called *Virginia*, sometimes *New Virginia*, whilst the former settlements and country round Albemarle Sound, then forsaken, were sometimes (for instance, on a map of Capt. J. Smith) called *Ould Virginia* This was, however, more a popular manner of denomination. The official or legal name of the country was, in the year 1606, by King James I. thus confined: He called *Virginia*, or *the Virginian territory* or *coast*, the whole east coast of North America, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of northern latitude. This whole territory was divided by the royal patent into two parts, a northern and a southern. The southern commenced in the south at 34° north latitude and ended in the north at about the 40° north latitude. It was called the *First Colony* or the *Southern Settlements in Virginia*, or *Virginia proper*.

Authors and other private men took however, the liberty to invent other names, according to their own taste, and tried to give them currency. So one author describes, in the year 1609, the territory of our present Virginia under the name *of Nova Britania*. Another (Strachey, in the year 1612) calls it the *Colony in Virginia Britania*, (the Colony in Virginian Britany.) These names, however, remained only in the books.

When Capt. J. Smith and Prince Charles invented and introduced (1616) for northern Virginia the new name of New England, the appellation *Southern Virginia* disappeared, and was changed to *Virginia* simple.

By the separation of the Territories of Maryland, (1632) of Carolana, (1629,) and of Carolina, (1663,) the name and province of Virginia lost a great deal of their former extension, and received at last their present limits, between 38° and 36½° north latitude, so far as our coast is concerned. The changes of the boundaries towards the interior regions have no interest here for us.

Carolina.

When the Spaniards, under Vasquez Ayllon, (1520 and 1526,) arrived on the coasts of what we now call Carolina, and more especially South Carolina, they heard here of a great Indian king and country, both called *Chicora* or *Chicoria*, and they applied that Indian name for some time to this country, without, however, giving to it very distinct limits.

The country was also sometimes called after its discoverer, *Tierra del Licenciado Ayllon*, or, shorter, *Tierra de Ayllon*, often also corrupted to *Terra de Aullon*. Under this name the Spaniards comprehended sometimes a very great part of North America, sometimes not more than our province.

It is curious enough that the French also, when they (1563) arrived at the locality of Ayllon's activity, heard again of an Indian king and country of that name. In their ears it sounded, however, like *Chicola* or *Chiouole*.

After the French navigation to these regions we hear the country sometimes designated by the French themselves with the name *La Floride Francoise*, and other nations also called it *French Florida*. The Spaniards, of course, always considered it as a part of their Spanish Florida.

The French built on their Riviere May (St. Mateo or St. John's river) a fort which they called Fort Caroline or Carolina. Some map-makers and geographers applied this name, as an appellation of a country or territory, to the whole region. So we see, for instance, on a map of North America by Cornelius a Judæis, (1593,) the whole French Florida called *Carolina*, in honor of Charles IX, King of France. It is curious that the same name was afterwards given to the same locality in honor of an English king.

The English, since their settlements at Roanoke, comprehended the whole territory of Carolina under their widely-extended name of Virginia, since 1583. (See our note on the history of that name.)

The country round Albemarle Sound, our present North Carolina, they called sometimes on their maps with the original Indian name *Wigandacoa*, or also *Weapemeoc*, and afterwards sometimes *Ould Virginia*.

To the south of Roanoke and Albemarle Sound the English tried to establish a province or colony for the first time in the year 1629, when Sir Robert Heath, Attorney General to Charles I, obtained from this King a grant of the whole unknown country between 38° north latitude and the river St. Mateo, and when this country was called, in honor of Charles I, *Carolana*.

This grant had, however, very slight consequences. The country was not settled, not taken possession of, not even surveyed or explored.

In the year 1663 Charles II. made another grant of all the lands between the 36th and 37th degrees, north latitude, to Edward Earl of Clarendon, and some other lords and gentlemen, and this tract was again called in his honor *Carolina;* so that we may say we have three kings as godfathers to this province: Charles IX, of France, Charles I, and Charles II, of England.

By a second more ample charter of the 24th of March, 1667, Charles II. extended the boundaries of Carolina from 29° north latitude to 36° 30′, and from east to west "until the Pacific Ocean."

The country was divided into two great countries—a northern one, called "*The County of Albemarle*," and a southern one, called "*Clarendon county*."

In this same year (1667) William Sayle, the appointed Governor of Carolina, explored and surveyed the whole coast of the province, entering all the rivers and making astronomical observations. He no doubt also procured a map of the country to be made, but unhappily this map is not preserved for us. Probably the results of this first good survey of the coasts of Carolina were not then made known to the world at large; for we find still, on the edition of Champlain's maps of the year 1677, along the coasts of Carolina this inscription: "*Terre non encore bien découverte continente a la Florida*," (a land not yet well discovered is connected with Florida.)

In the year 1729 the whole great province was divided into *North* and *South Carolina*, and as the dividing point on the coast was fixed a small inlet to the west of Cape Fear, called Little River Inlet.

In the year 1733 the province of Georgia was detached as a separate government of the old Territory of Carolina, and the southern boundaries of this latter were fixed at the mouth of the Savannah river, and within these boundaries the name of Carolina has been prescribed ever since.

According to what we stated, we may in a certain degree consider the names of *Wingandacoa*, *Weapemeoc*, *Ould Virginia*, *Albemarle County* as old particular designations for North Carolina, and the names of *Chicora*, *Terra de Ayllon*, *Floride Francoise*, *Clarendon County* as particular appellaons applied to South Carolina.

THE GROWTH OF ST. PAUL AND MINNESOTA.

The growth of St. Paul in population, and in those elements of wealth and prosperity which constitute a flourishing city, has been truly marvellous during the present season.

A greater number of buildings have been erected this year than in any two years preceding.

The increase in population has been very great. Our city at the present time, we firmly believe, contains a population of twelve thousand souls. In 1849 it did not contain five hundred inhabitants.

During the present summer, eastern capital amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, has been profitably and judiciously expended. Large and elegant warehouses, stores, and dwellings have been erected by hundreds.

Labor of all kinds has been in demand throughout the season. Mechanics and day-laborers have commanded what would seem to the same class of population in the East, enormous wages.

I presume there is no city in this country—I might say in the world, perhaps—that has increased more in the same space of time, in everything pertaining to substantial growth and prosperity, than has St. Paul the present season.

The emigration to the Territory has been steady and increasing the whole season; so great, indeed, has been the increase, that our people are beginning now seriously to entertain the idea of applying for *admission into the Union as a State*, our population numbering now, it is thought, *nearly two hundred thousand souls.*

A word or two in regard to investments and loans, as all business men particularly desire to be posted on these subjects.

I will briefly enumerate one or two modes in which, in my opinion, money can be invested in this direction to great advantage. In the first place, then, city property—in other words, property in or round St. Paul—I regard as the safest and most judicious investment that can be made. It may not prove so immediately and enormously profitable perhaps as some new points, or even as wild land, (including under that head all land subject to entry, and not under cultivation;) but in these cases there is more or less risk, while investments in property here I regard as sound and safe to the fullest extent. I have known of instances this season of property in towns outside and the land adjoining advancing in a few months, since April last, in fact, at the rate of fourteen or fifteen hundred per cent., and some a great deal more; property in "Bayfield," for instance, a city on lake Superior, Wisconsin, started in April last, said to possess the finest harbor on the whole lake, having also a grant of land for railroad purposes, made them by Congress as part of the Wisconsin grant, with Bayfield as the terminus of the road, and likely to be a very large city. Land has sold as high as $1,000 and $2,000 per acre; and property just outside adjoining the city limits at over four hundred an acre. This is a striking instance of the rapid rise of property sometimes in the West, and in this in-

stance the investment I regard as a safe one, because, in all human probability, Bayfield is sure to make a very considerable point. The enterprise is headed by men of position and influence, of untiring energy, and abundant means, and must prove successful. At the head of the list stands our present delegate in Congress, Hon. Henry M. Rice, a western pioneer, a man of great shrewdness and foresight, in building cities particularly, and one whose judgment, since I have known anything of him, has never yet failed in a solitary instance; he has done more to build up St. Paul than any other man in the Territory. He has been instrumental also in starting Superior, (a city situated at the head of lake Superior,) likely to become in time a very considerable point.

* * * * * * * * *

The company are making improvements there of various kinds, building piers, hotels, &c., and have erected a steam-saw mill, now in operation, costing from $10,000 to $15,000. The town is progressing finely, and with the fund reserved by the company for improvements, must decidedly rank with Superior, St. Paul, and other young and vigorous cities of this rapidly growing region of country. A wagon-road from Bayfield to St. Paul has been completed and in use for two or three months, over which a post-route has already been established. In view of the early development of this point, many prominent parties have made desirable locations in the immediate neighborhood, among whom may be mentioned Hon. Mr. Aiken, late representative from South Carolina, Hon. Jesse D. Bright, Hon. John C. Breckinridge, Hon. Hiram Walbridge, and others.

THE SUEZ CANAL—ITS EFFECTS ON COMMERCE.

To cut through the Isthmus of Suez or Panama, would be to open shorter and less dangerous routes for the navigator, to reduce the expense of trade, and to extend commerce by facilitating it; to increase the welfare and riches of all; to bring nations together, and thus to contribute the greatness of one to the civilization of another. Such is one of the undertakings reserved for the second half of this century, already so remarkable—an era which this great work alone would render celebrated.

Of the two projected canals, that of America and that of Suez, the importance is very different. The canal of Suez would unite India and Europe. It would re-establish the commerce and prosperity, the peace and advancement of Europe, Asia, and even Africa; in a word, of the whole of this hemisphere, the continental superfices of which, com-

pared with that of the opposite, being in the proportion of 23 to 11. To Mr. Ferdinand de Lesseps, was reserved the honor of attaching his name to this great enterprise, authorized and patronised by the Viceroy of Egypt, Mahommed Said.

If we compare the mean distances between the ports of Europe and India, by the Cape of Good Hope, on the one hand, and by the intended channel between the two seas on the other, we shall find an enormous difference in favor of this latter route. This difference will be still greater if we remember that a straight line on the chart of navigation is far from being the shortest distances from one port to another, and the seaman can only reach the point for which he is steering by following a certain number of successive courses, approaching as near as possible the arc of a great circle. Thus, far from making directly for the Cape of Good Hope, vessels leaving Europe or the Atlantic ports of North America, en route for India, must steer for the Canaries or Azores in order to find the trade winds of the Northern hemisphere, to make the coast of Brazil and sight Cape Frio, or put into harbor at Rio Janeiro. This is generally the route for the Cape of Good Hope, more justly, perhaps, called the Cape of Storms. They then cross the Aguilhas bank, reach Bourbon or Mauritius, and from thence steer for India, following the routes allowed by the monsoons. Vessels in the Mediterranean again have to contend with still greater disadvantages. It often takes them fifteen days to reach the Straits of Gibraltar, westerly winds generally prevailing in this quarter, where we also find a rapid flow of the ocean waters into the Mediterranean. Thus the voyages to India take at least five months or five months and a half, the voyages home being rather more direct, without being sensibly shorter. Ships can then run nearer to the African shore by reason of the trade-winds of the Southern hemisphere, the place of call in this case being St. Helena.

I have myself taken both these routes about ten years since. If we now examine the facilities for navigation in the three seas near the canal of Suez, namely, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Oman, we find—

That in the Mediterranean the winds blow from the north during the greater part of the year, change to S. E. in the spring, and return to the north, passing by the W. and N. W.

That nearly the same takes place in the Red Sea, where the north, which is the prevailing wind, heaps the waters in the direction of Babel Mandel, so that during a calm we observe a current setting northward, evidently arising from the elevated waters in the south endeavoring to recover their level. Southerly winds generally succeed a calm.

The Gulf of Oman has two monsoons—the N. E. monsoon, which generally continues during the winter, and the S. W. monsoon, which lasts during the summer, and is frequently stormy. The change from one monsoon to the other is there, as elsewhere, accompanied by a series of storms and gales.

It appears to me from the foregoing that it would be advantageous for vessels to proceed to India (by the canal) during the autumn, and to return by it in the spring.

The considerable reduction of the distance of European ports from those of India would not be the only advantage to trade from adopting the canal between the two seas; for not only would vessels reach their point of destination much sooner, but they would find places of anchorage throughout the entire route, and also, what is of more importance still, they would meet with good markets. The navigator, after having followed the usual easy routes of the Mediterranean, would dispose of part of his cargo in the canal of Suez or at Djedda, would purchase ivory at Massarva, Souaken, or Derbera, which he would exchange in India for opium, to take to China in exchange for silk and tea. He would complete his home cargo in colonial merchandise from Manilla, the Isles of Sunda, and Ceylon, in cotton of India or Egypt, in coffee of Abyssinia or Yemen, the gum of Soudon or Hedjaz, the corn of lower Egypt, or rice of Damietta; and these numerous operations, which now require years, would be accomplished rapidly and without danger with small capital and small vessels. In short, by reducing the time necessary for the operations of commerce we reduce the general expense. We make a greater number of these changes feasible in a given time, and facilitate them to small traders, who are by far the most numerous. By affording an easier and surer route to navigation, we find it may be accomplished by vessels of small tonnage, provided with bills of exhange; in short, it opens the route to India to coasting vessels, and renders commerce and navigation general. Turkey, Russia, Austria, Italy, and southern Spain might then fit out vessels for India, and these Powers would find their maritime resources increase in immense proportion. Marseilles would become more important, and the ports on the ocean, Cadiz, Lisbon, Havre, Rotterdam, Hamburg, would increase their shipping, like England suddenly brought near its powerful colony, like Spain and Holland with respect to Manilla and Batavia; in short, the increase of trade competition on the one hand, and the vast diminution of expense on the other, would doubtless tend to lessen the rates of exchange. The produce of Asia would abound in our markets; the Asiatic markets would, in their turn, be rich in ours; and the general good would be the necessary result.

All nations would take advantage of the importance of the trade with India, China, and the islands of the ocean. Trade with the Red Sea, although less considerable, deserves attention; but, as there is scarcely any carried on at present, it is very little known, and could only acquire importance by the opening of a canal between the two seas. The Red Sea, which is so near to us in a straight line, becomes far distant when we have to double the Cape. Babel Mandel is as far from us as Pondicherry, and Souaken as far as Batavia; Suez, further still by this route, becomes as near as Beyrout by the canal; in short, the two routes measured from the Straits of Gibralter to Souaken are in the proportion of one to five.

Very few European vessels are now met with in the Red Sea. Every year we see a few belonging to the Parsees of Bombay, and manned by Lascars. The internal trade of this sea is now carried on by Arabian barques, called *dows* or *boutres*, constructed at Suez, Djedda, Kossair, Souaken, or Mocha, with wood from India to Singapore. These vessels are of a very small tonnage, are very sharp, and have a handsome sheer; a heavy poop, which hinders their working, and lowers it at the stern; they carry one mast, rigging a square sail; this sail and its yard are struck to the foot of the mast when they lay to; about thirty men are required to hoist it again, and this operation cannot be performed in less than half an hour. The tacking of these ships is as difficult as it is dangerous. The dows only sail in the day time; they get under way about seven o'clock in the morning, sail till about four in sight of the coast, then anchor by a grappling iron, or run aground on the sand.

When they have to cross the Red Sea, the Arabs take the precaution of sailing from a port to the windward of the one they are steering for, on the opposite coast; the voyage occupies sixty hours, and is always a time of great anxiety to the masters of these vessels. These masters, called *nakhouda*, (from a Persian word,) pretend to take observations with astrolabes of great antiquity, although this pretension does not appear to me to be proved. I must add that we rarely find a compass on board these dows. The classic compass of the Arabs only consists of a needle, more or less magnetic, resting on a cork, which floats in some water, and hence we need not be astonished that one fifth of the dows are lost every year.

The sailing of the dows is by no means good. I have myself passed forty-five days in two of these vessels; namely, fifteen days in going from Souaken to Djedda, (about sixty nautical leagues,) and thirty days in going from Djedda to Kossair, (scarcely one hundred and thirty nautical leagues.) It is true that the wind was against us; and one-half of this

time was employed in beating to windward, sometimes still less. There is a great difference between these dows and our vessels. Thus we may suppose that the introduction of European vessels into the Red Sea by the canal of Suez would cause a complete revolution even in the internal commerce of this sea.

THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE, 1856.

Compensation and mileage of Senators	$108,872
Compensation and mileage of Representatives and Delegates	365,048
Additional, allowed under increased compensation	773,500
Compensation of officers and employees of Senate	69,484
Contingent expenses of the Senate	168,460
Compensation of officers and employees of House of Representatives	76,646
Contingent expenses of House of Representatives, viz:	
Binding Documents	$125,000
Furniture, repairs, and stationery	15,000
Horses, carriages, fuel, and lights	6,900
Newspapers for members	12,500
Engraving and lithographing	125,000
Police and miscellaneous items	40,700
Pages, laborers, folders, &c	26,632
For Congressional Globe and appendix	34,704
Binding same	16,657
Reporting debates, first session	21,000
	424,183
For Library Congress and Superintendent of Printing	30,750
Paper required for Printing during second session	156,408
Printing for the second session, Thirty-Fourth Congress	115,000
Compensation of the President of the United States	25,000
Compensation of the Vice President—balance	2,622
Compensation of Secretary to sign patents	1,500
Compensation of Secretary of State and employees	51,000
Publishing the laws of Congress	47,301
Contingent expenses of State Department	34,500
Compensation of the Secretary of the Treasury, assistants and employees	615,340
Contingent expenses of Treasury Department	78,409
Compensation of the Secretary of the Interior, commissioners and employees	314,390
Contingent expenses of Interior Department	133,230
Surveyors of Public Lands and their clerks	130,151
Compensation of the Secretary of War, clerks and employees	106,300
Contingent expense of the War Department	29,160
Compensation of the Secretary of the Navy, clerks and employees	97,540
Contingent expenses of the Navy Department	12,565
Compensation of the Postmaster-General, clerks and employees	158,840
Contingent expenses of Post Office Department	159,000
Expenses of Mint at Philadelphia	177,200
Expenses of Mint at New Orleans	63,200
Expenses of Mint at Charlotte, North Carolina	11,600
Expenses of Mint at Dahlonega, Georgia	10,880
Expenses of Mint at San Francisco	277,300
Expenses of Mint at New York Assay Office	62,200
For Territorial Government—Oregon	34,000
For Territorial Government—Minnesota	30,300

For Territorial Government—New Mexico	34,000
For Territorial Government—Utah	33,000
For Territorial Government—Washington	34,000
For Territorial Government—Nebraska	31,500
For Territorial Government—Kansas	32,000
Compensation of Supreme Court and District Judges	167,000
Compensation of Attorney General and District Attorneys	54,000
Support of the Court of Claims	30,000
Support of the Independent Treasury	151,000
Support of the present land system	253,000
Support of the District Peuitentiary	23,316
For defraying the expenses of the United States Courts	800,000
Contingent expenses of Surveyors General	17,000
Contingent expenses of Public Grounds in Washington	41,226
For the support of the Army—	
Army proper	10,568,249
Armories, Arsenals, and Munitions of War	985,049
Military Academy	173,891
Fortifications and other works of defence	1,746,400
Surveys, &c	135,000
Miscellaneous objects	1,400,000
Arrearages	2,000
For the support of the Navy—	
Navy proper	8,142,418
Marine corps	851,113
Special objects	4,530,974
Surveys of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts	250,000
Survey of the Western Coasts of the United States	130,000
Support of the Light House establishment	1,300,959
To supply a deficiency in Post Office Department	2,250,000
Intercourse with foreign nations	936,862
For the payment of pensions	1,458,947
For lighting the President's house and public grounds	27,000
Continuation of public buildings in Washington	450,000
For Indian annuities	1,385,276
To collect agricultural seeds and statistics	75,000
For the payment of certain per centage to States	256,000
Repayment for land erroneously sold	63,000
Marine Hospital fund	150,000
For the payment of debentures, drawbacks, and bounties	500,000
Repayment to importers the excess of duties collected	1,050,000
Expenses of collecting revenue from customs	2,450,000
Expenses of Smithsonian Institute	30,910
Expenses of mail transportation for the several departments	200,000
Expenses of mail transportation for the two Houses of Congress	500,000
For arming and equipping the militia	200,000
For civilising Indians under the act of March 3, 1849	10,000
For interest on the public debt	2,230,000
For ocean mail steamer service	2,113,500
For general mail transportations	6,140,000
Compensaeion of postmasters	2,150,000
For ship, steamboat, and way letters	20,000
Compensation of clerks in post offices, and contingencies	1,329,300
For Capitol extensions until 4th March next	750,000
For new dome on Capitol	100,000
Total	$63,604,023

The bounty land act of this session will dispose of millions of acres, but the head of the Pension Bureau can give no idea of the probable quantity.

EDUCATION AT THE SOUTH.

To C. K. Marshall, Vicksburg, Mississippi, Chairman of the Committee on Home Education appointed by the Southern Commercial Convention:

I have received a copy of your circular sent me, published in De Bow's Review, with much pleasure, and am proud to be recognized as a co-laborer with you in the great work to which you are so steadfastly devoting your talents and energies. The important ends you propose are what I have been toiling for years with pen and tongue to promote; and the best remuneration I can seek for, whatever pecuniary sacrifices I have been called upon to make in the cause of Southern Literature, will be the ultimate and thorough triumph of your present undertaking.

I think the time is at hand, or not very remote, when the people of the South must necessarily be fully aroused to a sense of their fearful responsibility in this vital matter.

It is not from ignorance of the true extent of the evil we seek to combat, that the unpardonable apathy which has hitherto existed on the subject of the education of our Southern youth is to be traced. We and others who have engaged in the war against Abolition teachers and Anti-Slavery Text Books, have striven hard to induce parents and guardians and teachers to be convinced of and admit the existence of the evil, and to apply the proper remedy. We have not indulged in mere abstractions, or remained content with broad assertions and general principles. We have laid the axe to the root of the tree, and shown where the poison lies that has marred its growth and is consuming its life blood. We have advanced the proposition repeatedly, that our schools have been and are still more or less deluged with Abolition Text Books, in many cases illustrated and endorsed by Abolition teachers. We have gone farther, and demonstrated the fact beyond the shadow of a doubt, by giving, page for page, and word for word, innumerable extracts from the most popular and widely circulated of our school books, breathing the most rampant hostility to our institutions, and conveying the most unjust and invidious comparisons, to the prejudice of the South as lessons to be learned and gloried in by Southern boys and girls! Notwithstanding all that has been said and written, we are still journeying on in "the old paths," giving support and countenace to our worst enemies, while our friends at home are left to suggest, propose, and sometimes institute reforms in education for our own benefit and safety, at great personal and and pecuniary sacrifice. Is it not a notorious fact, that every Southern author, editor, or compiler, who has had the temerity

to try the experiment on his own hook, of appealing to that dernier resort, "Southern patronage," has been compelled to pay the piper for his patriotism, instead of being paid for his industry. Have "Simms' Geography and History of South Carolina," "Mason's Southern First Class Book," or "Adams' Moral Philosophy," made money for their authors and been received as standered text books?

How different has been the fate of Northern authors. Peter Parley the history, and Mitchell the geography man, the former of whom has eagerly seized upon every opportunity, in his works for the instruction of Southern youth, to insult and misrepresent the institutions of the South, and the latter to ignore the existince of any which might be supposed to reflect credit upon the literary or industrial enterprise of her people, have made large fortunes by the publication of their Anti-Slavery School Books! Professor Anthon, to whom we are willing to award all the praise justly due for his admirable series of classics, is said to have realized something like $60,000 as the fruit of his labors. Webster's Dictionary has run a career of prosperity to the tune of some $200,000, as a harvest for its proprietors. The authors and publishers of the "United States Speaker," "National Orator," "English Reader," "Columbian Orator," and some scores of District School Readers, Courses of Reading, &c., emanating from New England, all of which have been in use in our schools from time immemorial, and from the pages of which several generation of school boys have imbibed all the sickly sentimentality that has ever existed among us in past times on the subject of "the abstract evils of slavery," have all reaped stores of golden grain for those concerned in orignating and circulating them.

In the lighter departments of literature, our Northern neighbors of the quill and the press have been equally fortunate. Headley's Biographies of our Southern generals and heros; Ike Marvel's reveries and vagaries of his bachelor leisure hours; Miss Leslie's fugitive romances, and hosts of others of similar calibre, have been better compensated for the time and labor consumed in thier production, than all the writings of our Southern authors put together, in a long series of years of unrequited toil. Fanny Fern, we are told, made six thousand dollars in six months from one small book of sentimental reflections over the cradle of a small baby, and one or two other kindred topics, upon which scores of our fair literary Southrons have descanted time after time, without any promise or prospect of compensation. And to cap the climax of this unequal and unjust balance of the scales of genius and merit in the two sections of the Union, Mrs. Uncle Tom Beecher Stowe, has eclipsed the whole of them in the furor, as well as the filthy lucre, she

has succeeded in raising for her scandalous book of falsehoods, to which the people of the South generously contributed, for the gratfication of reading their own vilification and sentence of condemnation. In the review and magazine department, how generously we continue to patronize Harper and Blackwood, Godey and Graham, and the quarterlies of the North —while the Southern Quarterly is in the very act of breathing its last gasp, and De Bow's monthly, propelled forward only by the aid of its intrinsic merit, and a few unshaken friends and patrons, is from time to time reduced to the necessity of an appeal for even its just dues!

Where is the newspaper South, whose circulation in a week will begin to compare with that of the political weather-cock of the New York Herald in a day—a sheet, which but for its small spark of gratitude still left for the favor and patronage it has received from us, would be now our bitterest enemy as it has been hitherto our most interested friend!

If it is important for us to have a home literature of our own, in the lighter departments of reading and knowledge, how much more vitally essential is it to our best interests that the books from which our children imbibe their earliest lessons in history and political economy should be written by those who are able to expound and vindicate, instead of misrepresenting and defaming the institutions under which they are to live and be educated.

I am truly rejoiced to see that in your circular you advocate the use of *school books, edited, printed, and published at home*, and the intervention of Legislative pecuniary aid in their preparation and circulation. I advocate this important measure, for two strong reasons. First, because a large portion of the text books now in use are *unsuitable* and dangerous to Southern youth, and ought to be dispensed with. And secondly, because we are fully capable of producing books at home at least equally well written and edited, *decidedly superior* in point of typographical execution, and vastly more congenial with and adapted to our own latitude. And in view of the lamentable fact that the only obstacle to the success of Southern authorship is the almost total absence of capital invested in the publishing business, the Legislative aid you propose appears to be the only resort left us by which the object can be accomplished.

The Southern Commercial Convention should make this a favorite measure, and act vigorously upon it at the approaching session in Savannah. Now, more than ever, every Southern man should feel that an important crisis in our career is impending, when the management and control of our literary institutions and resources, in close connection as they are with

our political, should be confided wholly and exclusively to the care and judgment of those *who are with us and of us*, and in whom we have a right to feel confidence.

I alluded in general terms to the dangerous tendency of the anti-slavery text books, from time immemorial, and still in use in our schools, and your earnest advocacy of the measures now on foot for seeking Legislative aid in behalf of the circulation of books, edited and published on our own soil, by native authors. Lest I should seem to have been guilty of a *petitio principii*, in making vague assertions and dealing in generalities, without sufficient reason, I will give a few illustrations of the anti-slavery character of several of our most popular Oratory Reading Books, and wind up by urging the subject once more upon the consideration of parents and teachers.

Whelpley's Compend. of History, chap. 12, page 158; thus eloquently argues the question of Southern slavery:

"But for what purpose was he brought from his country? Why was he forced from the scenes of his youth, and from the cool retreats of his native mountains? Was it, that he might witness the saving knowledge of the gospel? That he might become a Christian? Did they desire to open his prospects into a future life? to inform his clouded soul of immortal joys; and aid him in his pilgrimage to heaven? No. He was deprived of *freedom*, the dearest pledge of his existence. *His mind was not cultivated and improved by science!* He was placed among those who hate and despise his nation; who undervalue him, even for that of which he is innocent, and which he could not possibly avoid? *He is detested for his complexion, and ranked among the brutes for his stupidity.* His laborious exertions are extorted from him to enrich his purchasers, and *his scanty allowance is furnished, only that he may endure his sufferings for their aggrandizement!* Where are the incentives that may induce him to become a Christian? Alas! *they are crushed beneath a mountain of desperate and hopeless grief; his views of happiness are depressed, so that he must almost doubt of his natural claim to humanity.*"

> "Had he religion think you he could pray!
> Ah no! he steals him to his lonely shed,
> What time moist midnight blows her venom'd breath;
> And musing how he long has toiled and bled,
> *Seeks shelter only in the arms of death!*"

Now for the still more affecting *Peroration.*:

"Hapless children of men! When shall light and order pervade *the cheerless regions where you dwell?* What power shall heave *the adamantine bars which secure the gates of your dungeon*, and bring you forth? When shall the cherub hope smile on you from heaven, and, with a compassionate voice,

call you to the pleasures of reason? to the delights of immortality? In the natural course of events *your destiny seems hopeless*; no force of words can suitably describe or deplore your case; and your only hope of relief is in Omnipotence. Your deliverer must be a being of Almighty power, wisdom and goodness. To that being then, let me command you—to his favor—to his grace—to his everlasting mercy."

From the *National Orator*, page 49, I extract the following on "The irresistible genius of Universal Emancipation," from a speech of the illustrious Curran, giving a trans-Atlantic view of the question:

"I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, *that the ground on which he treads is holy*, and consecrated by *the genius of Universal Emancipation*. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; *no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him;* no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by *the irresistible genius of Universal Emancipation*."

The same book, page 82, contains the celebrated "Ode to New England," by Percival. Very few Carolina school-boys of the present day would be willing to endorse in full this generous sentiment of the poet:

"*There is no other land like thee,*
No dearer shore;
Thou art the *shelter of the free;*
The home, the port of Liberty,
Thou hast been and shall ever be,
Till time is o'er.
Ere I forget to think upon
My land, shall mother curse the son
She bore.

Thou art the firm unshaken rock,
On which we rest;
And, rising from thy hardy stock,
Thy sons the tyrant's frown shall mock,
And *Slavery's galling chains unlock,*
And free the oppressed;
All, who the wreath of Freedom twine,
Beneath the shadow of their vine
Are blest."

I could, if it were at all necessary, fill column upon column with hundreds of similar extracts; but these will suffice simply to show the nature of the teachings to which I have referred, and *the absurdity of such books being so long tolerated and encouraged in our schools?* Most of them are amenable to the charge of *inculcating improper precepts in the minds of our children on the subject of slavery*; or, if their authors have, from motives of policy, avoided the topic, they are filled with the most insulting comparisons between the North and South—all aiming to show *the superiority of the former in point of education, literature, morals, religion, and industry!* We want books now to show up the other side of the picture, and to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the young minds, hitherto misled by sophistry and declamation into erroneous views of the comparative merits and importance of the greatly wronged South, *that the boot has been put on the wrong leg.*

I bid you, then Godspeed, dear sir, in the patriotic undertaking in which you are engaged, and feel confident that with the zeal and ability which you will bring to bear upon the subject, backed by the endorsement of the dignified and respectable body with which you have the honor of being associated, something may yet be done to free our beloved South from the stigma of literary and industrial dependence upon her worst enemies. When your proposed scheme of Legislative aid shall have been more fully developed and discussed before the Convention, there are many warm hearts and willing hands, as well as active intellects, in this section of the South who will be ready to co-operate vigorously and faithfully with you in all such urgently needed, and, I believe, eminently practicable measures of reform.

If you have convenient access to a copy of Kirkham's *Elocution*, you may have an opportunity of indulging in the pastime of letting your "heart bleed" with that of the author of a very thrilling, imaginary picture of the sorrows of "one of the millions of your fellow creatures, born to no inheritance but slavery." It purports to be a "dream," and, like most dreams, solemnly believed to be true by the dreamer for some time before recovering from the stupor produced by it. You will find the dream recorded on page 161, chapter 2.

Webster's *Dictionary*, University edition, New York, 1846, page 373, thus defines the term "*slave.*"

"A person *subject to the will of another*, a drudge!"

Whenever I see a low white man, who never owned a negro in his life, imposing upon his neighbor's servant, and attempting, by violence, to make him "subject to his will," it always occurs to me that he has caught the idea from old Noah, exclusively, as the laws of the land, when they do get hold of such a scamp, often teach him a very different lesson for his

brutality. At least nine-tenths of the cruelties to
which the people of the South are wrongfully acc
practised by a set of unfeeling scoundrels identified n
birth nor interest with us, who probably never will
means of owning a slave, unless by making him "s
their will," and clandestinely decoying him from hi
owner, under the pretext of making him free.

In Woodbridge & Willard's *Geography* you will
following flattering comparisons between New Eng
the Southern States, which I would commend to your
study.

Pages 233–4—Agriculture:—

"Massachusetts is considered the best cultivated St
Union, except Pennsylvania, and much advance has b
by means of Agricultural Societies, and the premiu
by them.

"In all the States lying south of Pennsylvania, t
tilled almost entirely by slaves. In consequence of
culture is much more imperfect than in the Norther

N. B.—Conclusion from the above.

"No Agricultural Societies or premiums south of
vania."

Pages 209–10.—Education.

"New England is more amply supplied with coll
other parts of the Union, and receives a great numb
dents from other States.

"The Southern States are not so well provided wi
institutions, and a large number of their youth are e
the Northern States!"

The latter statement satisfactorily explains the fo
reversing the positions of the antecedent and conse
conclusion derived is this, viz: That New England
great number of students from other States, which e
to support an ample supply of colleges, and that th
States send a large number of their youth to feed
colleges, leaving their own to go by the board!

Page 203.—Same.

"The Eastern or New England States are peculia
with the means of instruction. It is rare to meet wi
of these States who cannot read and write."

"In the Southern States, the people generally
tensive plantations, or in settlements spread over a
so that it is difficult for a sufficient number to un
establishment of institutions for literary and religio
tion. On this account the means of instruction are
procured, except by the rich."

Wonder what has become of the annual appro
$74,400 by this State, for the support of Free School

many rich men's children patronize the mammoth school house, with Northern teachers, recently erected in Charleston! Will the next edition of the Geography enlighten us on this point?

Mrs. Willard, you are aware, is the Principal of the Troy Female Seminary, New York, educates annually a large number of Southern young ladies, who go North under the impression that the education they obtain here is not sufficiently national, and sends on the Geography South for the special instruction of those who are too poor to travel for their education, or too proud to depend upon Northern Schools for it.

In Mandeville's "Course of Reading for Common Schools," published in New York, 1850, you will find on page 225 an eloquent essay, entitled "The Existence of Slavery inconsistent with our principles and institutions."

Goodrich's (Peter Parley) Pictorial History of the United States, page 220, will entertain you with an instructive chapter on "Slavery in the United States;" and if you were a nullifier in old times, or a secessionist in 1851, you will be highly amused with an interesting account at page 321, of the same popular school book, of the nullification and rebellion movement in the refractory little State of which I have the honor of being a native.

There is but one inference to be drawn from all these extracts to which I have called your attention, viz: the absolute and degrading inferiority of the South, to the North generally, and New England especially, in every thing that appertains to a high standard of literature, education, religion, morals, enterprise, and industrial progress.

When we begin to write and publish our own school books, I hope we will be able to show that she has either improved vastly in all these respects, since the books from which I quote were published, or that the authors were guilty of great indiscretion in undertaking to give information without knowing what they were writing about.

There can be no want of material, intellect, or mechanical facilities for getting up such a series of Text Books as we need from our own resources. We have here in our own State ample provision for each. Such men as Thornwell, Bachman, Holbrook, Gibbes, Holmes, Simms, Carroll, and a host of others, who have already proved themselves by their published works, will form an array of gifted collaborators in such an undertaking, as may at once abundantly supply all the wants of the schools, with an able series of works in every department of the Classics, Belles Lettres, and Moral and Natural Science.*

* Professor Rivers, of the South Carolina College, a distinguished graduate of that excellent Institution and native of this city, has now in preparation for the press, a history of South Carolina, which is spoken of in terms of high com-

And we have ladies too, among us, who have wr
may again write school-books; and who can discou
quent music, if necessary, over "Infancy Asleep,"
in the Cradle," as the most matronly disciple or imit
Sigourney School of Poetry any where, even though
coin money by it.

With the requisite material and intellectual ability
it into form, we have also every facility for publishi
extensive capital. In this we are deficient, and as
you propose to seek the aid of the State Legislatures
this to be accomplished?

A league composed of all or any number of Sta
be too unwieldy and attended with innumerable
even if practicable. Let each State, in her sovereig
make her own separate annual appropriation and
strictly to the benefit of her own citizens. The co
thus restricted, would not be inconveniently exte
each State can then compensate all, more or less, w
in the work with acceptance and credit to themselves
of the various departments of scholastic effort there
four, and probably in some branches not more than
petitors for premiums. Let the State establish a
Education, with a Superintendent, at a moderate sa
should be a scholar of enlarged views of general
and withal, a teacher of practical experience. T
should be required to make an annual report to the L
in which he may be instructed to designate such b
study as may from time to time need to be illustrat
text books.

He should also be required to superintend and di
appropriations, under the advice and direction of a
on Education, appointed by the Legislature for t
purpose. The establishment of a general wholesale
pository at the Seat of Government would be the ne
atum. The accepted manuscripts being chosen by
ested committee of literary gentlemen, appointe
Legislature, are sent here for publication. The Stat
become not only the purchased proprietor and publi
book, but also our chief customer! The Free Sch
priation, now applied to the purchase of Northern b
by itself, square off the first edition, and open a wid
future circulation. The private schools next adopt i
book, and the new volume is recognised as a stand

mendation by the gifted scholars to whom the manuscript has bee
Simms' History of South Carolina, and Carroll's Historical Colle
same State, are works of industrious research and sterling merit
Holbrook, Gibbes, Bachman, and Holmes, have each aided in prod
ble works and treatises on science.

The author or compiler is paid for his head-work, the printer and binder for their handiwork. The State pays herself back out of her old appropriation for education, and thus on the basis of a comparatively small floating capital, conducts an extensive publishing business, with no risk or possibility of failure and with satisfaction and profit to all concerned. Talent and industry are thus developed and rewarded under the fostering care of the State, and this, too, with but little additional expenditure of money.

If the State can give liberally to Industrial Institutes, towards the erection of elegant Halls for the exhibition of the genius and enterprise of her sons in the mechanic arts, why should she hesitate to award the small appropriation that would thus be needed for the expenses of a bureau of education, which may develope and remunerate both the mental and manual labor in other and equally useful departments of industry?

With these crude suggestions, I now leave the subject in good hands, with the confident assurance that you will leave no stone unturned to carry out to its successful accomplishment, a project which, if ever successful, will crown your name and reputation with lasting honor.

I remain, dear sir, very truly yours,

A SOUTH CAROLINIAN.

SOUTHERN ITEMS, ETC.

The South Carolina Agricultural Society have had during November a very splended Fair at Columbia, S. C. The officers elected for the next year are—

President—Col. A. P. Calhoun.

Vice Presidents—Thomas P. Byrd, George Seaborn, Thomas E. Powe, R. S. Porcher, Jacob Stroman, N. A. Peay.

Executive Committee—J. U. Adams, E. G. Palmer, R. J. Gage, J. Foster Marshall, Dr. R. Harllee, Wm. Gregg.

The annual Fair of the Chatham Agricultural Club took place at Savannah, during November, and was largely attended.

The Virginia State Fair was held at Richmond, and the Dispatch says:

"We believe it is now conceded that there are as many people attending the present exhibition as have attended either of the two preceding. Nor is the exhibition as a whole inferior to its predecessors. There may be some inferiority in some departments, but we doubt it; while in others the show is greatly superior. The array of cattle is the finest yet drawn to the fair grounds by the annual meeting, and the number of horses exceeds all precedent. The exhibition of quick draft horses was particularly fine both as to number and speed. There was, too, a vast amount of agricultural machinery upon the ground."

An extensive Cotton Factory has been established in northwestern Louisiana, and Messrs. Green propose immediately another at Jackson, Mississippi. The Cotton Factory at Mobile is said to be very flourishing. The investment amounts to $150,000, and 180 hands are employed. It is also proposed to establish a Paper Mill in that city, the former failure being considered accidental.

Students in colleges.—The number of students in the three first colleges in the country is—in Harvard, 697; Yale, 604; in the University of Virginia, 540. In the latter there is an increase of 80 over the number last year. At Yale there are 57 students from Southern States.

Hereafter we shall obtain the Cata-

logues and publish the lists of Southern students at Northern colleges, and Northern students at Southern ones. It is time to have accurate statistics upon this subject.

John Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, have now established a large publication house, and intend going largely into the business of publishing books adapted to the wants of the Southern people. We commend them to all of our friends throughout the South. See their advertisement in another place, and send them your orders.

The Southern Commercial Convention at Savannah, 8th of December, will, we think, be largely attended. The States and cities are now appointing delegates. Let all attend who can. The South requires such services. The full particulars of its action will appear in our January number. The New Orleans Delta says:

"Events have moved with seven-leagued boots since the Memphis commencement; they have outstripped our conventions, and anticipated the reports of the committees; they have convulsed the South to its centre, and thought has grown as quickly as artificial flowers in a conservatory. The pioneers of the Southern movement have to travel fast, or the rank and file will tread upon their ankles. The South has come up to the position of CALHOUN at last; in other words, it has leaped a century ahead, and the difficulty with our publicists and politicians henceforward will be, not to wait for the outward pressure of the people, but 'to keep step to the music,' and secure their places in the ranks."

We call the attention of our readers to a tract of land advertised in the present number, which is admirably adapted for the location of a large commercial community. The land was originally purchased by a company who designed laying out and building a city along the banks of the Elizabeth river. Some of the company failing to meet their portion of the liabilities, it became the property of the present owner, who, from ill health and somewhat advanced age, is indisposed to undertake the great labor which must necessarily devolve upon any one individual who attempts to carry out the original project.

A glance at the map will satisfy observers that the ground was wisely chosen for the end in view, and that few portions of our favored land offers greater advantages for town sites than the one in question. An active, bustling community settled at this point, would speedily become independent of Northern and Eastern ports, for its own harbor would be the best in the world, and its geographical position would at once divert a large portion, if not the whole of that Southern and Southwestern trade, which now finds a tedious outlet through more distant ports.

The Government have contracted for the deepening of the months of the Mississippi with Craig & Righter, of Kentucky, patentees of a new process.

The unphilosophical and exploded system of scraping and dredging out the channel of a river, on the score of feasibility and economy, is by these enterprising inventors demonstrated to be unworthy of the present age of progressive science; and we especially commend this valuable invention to the consideration of parties interested in deepening the outlets of rivers and harbors on the Gulf coast, assured as we are that, whenever a sufficient volume of flowing water can be centralized, the desired result can be speedily attained. It is gratifying to us to record the fact that the exclusive right to this new principle is secured to the inventors by a patent dated July 8, 1856.

The main features of this novel invention consist in a peculiar shape and point given to sawed spiles, so that after the first one, styled "beginner," is driven to its proper bearings, and secured to a substantial and continuous beam, the remaining ones, unlike the first, styled "followers," are one after another placed to the edge of its predecessor, and successively driven down. Obeying this new mechanical law, these followers, in their descent, maintain a close contact and true line, forming a complete dam or breakwater as the work progresses, each being also fastened to the continuous beam.

Aside from the magnificent results promised to the commerce of the South by the opening of her rivers to vessels of the largest class, this invention assures a speedy and effectual stopping of all crevasses and breaks to the levees that line the margin of her great rivers.

Col. Mann's proposal to organize a great Southern and European Steamship Company, published in the October number of the Review, is being re-

ceived everywhere with great favor, and will soon take a practical shape. The London Post, Palmerston's organ, takes up the subject with great zeal and ability, and regards it as of international importance.

Our advertising pages contain the advertisements of a great many Northern houses. In a business way it would be an error for us to refuse these, and to say the truth, such is the slowness of the South to sustain the Review, after all its labors, that without advertisements it would afford a very meagre revenue to the Editor. We have but a limited number of pages allotted to this department, and would be rejoiced to have them all filled by Southern houses. So far they have declined doing so. During the coming winter, however, another effort will be made by our agents in that quarter.

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This work was originally published in France, more than fifty years ago, and has been pronounced by the best critics one of the most eloquent, instructive, and interesting productions of which the literature of the 19th century can boast. It was designed to confute the idea which an atheistical philosophy had so widely circulated on the continent, that Christianity was an obstacle in the way of human progress; that its dogmas were absurd and its ceremonies ridiculous; that it was opposed to the arts and sciences, and was in general hostile to the liberty of man and the advancement of civilization.

All of the works in the above list have been received by us from the publishing house of John Murphy & Co., Baltimore. This establishment, which has been lately enlarged upon a very considerable scale, is by far the largest publication house in the Southern States, indeed, with the exception of J. W. Randolph's, at Richmond, it is probably as large as all of the others put together. Mr. Murphy's views are covering a wide field, and we hope yet to see him doing for the South what Appleton and Harper have hitherto entirely monopolized. It is proper for the South to hail this movement with approbation and second it with hearty encouragement. Mr. Murphy publishes many valuable literary works, Protestant and Catholic, and a long list of school books.

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The British Poets: The Poetical Works of Thomas Hood, with some account of the author, in four volumes. Boston; Little, Brown & Co. 1856. The Cabinet Series of the Poets of England has regularly progressed until nearly sixty volumes have appeared. This edition is so convenient of size, and so admirably printed, and withal so cheap, that we suppose every private library will be furnished with a copy.

The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and her allies: A history of the troubles in Kansas from the passage of the organic act until the close of July, 1856, by William Phillips. Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856.

Of course this is an excellent picture of the abolition side of the question, and shows up poor bleeding Kansas and all her freedom shrieking sympathisers. If any body has a taste for such literature we commend the work. It no doubt contributed largely to the political results in New England. A lie in that quarter is as potential as the truth.

Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, in 2 vols. Boston; Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. This is another exhibition of abolition spite and spleen, which, as it is productive of the cent and dollar, makes very good charity, religion, and philanthropy in that quarter. Mr work was dramatic an present lays claim on quality. They make republicans, but do negro except for the w full fruition of all th umny, and bitterness realized, the South wi protect herself and he porary truce exists a of us are deceived by

Hand Book of Inor for the use of Students, M. D., fourth American is added the Physics of Melton Sanders, M. D., Barnes & Co. 1857.

School Arithmetic, b LL. D., revised edition, Barnes & Co. 1856.

Slavery, Scriptural by Thornton Stringfe mond, J. W. Randolph but invaluable work, best manual upon t Bledsoe's.

White Acre vs. Blac Law, by J. G., Esq., Randolph, 1856. An lesque, which we sh fully to examine and readers hereafter.

SOUTHERN STATES.

If our subscribers who have received this work order the referred to in the Circular, they will be particular to mention *the copy received.* We hope a large number will be ordered, as to receive encouragement from the Southern public.

PAY UP.

The Winter and Spring are usually the period when the acc are settled. Let those who are on the roll of the Review, in gentle hint. They may pay by letter to the office in Washin leans. They may pay a part if they cannot the whole. They son or through their merchants at any of the following points

Richmond—J. W. Randolph.
Charleston—Burke, Broad street.
Mobile—M. Boulmet.
New Orleans—D. Felt & Stetson.

Come, gentlemen, let there be no "old scores" against any is worthy, etc., etc.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

We hoped to have a much larger list at the opening of a ne seems probable. We have sent out a multitude of prospectus up this matter, and if it is your will, a new name, with th come from every one of you. Our offer to clubs has been mo

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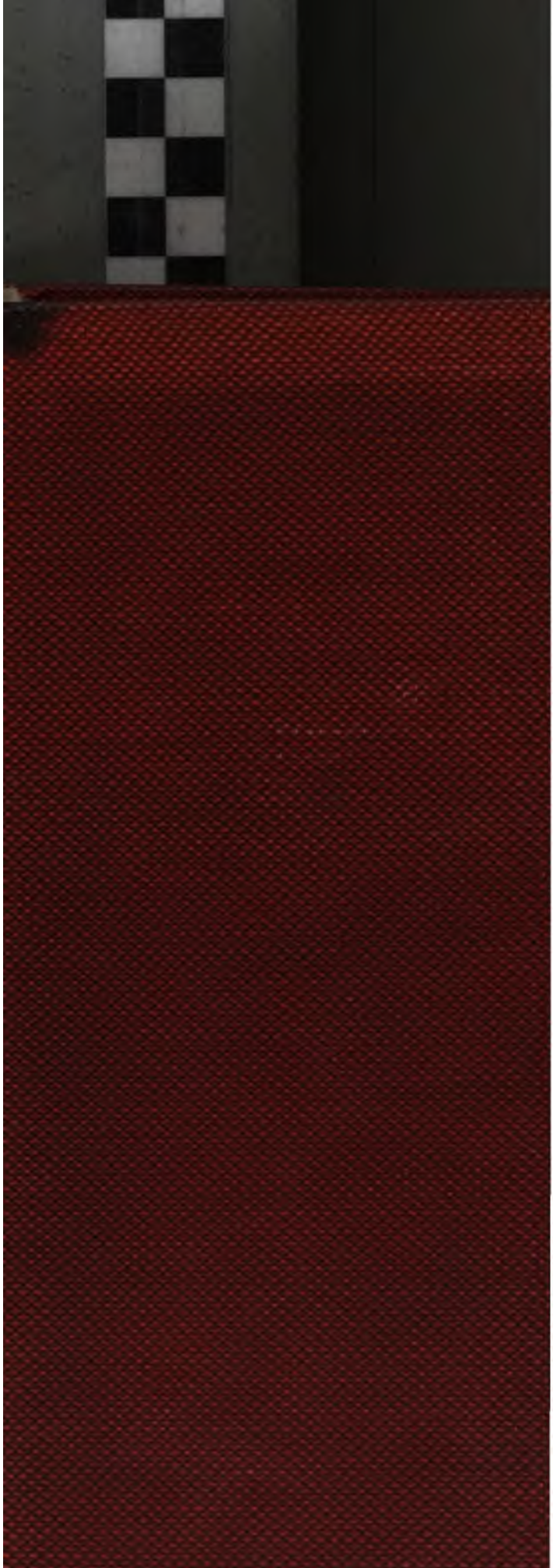
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